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THE
AMERICAN
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
REVIEW

Under the Direction of
MOST REV. PATRICK JOHN RYAN, D. D.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS { RT. REV. MGR. JAMES F. LOUGHLIN, D. D.
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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum
veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive
confitentem. S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

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VOL. XXXIII.—JANUARY, 1908.—No. 129

A PLEA FOR THE ITALIAN PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN.

I. THE PROBLEM.

Why write *caelum*, say *saylumm*, or (now that the Catholics at the universities are taking up the modern English pronunciation) *keelum*, or *seelum*, and sing *chayloom*?—*The (London) Month*, September, 1907.

—while the devout German at your right pronounces it *tsayloom*, and the 'varsity man at your left, *ky-loom*?—*Addendum*.

I should gladly see the day when, under the authority of scholars, and especially of those who bear rule in places of education, improvement might be effected . . . in our solitary and barbarous methods of pronouncing both the Greek and Latin languages.—*Gladstone*.

II. THE EXPERIMENT.

We think if this [the "original," or ancient "Roman"] system is fairly tried, it will meet with universal favor; and within another generation the *original* method may be used by all the Latinists of the world.—*The Methodist Quarterly Review*, October, 1883.

It is now something like twenty years since the so-called Roman or quantitative pronunciation of Latin was first generally introduced into the schools and colleges of this country . . . and here I wish at the outset to declare frankly my conviction that the introduction of the Roman pronunciation was a fundamental blunder, and that its retention is likewise a serious mistake.—*Professor C. E. Bennett* (1906).

III. THE SOLUTION.

Their [sc., the Latin pupils at Mr. Hartlib's school] speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as possible to the Italian, especially in the vowels.—*Milton*.

FRANKLY confessed in its very title, the purpose of this paper is to advocate the adoption of the Italian pronunciation of Latin in all our Catholic educational institutions, from the "high school grade" of certain parish schools up to and including our colleges and universities.¹

¹ If such a plea may properly be urged, the present seems an appropriate time for doing so, in view of the questionnaire sent recently (27 November, 1907) to the instructors in Latin in our colleges and seminaries by the

Such advocacy can scarcely be regarded by our non-Catholic friends in any other light than that of a manifest pedagogical heresy. For the highest educational authorities have given an almost unanimous suffrage to the so-called "Roman" or "Augustan" or "Restored" pronunciation of Latin. While "both the English and continental pronunciations still survive in this country," writes Professor Bennett in his "The Teaching of Latin in the Secondary School" (New York, 1906), ". . . probably the two together are not represented by five per cent. of the Latin pupils of the secondary schools; in the colleges the percentage must be lower still."

The demand for this pronunciation of Latin according to the ancient Roman style has been made successfully by the higher philological scholarship of Germany, America and England. To profit by the vogue thus created, and to minister to its needs, publishers in America have been indefatigable in the production of Latin "First Year Books," grammars, school editions of the classical texts, which indicate formally and with great minuteness the long quantities of certain vowels and the scheme of pronunciation in which these long quantities play such an important part. So exclusive has the cult become that in these volumes there is hardly a hint given anywhere of the existence of other schemes or usages of schools or of nationalities in this matter of the pronunciation of Latin, save that in some of the elementary manuals a short paragraph may give a hasty reference to the "English" method.

College Department of the Catholic Educational Association. The subject of Latin teaching had already received some attention in the two previous meetings of the association. At the meeting held in Milwaukee, in July, 1907, papers were read on "The Cultivation of Classical Latin in Our Seminaries" (by the Rev. Dr. Shahan, of the Catholic University), on "Practical Elements in the Problem of Latin in the Seminaries" (by the Rev. Dr. Dyer, S. S., of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore), and on "The Colleges and the Study of Latin" (by the Rev. Father Conway, S. J., of Georgetown University). The discussion raised by the papers was very frank and outspoken, but not very reassuring. The subject of Latin pronunciation was not referred to, but the present writer is of opinion that the poor results of our teaching of Latin may be due, at least in some measure, to the forbidding character of the text-books used in perhaps many of our colleges to-day—text-books scored on every page with the macron indicating long vowel-quantities and inculcating in this way a pronunciation extremely difficult to acquire; and with the quaintly "correct" spellings of Latin words necessitated by that "higher philological criticism" which is answerable also for the introduction of the so-called "Roman" pronunciation of Latin. At the Milwaukee meeting of the association a committee was appointed "to take in hand the furthering of Latin study in the Catholic institutions of the United States." The questionnaire addressed to these institutions by the committee makes inquiry under seven headings, some of these comprising many sub-questions; in none of these is the subject of Latin pronunciation alluded to. It is nevertheless hoped that the present paper may serve to call attention to the desirability of united action in this matter.

The movement for reform in Latin pronunciation has not progressed without some friction, of which there has been apparently but little in America, but much in England. The resulting discussion has been confined almost exclusively to the respective merits of the ancient Roman and the modern English methods of pronunciation. While the philologists have been patiently demonstrating the "correctness" of the so-called Roman or Augustan method, their adversaries have not been able to withstand the temptation to resort to Philistine support, by their mimicry of the correctness. "Kikero!" they cry. "Who could recognize under that disguise our old friend Cicero? And under the ludicrous *way-nee, wee-dee, wee-kee*, who shall perceive the traditional *Veni, vidi, vici?*" Not just in these words, but in their spirit, has part of the protest been made. It was met, some quarter of a century ago, by William Cullen Bryant (in an editorial in the New York *Evening Post*); he defended the Roman method, declaring that "once generally adopted, its harshness—which, after all, is no greater than that of the Greek—will cease to be thought of. The absurdity of objection on this ground will appear to any one whose ear has ever caught the mellifluous flow of Homer's grand old Greek, or of Anacreon's lyrics, polished, perfect and musical." But the "English" assailants of the "reform" do themselves live in glass houses; and the retort courteous could be made to them, with their "Aunt Mary" for *ante mare*, etc.; and as for Kikero and Skipio and all such harshnesses, "'Tis better," said one ardent protagonist of reform, "to give Scipio and Cicero the names by which they were known in the flesh and which they have invested in immortal glory—far better all these changes—than to turn the Roman senate into a mass of hissing serpents."

Following the long debate with patient attention, one might be led to suppose that a choice of pronunciation lay between the two methods. Meanwhile, however, there was in existence the method used commonly in Catholic colleges in Great Britain and Ireland, which (with the exception of the long sound given to the vowel *u*) followed in the main the pronunciation of the vowels in the various continental ways of speaking Latin, while retaining for the consonants their ordinary English values.

In such circumstances as these, it were futile to plead for the adoption of the Italian pronunciation before non-Catholic educationists. Right at their doors there lies that existing traditional English method which one writer, thinking it might have been the pre-Reformation pronunciation of Latin amongst Englishmen, has styled the "Old English" method. Right at their doors it lies, and they completely ignore it. It has its own defects—manifest defects; but those who use it can understand one another's Latinity,

can also understand and be understood (although doubtless not without some initial difficulty) by the continental speakers of Latin; while those who have been trained in the English method of Latin pronunciation cannot understand or be understood by continental speakers, cannot understand or be understood by their Catholic fellow-Englishmen, and can scarcely understand or be understood by one another. We say "scarcely." Perhaps the word is too strong; but it suggests itself after one has read the declaration of a speaker at the October (1906) meeting of the English Classical Association: "There are no two schools in England, I believe, which pronounce Latin in the same way."

The need of reform of some kind is very evident, and one can only applaud the zeal of those who labor to effect the reform. But the zeal may nevertheless be without knowledge of certain practical difficulties standing in the way. The texts placed at the head of this paper do not state, but imply, the difficulties. The writer in the *Methodist Review* foresaw, a quarter of a century ago, the reform sweeping over the country. He was a prophet. But now that the quarter of a century has elapsed, we find Professor Bennett, of Cornell University, who had given fifteen years of zealous scholarship to the furtherance of that very reform in the pathway mapped out by the *Methodist Reviewer* (or rather by those pioneers whose work was so earnestly applauded by him), uttering a despairing note and declaring that the introduction of that Roman method was a "fundamental blunder," and that its retention is "likewise a serious mistake." "So long as we retain the Roman pronunciation, while nominally making that our standard, we shall in reality be far from exemplifying that method in our practice. We shall be guilty of pretending to do one thing, while we really are doing something else. I hesitate to believe that such disingenuousness can permanently commend itself to thoughtful teachers. I have above mentioned the fact that certain educators advocate the employment of the Roman pronunciation on moral grounds, urging that it is our bounden duty to apply what we know to be true. It is equally on moral grounds (among others) that I would urge the immediate abandonment of the Roman pronunciation. We are not just to ourselves, we are not just to our students, so long as we encourage the present hypocritical practice. The English pronunciation is at least honest. It confessedly violates vowel quantity, though I doubt whether it actually does so any more than the Roman method as actually employed."²

It is interesting to note that, in giving up the idea of reform by the Roman method, the writer contemplates but the alternative of

² Bennett, *loc. cit.*, p. 79.

the English method. Continental scholars cannot understand that method; but they do understand the "traditional" English method used until recently in our Catholic educational institutions.

Until recently; for now much diversity exists therein. It comprises the diversities of all the tongues under heaven, with the addition (in the progressive colleges) of that "Roman" scheme which corresponds with no tongue under heaven; and we believe that, even in the preparatory and collegiate departments of some Catholic colleges, a professor in one class may be found using the "traditional English" method, while in the next room to his another instructor may be inculcating the "Roman" method, and perhaps in still another room the "Italian" or some other of the continental variants may obtain recognition.

For various reasons this diversity in the pronunciation of Latin ought to be deplored by those interested in classical education. First of all, there arises a pedagogical difficulty. For it is clear that, under the most favorable auspices, the teaching of Latin is not an easy task for the instructor, if he does even only half of his duty; and the universal lament of the colleges over the exceedingly poor results attained by the preparatory schools in equipping their graduates with vocabulary, with syntax, or, indeed, with the most elementary part of the Latin accidence, seems to demonstrate that the study of Latin is no easy task even for the earnest plodder. Simplified to the last degree, the language remains a difficult one to acquire; and any unnecessary, accidental, external confusion superadded to its native intricacies ought to be deplored by educationists. Doubtless, not a few instructors will pooh-pooh the added difficulty; for, quite aside from the sentimental attachment we feel for the system in which (or in despite of which) we have mastered all the initial difficulties ourselves, we naturally dislike unlearning and relearning anything, because of the unwonted labor this necessitates. The *vis inertiae* is apt to carry the day. But the hapless beginner who, in endeavoring to master the elements of Latin in the first year, has surmounted at length the tangle of some system of Latin orthoëpy, only to encounter a different system in the second year—and possibly still a third system in his third year—may be pardoned for giving up the whole curious and unsatisfactory tangle at this point, and for betaking himself to cribbing and to ponies, to evasion and equivocations and all manner of deceitful shifts in order to complete his course in some fashion. The pedagogical advantage of a unique system, extending from the lowest high school grade up to the highest class in the college, ought to need no demonstration.

But apart from this scholastic side of the question, there is a further practical advantage to be considered. As the official lan-

guage of the Catholic Church, Latin remains a universal tongue. Not only is it universal, but it is also a living tongue, used not merely in the stately pronouncements of Popes and Councils, but daily in the schools of theology and philosophy. It is the language of the text-books and of the lectures delivered thereupon and the discussions raised. It is not used thus as a "show" tongue, but as the common medium of communication between the professor and his pupils. It is not "bookish" merely; it is conversational as well. And the language remains, for Catholic priests who travel in foreign lands, the common medium of communication with their fellows in sacred orders. Truly, Latin is for us a living language. And yet it is said that the French Bishops assembled at the Vatican Council found it very difficult either to understand the discussions carried on by those of other nationalities, or to make themselves intelligible to the others. The living tongue had failed, namely, in one of its most characteristic and most valuable functions, as the common tongue of Catholic Christendom. To this day, at the College of Propaganda, a thesis in which a French-Canadian is to participate is given over exclusively to that speech; for the German, or Italian, or Spanish, or American "defender" will hardly grasp even the gist (not to speak of the finer distinctions) of the objection urged by a French speaker of Latin. And as for a general *disputa*—an exercise in theology at once and in Latin—the difficulties surrounding it are assuredly not lessened by a babel of conflicting systems of pronunciation. Yes, the disputants can "get along," but the gait could be made easier and more rapid if the whole Catholic educational world were to agree upon a unique pronunciation of Latin.

Is the thought just expressed an impracticable dream? Before deciding that it is, we might glance at the attempts to realize it made by those who have not a tithe of the sentimental and practical interest in the matter which Catholics ought to have.

For instance, what has been done by the secular colleges and high schools in America to unify Latin orthoëpy? A standard pronunciation has been adopted; and, if this "Roman" method, which is practically the exclusive system set forth in the vast output of text-books to-day, be any indication of the demand for it—and we may properly suppose that it is—that system is the one used almost exclusively to-day in non-Catholic high schools, colleges and universities.³

³ It is now something like twenty years since the so-called Roman or quantitative pronunciation of Latin was first generally introduced into the schools and colleges of the country. Prior to that most schools and colleges had used the English pronunciation; some few employed a pronunciation called the "continental." This last, however, was not one pronunciation, but several. In the sounds of the vowels it adhered to their prevailing pronunciation in the languages of Continental Europe, but the sounds of

If this unification of Latin pronunciation in America may be considered as at least a theoretical or nominal fact (for it may well be doubted that it is an actual fact, as the diversities of the "Roman" orthoëpy in practice appear to be as many and as great as those which had previously obtained in the "English" method, or methods, of pronouncing Latin), two things are clear: first, that this country is rather definitely committed, so far as pedagogues may be committed to any definite system of teaching, to the so-called "Roman" method; and second, that a sufficiently recent pedagogical prophecy has already been partially fulfilled.

Considering for the present only the second of these two notable conclusions, namely, the prophecy, we may recall the words uttered by the Rev. E. B. Mayor, professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge, at a time when the movement for "reform" or "restoration" was in its infancy: "If American scholars accept the reform, we may hope that, in the next generation, all English-speaking Latinists will be intelligible to their colleagues all over the world." American scholars did accept the reform very heartily. About seventy colleges and universities in America had that system in operation a quarter of a century ago. These included Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Columbia.

The wonderful spread of the system into apparently all of our colleges and high schools may be largely due to two things: first, the endeavor of colleges and high schools to have as instructors in Latin, men who have had post-graduate instruction therein in the more famous German universities; second, the closer correlation of studies effected recently between colleges and the preparatory schools. Many of our Catholic colleges have adopted the text-books which inculcate the system, although adopting the system itself, probably, in only a few instances.

While the prophecy has been rapidly fulfilled in America, it is curious to reflect that it has been fulfilling itself very slowly in England. Professor Mayor had been too sanguine in his prophecy:

"There is, I think, no great difference of opinion here in regard to the principles of Latin pronunciation; even the *w* sound of *v* is secure from ridicule. In practice there is great diversity. Many schools adopt the new pronunciation in the higher forms only, which seems like beginning at the wrong end. However, the result is that the proportion of those who are familiar with the new pronunciation on entering the university is continually increasing. The

certain consonants, namely, *c*, *g*, *t*, *j*, *s*, were rendered with much variety. Both the English and continental pronunciations still survive in this country, though probably the two together are not represented by five per cent. of the Latin pupils of the secondary schools; in the colleges the percentage must be lower still.—*Bennett, loc. cit.*, p. 66.

old *mumpsimus*, both in respect to orthography and pronunciation, is doomed, and no longer ventures to put in a plea in arrest of execution. If American scholars accept the reform, we may hope that, in the next generation, all English-speaking Latinists will be intelligible to their colleagues all over the world."⁴

And yet, despite all this favorable outlook at Cambridge, a quarter of a century ago, and the activity of one of the professors at Oxford, who had prepared a "Syllabus of Latin Pronunciation" expounding the reform scheme, it is little more than two years (November, 1905), since a conference was held at Exeter College, Oxford, "to discuss . . . whether any reform, and if so what, should be introduced into the pronunciation of Latin as at present in vogue at Oxford and Cambridge, and the great majority of schools and colleges throughout the country."⁵

The "reform," however, is now progressing rapidly in England. The Exeter conference was "almost unanimously in favor of a change of some kind," and finally adopted *en bloc* (although not without some earnest protest) the changes suggested and drawn up in detail by a joint committee of the Oxford and Cambridge Philological Societies. These suggested changes recognize the much approved "Augustan" or "Roman" style of pronunciation.

Undoubtedly, then, unification is taking place everywhere but in our Catholic educational institutions, where we still rejoice in Pentecostal pronunciations. With not a tithe of the sentimental and practical interest we ought to have in such a question, our separated brethren are trying to do that for their "dead Latin" of ancient literature which would be so very helpful, in innumerable respects, if accomplished for our own official, living Latin. Will our Catholic Educational Association—that admirable body which, in its brief history, has already done so much for our system of Catholic education in America—use its unparalleled opportunities for unification of our diverse systems of Latin pronunciation?

Assuming, like the Exeter conference, that there is a need of unification, the next question confronting us is the character of the system to be preferred. Roughly speaking, we may choose some one of the following: The "Roman" or "Augustan;" the "Continental," which is rather a group of systems than a clearly defined system; the "traditional" (for lack of a better name) system, commonly used in Catholic educational institutions; the "English" system (whose name, it appears, is legion); or, finally, the "Italian" method.

While it is the purpose of this paper to arrive, by a process of exclusion, at the "Italian" system, an attempt will be made here to

⁴ Quoted in *The Methodist Review*, October, 1883, p. 726.

⁵ *The Ampleforth Journal*, December, 1905, p. 165.

show that that system has not merely negative, but as well some positive points of value to recommend it for universal adoption.

I. "ROMAN" OR "AUGUSTAN."

In trying to strike a balance between the professed advantages and the confessed disadvantages of this system, the reader may find himself compelled to weigh philology against pedagogy, theoretical gains against practical losses; and his judgment will perhaps be largely fashioned by his point of view. The Catholic educator will nevertheless arrive at a concrete judgment which must be defined by the limitations of the practical work of the class room—limitations well recognized by every instructor in Latin.

In trying to estimate the advantages of the Roman method, it may be proper to look at it, not with that eye of suspicion which is characteristic of conservatism when confronted with an innovation disturbing to its own ease, but with the enthusiastic gaze of the "reformer." What did the reform promise to its supporters? It is now nearly twenty-five years since a writer in the *Methodist Review* (October, 1883) argued zealously for its universal adoption in America. Let us examine his summary of the five advantages claimed in his day for the method.

I. "First, it is the *true* system, and hence in perfect harmony with the genius and structure of the language." This claim appears to remain to this day the shibboleth of the "Augustans," and in other terms, but with equal import, is advanced by Professor Postgate, of Cambridge (who was a prominent advocate of reform in the Exeter conference of November, 1905, already alluded to) in his "How to Pronounce Latin." "The champions of the new pronunciation take *correctness* as their principle. Latin, they say, is a foreign language, and should therefore be pronounced as it was by those who spoke it, if their pronunciation can be ascertained."

Although the contention be so strongly urged, much store need not be set by it. It involves the assumption that "their pronunciation can be ascertained," the implication that it has been ascertained and the inference that, once ascertained, it should be followed by all who attempt to speak their language.

With respect to the assumption, it has been doubted that it "can" be ascertained. One of the speakers at the headmasters' conference, Malvern College (England), in 1906, wondered how near the philologists "had got when they had formulated these opinions and made them into rules, to the real pronunciation of Latin as they might suppose it to be? How near could they get to the pronunciation of a modern language, say of modern French or Italian, by the help of directions in a book? The pronunciation of a language was a

matter very largely indeed of intonation and accent; it was not concerned exclusively with the sound of the particular consonants or vowels." But even philology may not find it possible to fix with certain accuracy the vowel or consonantal sounds; and the uncritical student of language may hesitate to accept a conclusion, however confidently declared, which he finds disputed by other philologists. There may be much fact in this field of investigation, but we fear they may be also not a little fancy. One illustration comes under our notice, which may be alluded to here. Professor George P. Bristol, of Cornell University, speaks with great positiveness of the correct pronunciation of the *eta* in Greek, in his "The Teaching of Greek in the Secondary School" (New York, 1906): "*η* is almost without exception given the value of English *a* in *ba-bel*, though the true sound is nearer that of *a* in *babble*." This may be very true; but if its truth rest upon the reason which he appears to assign, we shall grow somewhat skeptical; for he continues: "In English we represent the bleating of sheep by *baa*. Cratinus, a poet of the fifth century B. C., represented it by *βῆ βῆ*." Reasoning in similar fashion from the present English pronunciation of *bleat*, as an imitative word for the cry of sheep, we might argue that the *eta* should be pronounced like the long *e* in English, and thus corroborate the views of those who sustain the modern pronunciation of Greek as an equivalent of the classical usage. Or we might point to the fact that Varro, "the most learned of the Romans," represented the cry of sheep by the letters *be*; and we might argue that *e* in Latin should be pronounced nearly like *a* in *babble*. The question is surely not one of the symbol used to represent the sound in different languages, but the sound itself. Does a sheep cry *baa* (*i. e.*, the sound of *a* in *bar*, as our English dictionaries give it)? or *bée* (*i. e.*, the sound of *e* in *they*), as the French dictionaries give it? or *bä* (nearly *a* as in English *bare*) as the German dictionaries give it?⁶

It is not easy to acquire a correct pronunciation of a modern foreign language. The student of French, for instance, who finds the *a* in two such differently sounding words as *hat*, *father*, given in his "Method" as an equivalent for the French *a* (and the French *a* is the easiest of the sounds he will have to acquire), may well pity the Frenchman who tries to acquire a knowledge of English pronunciation from an English "method" or an English dictionary. But neither is it easy for us to gather from the diacritical marks of our

⁶ Our English dictionaries follow the pronunciation given by Walker, who in trying to furnish his readers with the sound of *a* in *father* remarks that it is the sound of *a* in *baa*, "the word adopted in almost all languages to express the cry of sheep." What are these languages? How could Walker venture to make such an assertion? It is interesting to find *baa* given in Sheridan's dictionary (London, 1780) with the sound of *a* in *babe*.

own dictionaries an exact view of the pronunciation of an English word. In both of these cases, nevertheless, the inquirer has known and living sounds which may serve as standards of comparison. What then must be the insecurity attending the acquisition of vowel and consonantal sounds in a dead language?

Such a doubting spirit may still linger despite learned demonstrations from the Roman grammarians, from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, from the occasional remarks of Cicero or of Quintilian, from the comparison of Latin words with their transliterations into Greek, or from various etymological equivalences.

Let us, however, agree with the judgment of Professor Bennett that in its essential features the pronunciation of Latin can to-day be restored substantially as the Romans spoke it, with restrictions to the effect that there are certain points concerning which the evidence is conflicting, that doubtless there were refinements of pronunciation which we may not hope to understand, but that scholarly research has nevertheless determined the value of the hidden vowel quantities with probably as great success as it may ever hope to achieve in this matter. Thus the implication that the "correctness" advocated by Professor Postgate has been attained may be admitted as a theoretical truth. But the question may next be asked: What is its practical value, whether to scholars such as Mr. Farnell (who in his opening speech at the Exeter conference lamented that continental scholars were debarred at present from anything like easy oral communication with Englishmen in the Latin language, because such a great gulf separated them in the matter of pronunciation) or to pupils in our schools?

With respect to the Latin scholar, it may be granted that, after years of study and practice of the Roman method, he may be more intelligible than he is at present to the continental scholar. We are not surprised that an ardent advocate of the method like Professor Postgate should be able to quote his own experience with a German friend who "found to his surprise, avowed without hesitation, that he had at last met an Englishman who could talk Latin intelligibly." This does not prove much for the Roman method, since those who have learned the traditional method used in Catholic colleges manage to make their Latinity intelligible everywhere on the continent, and not only to German scholars. It does prove, indeed, much against that English method of pronunciation which Gladstone described as "solitary and barbarous" and in which he would "gladly see the day when under the authority of scholars, and especially of those who bear rule in places of education, improvement might be effected."

With respect to the pupils forced to pronounce by this method, the testimony is not consentient. Early English testimony in the

history of the reform movement we have already heard from Professor Mayor, that "the proportion of those who are familiar with the new pronunciation on entering the university (Cambridge) is continually increasing;" and present day testimony is that of the "Proceedings of the Classical Association," 1906: "An inquiry addressed by the Assistant Masters' Association last year to some one hundred and four schools elicited the fact that no less than thirty-four regularly employ the restored pronunciation; ten employ both styles, the old and the new, while the majority of the staff in twenty-three out of the sixty that at present employ the English pronunciation are in favor of reform." Important early American testimony is that of Professor Richardson, of Rochester University, N. Y.: "I am persuaded, from the experience of twenty-four years in teaching Latin, seventeen on the English and seven on the Roman system, that I can teach the important principles of the language far more successfully with the true than with the false system of pronunciation. I have given the two systems a fair trial, with no interest but to ascertain the truth; and I not merely *think*, but *know*, that by the daily use of the *true* pronunciation I can secure on the part of the student a much more intelligent and lively interest in questions pertaining to the etymology of the language, to its various inflectional forms and laws, to its quantities and, above all, to its metrical system and to its relations to kindred languages." Present day American testimony reverses all of the above appreciations, and this testimony is especially important, since it covers a much wider field of inquiry and has to do with conditions singularly favorable, inasmuch as the Roman method has been exploited in America with great zeal and with a record of conversions embracing practically the whole of our educational system. Professor Bennett, whom we have already quoted, writes: "As a matter of fact, few teachers and practically no pupils ever do acquire a pronunciation of any exactness (*sc.*, in the Roman method of pronunciation). Out of some twelve hundred freshmen whom I have tested on this point in the last dozen years at two leading American universities I have never found one who could mark ten lines of Cæsar's "Gallic War" with substantial quantitative accuracy. Nor is this all. For eight years I have conducted summer courses for teachers at Cornell University. This work has been attended by some two hundred teachers and college professors, nearly all of them college graduates, and many of them persons who had had graduate work at our best universities. Yet few of these have ever shown any thorough grasp of the Roman pronunciation, and most of them have exhibited deplorable ignorance of the first principles of its accurate application. Even college professors of eminence often frankly admit their own ignorance of

vowel quantity and proclaim their despair of ever acquiring a knowledge of it. . . . It is safe to say that only those who have devoted long and patient attention to the subject and who practice frequent oral reading can pronounce Latin with accuracy according to the Roman method. My observation teaches me that those who ever attain this accomplishment are so few in number as to constitute practically a negligible quantity."

Of what avail is it that the Roman pronunciation should be the "true" one, the one whose glorious prerogative it is to demonstrate its "correctness," if after twenty-five years of possession in our American educational system it can show such Dead Sea fruit?

II. "Second, it is the only one that we may expect will ever be generally adopted, because it is not mixed and corrupted with other nationalities, but stands out alone and unique. And all can adopt it without compromising any national peculiarities." It is a good argument with those who look on Latin merely as a literary language—as the dead bridge leading us towards a dead past, or as the cerements enwrapping a mummified civilization. Such is Latin for the student of Roman literature and Roman life of the Augustan age. Merging his little insularity of modern language environment in the vastness of the Roman territory, he feels that he is called on to sacrifice but little to become a citizen "of no mean city." But the very reverse aspect is that which Catholics are called upon to confront. They are already citizens of no mean city—they are participants of a living civilization whose conquest is a world-wide empire. The official language of this vast empire is also Latin—no dead tongue, but a living, everyday medium of intercommunication for the citizens who frequent its schools, study and expound its laws, hold communication with its world-wide officialdom. The Latin of the "classics" is precious, indeed, but also is that of the Fathers, of the mediæval schoolmen, of the present day theologians. The narrow limits of the Augustan age enclosed hardly a more brilliant coterie of writers than did the "spacious" days of Elizabeth; but just as the Englishman of to-day will not give up his living English tongue (varied though it be as are the shires of England) in order to stumble over the quaint spelling and pronunciation of the Elizabethan worthies, so neither does the Catholic fancy giving up his living Latin (varied though it be as are all the tribes and tongues and nations and peoples of earth) to grope and stumble over the so-called Roman pronunciation and spelling, after the uncertain and inaccurate fashion which, as Professor Bennett assures us, characterizes our professional Latin educationists. It would, indeed, be most desirable that all Englishmen should drop their local and variant forms of pronunciation and agree to use that of the polite world

of London; and it would be equally desirable that all Catholics should drop their nationalistic pronunciation of Latin and agree to use that of Rome. This would make for a splendid unity, would facilitate intercourse, would tend to bind more strongly the remotest portion of territory to the seat of government. But to ask either Englishmen or Catholics to give up a real, living unity such as they enjoy for a unity which drags them back through centuries of their expanding life to a narrow circle of the past—this is to ask them to bind themselves into cast-off fetters of thought and sentiment.

It may chance that the whole non-Catholic world of scholars will adopt the Roman method; in that case it would be desirable, for the very sake of antithesis, for the sake of the emphasis which should be laid on the grand fact of the living Latinity of the Catholic Church, that Catholics should concentrate similarly on one pronunciation of Latin. Let it, too, be "Roman"—Roman of the Pope and not of the Cæsar; Roman of the Christian, and not of the pagan. Christian Latinity can never be circumscribed within the Augustan limits of etymology, of pronunciation, of syntax; of ancient Roman ideas or ideals, purposes or plans. Its purview is wholly different, its outlook on life and manners, its necessities born of that outlook—all are at variance with "classical" Latinity. The Christian poets early broke away from classical restrictions; they had ideas to express that would not fit into the quantitative measures of the Augustan or even the post-Augustan Latin. If they were to sing at all, they must burst through that narrow cage; and those who knew best the classical usages were freest in disregarding it. Prudentius knew his Latin well enough. As Trench points out,⁷ when he wishes to use the intractable word *margaritum* in a hexameter verse, he makes the second syllable long, but restores to it the proper quantity when it is to be used in an iambic verse. Neither will he be debarred the use of *temulentus*, *delibutus*, *idololatrix*, *calceamentum* in a hexameter verse, for which the accurate quantity of certain of the syllables makes them unfit: "In the same way not ignorance nor caprice, but the feeling that they must have the word *ecclesia* at command, while yet, if they left it with the antepenultima long, it could never find place in the pentameter, and only in one of its cases in the hexameter, induced the almost universal shortening of that syllable among the metrical writers of the Church."

There is, moreover, a symbolism behind the Christian disregard of the restraints of classical prosody and phraseology. "Let the dead bury their dead;" Christianity was the new life. It still remains fronting us is: Which system will best unify all our divergences with the symbolism—even that portion of it which inheres in pronuncia-

⁷ "Sacred Latin Poetry," third edition, p. 9.

tion—remains to draw its line of demarcation between classicism and Christianity.

However the case be in England,⁸ it is fortunate for us here in America that, with our well developed and entirely unaided Catholic educational system, we are under no necessity of catering to the demands of secular universities in the matter of Latin pronunciation. We can maintain our own system wholly without reference to the linguistic experiments of our neighbors. While they have combined, however, to use only one system of pronunciation, we may well consider the desirability of combining amongst ourselves to use, in a similar way, only one Catholic system; and the question confronting us is which system will best unify all our divergences with least friction of national sentiments and with the greatest general gain?

III. "Third, it always distinguishes words of different orthography and signification by their sounds, while the English very often does not. Take, for example, the following words: *Censeo, censio, sentio*; or *cervus* and *servus*; or *cicer* and *siser*; *cella* and *sella*; *citus* and *situs*; *scis*, and *sis*, and *cis*; *amici* and *amisi*; or *circulus* and *serculus*. By the Roman method *every one* of the preceding words are (*sic*) uttered with an individual pronunciation, so that when you say *censeo* it cannot be misunderstood for *censio* or *sentio*. And when you speak of a *servus* it cannot be thought to be a *cervus*. And certainly this is an advantage in any language." The writer's contention is, of course, very good; it certainly is an advantage in any language to have the sounds fit the symbols without ambiguity. English is very bad in this respect; but it is interesting to note that Italian is extremely good in this respect. There is no word or syllable of a word in the examples chosen by the writer to illustrate

⁸ The recently-issued "Report of the Twelfth Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges Upon Secondary Education" makes it clear that the question of the pronunciation of Latin will soon have to be faced by Catholics, not as a subject for academical discussion, but as a matter of immediate and practical importance. At their meeting at Ushaw in May, the Catholic headmasters decided to memorialize the Board of Education and to point out the difficulties which would ensue were the new scheme of the Classical Association, which the board has adopted, to be enforced throughout the schools. The reply of the board, which is printed in the report, shows that the educational authorities are not inclined to reconsider their position, and that they will not go beyond the concessions made in their circular, to the effect, that "if the authorities of any school recognized by the board still prefer to adopt a system of pronunciation other than that outlined in Circular 555, it is open to them to do so, but their scheme must be clearly explained when the curriculum is submitted to the board; and in no case can the use of any system be sanctioned in which proper attention is not given to quantity." The last few words should give us pause. . . . It is true that a great number of our secondary schools are independent of the board at present, but one cannot prophesy how long this immunity will continue.—*The Month* (London), September, 1907, p. 286.

the superiority of the Roman method of pronunciation, which has not its accurate and distinctive Italian sounds: *chen-say-o*, *chen-see-o*, *sent-see-o*; *chare-voose*, *sare-voose*, etc., and, for the penultimate example, *sheece*, *seece*, *cheece*. The traditional method of our Catholic schools, which uses English consonantal values with continental vowel values, could not discriminate at all in the given examples except in the one word *censeo*, where the value of *e* would distinguish it from the other two words (which, however, could not be interdistinguished).

IV. "Fourth, this system throws much light on the subject of Latin versification, and is the only one on which Latin poetry can be correctly read. As well might we undertake to recite the poems of Shakespeare and Milton, Bryant and Longfellow, according to French principles of pronunciation, as to read the Odes of Horace or the Eclogues of Virgil with purely Anglo-Saxon sounds. . . . Why, then, shall we persist in butchering the Latin poets?" Undoubtedly, the English method of pronunciation is highly unfavorable to the euphony and the barest accuracy of Latin verse. Apart from the question of quantity, and considering merely the vowel and consonantal sounds, the objection of the writer would not lie against the continental methods, and much less would it operate against the mellow Italian sounds. The question of quantity, however, could not so easily be settled; on this hinges largely the accurate recitation of Latin verse. But an accurate knowledge of Latin quantities is of slow, anxious, laborious growth. Will the crowded curriculum stand the strain? Do students—or even professors—actually acquire the knowledge?⁹

To the difficulty of quantity there is to be added the question of ictus. Was ictus stress or merely rhythmic division? In the rhythmic scheme of English verse we look upon it (theoretically) as stress—although the correct reciter of English verse will not so treat it in practice, under penalty of reading like a boy of ten years. Why, then, in reading Latin verse, do we give it stress?

Arma virumque canó Trojáe qui primus ab oris
Italíam fató profugús Lavínaque venit . . .

would make the Romans appear to have pronounced their words

⁹ It is not long since I listened to a professor of high position who gave at an educational meeting an illustration of his method of reading Latin poetry. The reading was prefaced with the candid declaration that the reader had never pretended to acquire an accurate knowledge of Latin vowel quantities, and despaired of ever doing so. The reading which followed proved the correctness of this statement. The opening line of Horace, "Odes," I, 23, was read thus:

Vítās ínŭlěō mē šímílīs Chlěō,

and was followed by similar violations of vocalic and syllabic quantity.—*Bennett, loc. cit.*, p. 76.

one way in verse and another in prose—an incredible assumption. To read their verse accurately, this mistaken idea of the value of the ictus must be surrendered. But then, next, we face the question of accent. Was it a strong stress, as in English, a weak stress, as in Italian, or a scarce discernible one, as in French?

It is clear that many difficulties surround the question of how to recite Latin verse; and the question will not down: Is the game worth the candle? Are years of study to be sacrificed for this one gain? While in the English method Latin verse becomes harsh in sound, it is not so when it is read by continental methods, with some provision made for the swing of the rhythm. A slight knowledge of prosody will suffice for this, since the rhythmic scheme of the quantitative measure soon becomes familiar even to a sufficiently dull ear. We may be sure that Lord Tennyson could not read his beloved Virgil with that quantitative accuracy which is demanded by the Augustan theorists. And yet it is beyond question that he enjoyed thoroughly the sonority and swing of that Virgilian

stateldest measure
Ever moulded by the lips of man.

And his experiments in other Latin measures and stanzaic forms imitated in English verse will illustrate the possibility of a modern appreciation of Latin versification which is not founded on accurate modern knowledge of Latin quantities.¹⁰

Altogether, the world has managed to get along very comfortably in its appreciation of Latin versification without that "correctness" in the attainment of which, it would appear, professors and students alike of Latin are to-day hopelessly embarrassed. An easy solution of the difficulty would be to reject the "English" pronunciation first of all, and then, amongst the continental claimants, give our suffrage the mellifluous Italian pronunciation.¹¹

¹⁰ *E. g.*, in his "Hendecasyllabics:"

O you chorus of indolent reviewers,
Irresponsible, indolent reviewers,
Look, I come to the test, a tiny poem
All composed in the metre of Catullus,
All in quantity, careful of my motion . . .

also in his Alcaic stanzas:

Oh, mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies,
Oh, skilled to sing of time and eternity,
God-gifted organ-voice of England,
Milton, a name to resound for ages.

So, too, in his Sapphic stanzas (both in Latin and in Greek style), in his imitation of the elegiac couplet, etc.

¹¹ Another consideration not without some moment for Catholics is the fact that many of the most common Latin hymns have been written in rhythm, and not in measure. How could a student who has been trained to a correct pronunciation of long and short vowels render properly the rhythms of the hymns in the Office of the Blessed Sacrament, the "Stabat

V. "Fifth, it facilitates the study of comparative philology. The corruption of Latin pronunciation has isolated the Latin from its kindred languages. To see this plainly, let us compare the Latin and Greek. Various words in the two languages are substantially the same in spelling and in meaning. Take, for instance, the following Latin words, with their English pronunciation, and compare them with the corresponding Greek words:

Acoetis (a-see-tis) <i>αχοιτις</i> .	Cicero (sis-ser-o) <i>Κικερων</i> .
Cici (sai-sai) <i>χιχι</i> .	Scipio (sip-i-o) <i>Σκιπιων</i> .
Cercurus (sur-cu-rus) <i>χερχουρος</i> .	Oceanus (o-shee-a-nus) <i>Ωκεανος</i> .
Coena (see-na) <i>κοινος</i> .	Cilicia (sil-ish-i-a) <i>Κιλικια</i> .

All the above Latin words, pronounced by the Roman method, would be recognized by the Greek scholar as of kindred origin with the Greek word on the same line. In fact, all the vowels, diphthongs and consonants in the above words are, by the Roman method, uttered just the same in both languages." The argument immediately precipitates the question as to how Greek should be pronounced; and for pupils who are taught the "modern Greek" style of pronunciation, the writer's contention falls absolutely to the ground; for such a pupil would pronounce *αχοιτις* a-*kee*-tis, and not a-*koy*-tis. The comparative philology of Greek and Latin will not help the student in pronunciation; for against almost any statement of equivalence, illustrations can be brought which would involve endless disputation. For a particular illustration, if *coena*¹² is to be pronounced *koy-na* (fitting the diphthong in sound with *oi* of *koinos*), how shall we explain to the pupil that the same *oi* occurring in plurals, etc., has been Latinized into a simple *i*, and should be pronounced like the long *e* in English?

Another practical difficulty on the philological side is the quality of aloofness contributed to innumerable English words by the Roman method.

The five advantages of the Roman method thus far considered are seen to dwindle somewhat on nearer inspection. Urged against the "English" method, they have some importance, but have much less value when urged against the Italian method. "Correctness" remains the chief attraction of the Roman method. If we examine some of the text-books which inculcate and illustrate the method,

Mater," the "Dies Irae," the "Veni Sancte Spiritus," the "Jesu dulcis memoria," the "Ave maris Stella," etc., not to speak of certain of the hymns composed in classical measures, without an undeviating respect for the accurate vowel-quantities?

¹² This illustration of Latin and Greek equivalence is not a happy one, since *coena* is a spelling for *cena*, and has nothing in "common" with the Greek *κοινός*.

the unique character of the correctness becomes rather blurred and hazy. First of all, what is the real distinction between a long vowel and a short one? Is it a distinction of time-value or of phonic-value? Or is it at once both temporal and phonic? Let us look at the scheme of vowel sounds:

ā as *a* in *father*.

ă as *a* in *idea*.

ē as *e* in *they*.

ĕ as *e* in *net*.

ī as *i* in *machine*.

ĩ as *i* in *holiest*.

ō as *o* in *holy*.

ŏ as *o* in *obey*.

ũ as *u* in *rule*.

ŭ as *u* in *full*, and

y has the *i* sound when used as a true vowel.

This is the scheme of sounds furnished in the *Methodist Review* of twenty-five years ago. Immediately preceding the table we read: "All of the vowels have two sounds, and two only." Immediately following the table we read: "There is thus but really *one* sound to each vowel and *two lengths* of it. In *ā* the sound is prolonged; in *ă* it is clipped. No merely English scholar will be surprised at these sounds, for they are of every day use in pronouncing our native tongue; the peculiarity consists in *limiting* these letters to these sounds." When the writer speaks of the "two sounds" of the vowels he is apparently referring to *quantity*. When he declares they have only one sound, he apparently refers to *quality*. Each vowel has therefore a single sound or quality, which when prolonged is called long, and when shortened or "clipped" is called short. This is intelligible, and is fairly well illustrated in *father* and *idea*, *machine* and *holiest*, *holy* and *obey*. But is the quality or sound of *e* in *they* quite the same as that of the *e* in *net*? In English, would not *they* illustrate the close sound of *a*, and not the open sound of *e*? The "Century Dictionary" bluntly gives *they* the sound of *a* in *dale*, *mane*. Now the *e* in "net" would be represented by its sound in *dell*, *men*. But *dale* and *dell*, *mane* and *men* cannot be described as having the same quality of vocalic sound. The difference between long and short vowels in English is one of quality, not of prolongation; in Latin, is it prolongation, or quality, or both together? The table will not help us out by the illustration it gives, coupled with the warning that every vowel has but one sound. Similarly, the sound of *u* in *rule* is of a different quality from that in *full*.

From among the writer's consonantal and diphthongal table of equivalences we shall select only two—"the digraph *qu* has the sound of *k* in king," and *eu* is to be pronounced as *eh-oo*, "two sounds, but uttered very nearly at once."

Taking next for inspection a writer of eight years later than the

above,¹³ we find that we must part company with the writer in the *Methodist Review*; for now the short sound of *e* in Latin is illustrated by the word *they*: “ē as *e* in *they*, ĕ the same sound shortened.” The digraph *qu* is now no longer like *k* in *king*, but like *qu* in *quite*. The teacher is warned also in a footnote that he must emphasize the distinction in sound between the long *i* and the short *i* in Latin as one of quantity and not of quality, “since ī and ĭ in English have quite different sounds.” But when next we turn to another textbook, the “New Gradatim,” edited by William C. Collar, we find that in Latin the long *i*=*i* in *machine*, and the short *i*=*i* in “*pin*.” This book, by the way, gives the Latin ō as *o* in “*holy*” and the Latin ō as *o* in “*wholly*” (but with a warning footnote: “That is, as the word is commonly pronounced; the sound heard in *holy* shortened”—from which we may possibly gather that “*wholly*” is pronounced in New England as “*hully*”—or “*hawly*”?).

Harkness’ “Complete Latin Grammar” (1898), however, gives long and short *i* as *i* in *pique* and *pick*, respectively; long and short *o* as *o* in *holy* and *forty*, respectively; and the sound of vocalic *y* as “intermediate in sound between the Latin *i* and *u*, similar to the French *u* and the German *ü*.” The writer first quoted gives it flatly as the same sound as Latin *i*. Harkness remarks: “Latin vowels marked with the macron (—) are long in quantity, *i. e.*, in the duration of the sound; those not marked are short in quantity. . . . The short vowels occupy only one-half as much time in utterance as the long vowels, but they can be only imperfectly represented by English equivalents. They have, however, nearly the same sound as the corresponding long vowels, but, with the exception of *a*, they are somewhat more open.”

It is clear that the acquisition of the vowel sounds is not an easy matter in the Roman pronunciation. Neither are the diphthongs quite easy, if we wish to be absolutely correct; for while each of the component vowels is to retain its own sound, both sounds are to be very rapidly pronounced, so as almost to coalesce. Thus: *ae* and *ai* as the English pronounce *I*; *au* as *ow* in *now*; *oe* and *oi* as *oi* in *boil*; *ui* as the pronoun *we*; *ei* as *ei* in *veil*; *eu* as *eh-oo*, two sounds, yet uttered very nearly at once.

Allen & Greenough’s “New Latin Grammar” (1904) gives *eu*=*eh’oo*, *ui* as *oo’ee*, and *au* like *ow* in *now*, and *ai* as *ay*. The Exeter conference supported the pronunciation of *ae* as in the Greek *ai* (nearly) and *au* as in *flauto* (Italian). Meanwhile, Harkness and Collar give *eu* not as *eh-oo* or *eh’oo*, but as *eu* in “*feud*.” Harkness

¹³ “Inductive Latin Primer,” by William R. Harper, Ph. D., president of Chicago University, and Isaac B. Burgess, A. M., Boston Latin School. New York, American Book Company, 1891.

remarks: "In pronouncing *ae*, endeavor to unite the sounds of the Latin *a* and *e*, and in pronouncing *eu*, unite the sounds of *e* and *u*; but some scholars pronounce *ae* like *ea* in *pear*."

Devine si tu peux, et choisis si tu l'oses!

The consonants also are not without some slight difficulty. Thus some authorities simply will have the *r* as in English, while others will have it "trilled" (Harkness), or "probably slightly trilled with the tip of the tongue" (Bennett's "Latin Grammar," 1895). With respect to *m*: "Before a word beginning with a vowel, or with *h*, a final vowel, or a final *m* with a preceding vowel, seems to have been partially suppressed in the ordinary speech of the Romans, as well as in poetry. It was rapidly and indistinctly uttered, and thus it readily blended with the following vowel" (Harkness). The combinations *bs* and *bt* are to be pronounced *ps* and *pt*; the "parasitic *u*" in *qu*, and *u* "generally in *gu* and *su* before a vowel, has the sound of *w*: *quī* (kwe); *lin-gua* (lingua); *sua-sit* (swa-sit)" (Harkness). Bennett is more precise: "When *ngu* precedes a vowel, *gu* has the sound of *gw*, *anguis*, *languidus*;" "in compounds and derivatives of *suadeo*, *suavis*, *suesco*, *su* is equal to *sw*." Bennett further warns us that in the case of double letters, *ll*, *mm*, *tt*, both should be distinctly articulated; that *n*, when followed by a palatal mute, should be pronounced as *ng* in *sing* (the so-called *n adulterinum*), as *anceps*, pronounced *angceps*. The combinations *ph*, *th*, *ch*, "are properly like *p*, *t*, *k*, followed by *h* (which may, for convenience, be neglected); but *ph* probably became like (or nearly like) *f* soon after the classical period, and may be so pronounced to distinguish it from *p*." This might be illustrated by the English *hot-house* (for *th*), *block-head* (for *ch*), *uphold* (for *ph*). But perhaps the difference between these combinations and the sound of *p*, *t*, *k* is too slight for emphasis in a scheme of correct Latin pronunciation. They may be disregarded. Harkness, indeed, insinuates the propriety of some little carefulness: "In the aspirated forms of the mutes, *ch*, *ph* and *th*, *h* is in general nearly or quite silent, though sometimes heard, especially in Greek words."

In pronunciation, the question of syllabic division is not without its importance; but here the manuals will not help us towards unity or consistency of pronunciation. "In dividing words into syllables, as many consonants are united with a following vowel or diphthong as can be pronounced with it, except when such a division would obscure the composition of a compound word" ("Inductive Latin Primer"); this states the usual view pretty well. Harkness remarks that: "By some grammarians any combination of consonants which can begin either a Latin or a Greek word is always joined to the

following vowel, as *o-mnis*, *i-pse*. Others, on the contrary, think that the Romans pronounced with each vowel as many of the following consonants as could be readily combined with it, a view which is favored by the fact that a syllable with a short vowel becomes long, if that vowel is followed by two consonants, except a mute and a liquid—as one does not see how the consonants can make the syllable long, unless one of them belongs to it.” And concerning the rule requiring that compound words be separated into their components, he remarks: “But it is a question whether this traditional rule represents the actual pronunciation of the Romans, as it seems probable that compounds were pronounced like simple words.”

Bennett, in his “The Teaching of Latin,” etc. (p. 75), finds in this question a point of difficulty in teaching the Roman pronunciation: “Recent researches have shown that our traditional rules for syllable division, though they rest upon the express testimony of the Latin grammarians, were purely mechanical directions, and did not indicate the actual pronunciation. The actual division, moreover, must have been quite different from that which prevails in English under corresponding conditions.”

To the difficulties in defining and acquiring the exact vowel, diphthong and consonant sounds, and in separating the syllables, must be added the greatest difficulty of all—the determination and memorizing of the quantities of the vowels. It is not easy to acquire the rules for determining the quantities of vowels; and outside of the cases where the rules apply, there are thousands of vowels whose quantity can be learned and retained only by memory. Enormous as this labor is, to it must be added the difficulty surrounding the “hidden” quantities of vowels; for while a syllable containing a long vowel is long, a long syllable may nevertheless contain a short vowel. The learner cannot assume that a vowel before two consonants is long in quantity; it may be short, although the syllable in which it occurs is long. The length of the vowel sound—appallingly difficult as it is to acquire in practice, by the application both of many rules and much memorizing—is nevertheless of capital importance in the Roman pronunciation. The English Education Board, as we have seen, recognizes that it is such, and while allowing some deviations from the scheme of the “restored” pronunciation, will permit no deviation in the matter of quantity. That point is a cardinal one.

Our hasty glance over the field of the Roman pronunciation has not been a reassuring one. What shall be the final judgment on its availability in our schools? It is curious to note that while in England the movement for its universal adoption is a vigorous one, the lessons taught by our American experience—an experience covering a much wider educational ground as well as a longer space of time—

are all against that method of pronunciation. We have already quoted Professor Bennett's experiences respecting the professors and pupils who have so long struggled to acquire it. He is a disillusioned man; for—to quote his own words—"fifteen years ago my zeal for the Roman pronunciation was unbounded. For years I have been a conscientious student of the historical and linguistic evidence bearing upon the subject. For years I cherished the hope that with time and better teaching a decided improvement in the results yielded by the Roman pronunciation would manifest itself. But I am now convinced that no such advance has been apparent, and that it will not, cannot, ought not to be" (p. 79). In another place he wishes to "declare frankly" his "conviction that the introduction of the Roman pronunciation was a fundamental blunder, and that its retention is likewise a serious mistake" (p. 73). He declares that the Roman method is "extremely difficult"—so difficult, indeed, that "anything like an accurate pronunciation of Latin under the Roman system is practically impossible except by the sacrifice of an amount of time out of all proportion to the importance of the end to be attained;" that "those who urge its retention on the ground of its ease certainly are inexcusably blind to the facts;" that twenty years of experience of it has shown it to result in a "miserable failure;" that "it brings no compensating advantages," but does bring "certain distinct disadvantages," because of the added difficulty it puts in the way of the young beginner who is already sufficiently perplexed by the mere accident of Latin, because of the "chaos it has wrought in our current pronunciation of classical proper names, Latin quotations, proverbs, technical terms, legal phrases, titles of classical works, etc.," and because the pronunciation seems awkward and affected and is in reality unintelligible to many. "The result is a condition of affairs that is keenly felt by many classes of society—by none perhaps more than by the teachers of Latin, who, while protesting against the present anarchy, find themselves at a loss to effect any radical improvement." He therefore believes that "the retention of our present unmethodical 'method' of pronouncing Latin has proved itself a serious mistake."

This arraignment of the Roman, or Augustan, or "Restored" pronunciation is severe, but apparently well merited. The only virtue of that method is its "correctness;" and that correctness is not easy to explain or to attain. It is correct, also, only for the Augustan period; and the Latin of Plautus and Terence, antedating that period by more than a century, and that of Juvenal and Martial following it, must be read in the "Augustan" style of pronunciation. They must, of course, be read in some style; and that attributed to the Augustan or Golden Age is as good as any other, to be sure; but the

argument of correctness loses some of its force from the fact. When we remember that the "purest" pronunciation of English is that of cultivated Irishmen; that the English of the Elizabethan Age was different from that of the English "Augustan" or "classical" age, and that this was different from that of the Victorian Age, we may not be tempted to put too great stress on the argument of correctness, but shall be inclined to lend a readier ear to the argument of convenience and of practicability.

And the necessity of pronouncing by quantity makes the Roman method impracticable and extremely inconvenient. How any instructor in Latin can take up, day after day, the new text-books with their every page scored and disfigured with the macron drawn over the long vowels, with archaic spellings of words disturbing that sense of English analogy and etymology¹⁴ which the study of Latin is supposed to cultivate and illustrate—how the instructor can do this without feeling an uneasy apprehension lest the study of Latin, always difficult, should by the Roman method be made impossible, passes comprehension. The invasion of that method in America admirably synchronizes with the increasing decay of scholastic Latin. The pupils must be thoroughly discouraged with their task quite early in their course, if we may trust the complaints of college professors; for the material coming up from the preparatory schools, with their five hours a week of Latin for four years, is found to be deficient in everything—in the knowledge of syntax, of vocabulary, and even of the declensions and conjugations.

Will such a fate overtake the Roman pronunciation in England? It may happen thus; and the cycle may ultimately be completed with the restoration of the English method of pronunciation both there and in our own land. Or it may happen that, despite the efforts of the Education Board, the bulk of the English schools will refuse to accept the reform. The great public schools there are hard to move, it seems, "and the preparatory schools are consequently at present bound to the English method." "Meanwhile the names of Dr. Rendall, of Charterhouse; Dr. James, of Rugby, and Dr. Gow, of Westminster, who all spoke at the headmasters' conference in opposition to reform, deserved to be weighed rather than counted, and their attitude may give reason to think that the future of the new pronunciation is less rose-colored than it is usually painted."¹⁵ Like previous unsuccessful attempts at "reform" made in England and in Germany, this latest effort may fail. If it should fail, it will hardly leave things in their present anarchic state, however, for some meeting ground for continental and for English scholars must be devised. What shall it be?

¹⁴ *E. g.*, *Juppiter* for Jupiter, *epistula* (whence Eng. *epistolary*!), etc.

¹⁵ *The Month* (London), September, 1907, p. 293.

II. MODERN SYSTEMS OF PRONUNCIATION.

I. First of all, there is the "English" system, a return to which is frankly advocated by Professor Bennett. It has the advantage of lessening the initial difficulties presented to the student of Latin. The consonants offer no difficulty, since, by the unconscious operation of the instinct of analogy, he would pronounce them as he does in English under similar circumstances. The vowel sounds would vary somewhat from a clear standard, just as they do in English; but this is a localism inevitable even in English. There is the historic fact, too, that the study of the classics has been a traditional success in England, under that English method of pronunciation which, long used in America, has given place completely to the Roman method, with results which no educationist can applaud.

The disadvantages of the English method of pronunciation are nevertheless many. It is, as Gladstone said, a "solitary" and a "barbarous" method. Its insularity is geographically and symbolically evident. It is also harsh and unpleasant. It is, for many words, ambiguous (as the *Methodist Review* pointed out). The highest authorities in English educational circles reject it, and the English Educational Board confirms the rejection. We need not linger further, therefore, in its consideration.

II. The "Traditional" or "Old English" method is the one which, until recently, obtained in Catholic colleges in English-speaking countries. It was next in order of simplicity and ease to the English system, inasmuch as (with the exception of *u*) it pronounced the vowels in Latin as the continental languages mostly do, while retaining the consonantal values of English. It has the advantage of being intelligible to continental speakers of Latin, who can easily recognize the words uttered because of their vowel sounds, and can make allowance for the English consonantal values. It has the disadvantage of occasional ambiguity, from giving *s*, *c* and *sc* the single sound of *s*—*e. g., sis, cis, scis; servus, cervus; coena, scena, Sena; scitus, situs, citus*, and so on. This traditional English system has, moreover, the disadvantage of a waning vogue. In England, for instance, the Italian pronunciation is said to be the most common amongst Catholics. In America, too, it is superseding the earlier system, while many Catholic educational institutions under German auspices are naturally accustomed to the German pronunciation of the consonants.

III. The French method is debarred by its fatal nasalisms and its peculiar sound of *u*. A French writer remarks that "la prononciation du latin en France est, de tous les pays, celle qui laisse le plus à désirer."¹⁶

¹⁶ "Méthode Complète du Chant Grégorien (Suñol)," Tournay, 1907, p. 63.

Catholic France is striving to replace the French pronunciation of Latin by the Italian system. It is not an easy task. But the French Benedictine monasteries have long since accomplished it; some distinguished universities have adopted the Italian system, and the dioceses of Soissons and Verdun have introduced it. When the International Congress of Plain Chant was held at Strassburg in the summer of 1905, the Bishop of Verdun wrote to its president, Dom Pothier, suggesting that the congress put itself on record for the universal adoption of the Italian method. In Montreal, Canada, the Archbishop devoted a pastoral letter to this one theme, with an elaborate scheme illustrating the Italian sounds in French letters, in which he strongly advocates the adoption of the Italian method.¹⁷

IV. With respect to the German method of pronouncing Latin, it may be pointed out that, as in England and in America, the effort has been made to replace it in Germany by the "Roman" or "Augustan" method. The effort has not, indeed, proved a success; but it may be revived by the recent successful agitation in English philological and educational circles, and may finally succeed. But even apart from this possibility, the German offers no compensating advantages over the "Old English" system. It is true that the universities in Germany have become the Meccas of students from many other countries, and especially from America; but in this respect it has not quite the peculiar influence exerted by the various "colleges" maintained by the Catholic world in Rome. From every part of the world there flows an unintermittent stream of pupils to that Christian metropolis—pupils who remain there for many years, obtain accurate notions of Italian pronunciation, and have much practice in it, and frequently return to their native shores to occupy chairs in their diocesan colleges and seminaries. This process is increasing as the years go by; and slowly, perhaps, but surely, the whole Catholic world is becoming more and more leavened with the Italian pronunciation of Latin. But again, even if the propaganda of German and Italian pronunciations of Latin were nearly equal

¹⁷ Cf. *La Semaine Religieuse*, Montreal, 18. Dec., 1905. Amongst other things, the Archbishop says: "Unity in pronunciation is desirable above everything. In His providential designs, God wished the successors of St. Peter to make the language of the triumphant Romans the idiom par excellence of the Holy Catholic Church. Is it not important that this unique tongue be pronounced in a uniform manner? . . . The young levites in seminaries will easily master the theory and the practice of it according to the summary of the principles given in the adjoining sheet. All the priests would do well to make an effort to adopt it. It has already been introduced into some choirs and into several religious communities. It is far from presenting the difficulties one might suppose. Once it shall have been adopted universally, people will love it and will recognize its harmony and beauty." The letter is not a perfunctory recognition of the growing sentiment in favor of the Italian system of pronouncing Latin, but is a zealous and stimulating appeal for its adoption on all sides.

in influence, there remains the difficulty offered to beginners in Latin by the German sounds of certain letters. The simple vowels are like those in Italian. Of the modified vowels, however, *ö* and *ü* have no English equivalent, while *a* has a sound intermediate between *a* in *bare* and *e* in *bed*. Neither is it quite exact to say that the diphthongs *eu* and *æu* are like *oy* in *boy*. The consonantal sounds are not easy or representative of the English letters. Thus *b* and *d* are as in English, when they begin a syllable; but are as *p* and *t* when they end it. When *s* begins a word in front of *p* and *t*, it is usually sounded like *sh*; when beginning a word or syllable, and before a vowel, it is like soft *z*, but is like sharp *s* when ending a word or syllable. For *ch* we have hardly an English equivalent—sometimes it is a soft, sometimes a hard guttural.

V. There remains for consideration the Italian system. Little need be added to the accumulation of advantages which it is seen to possess when compared with the other systems which we have examined. Unlike the "Old English" system, it is not ambiguous; it discriminates between *cervus* and *servus*; *scis*, *cis*, *sis*; *scitus*, *citus*, *situs*; *scena*, *coena*, *Sena*, etc. It is a singularly phonetic language—it pronounces as it writes, and writes as it pronounces. Despite the occasional differences of opinion expressed concerning its pronunciation of *mihi* (mee-hee, mee-kee), *excelsis* (ex-chel-sis, egg-shell-sis, ek-shel-sis), it is not a difficult language to pronounce. The exceptions simply prove the rule; and the humor expended over these exceptions by those who speak English (with its countless illustrations of puristic controversy over na-ture and na-cher, as-sioom and as-soom, and the infinite gradations of local variants of the vowels) is an almost tragic example of the parable of the glass house. Rome gathers into its officialdom men from all parts of Italy, and from all parts of the world. That Roman pronunciation of Italian is not absolutely unique in the case of certain few words is not to be wondered at. Listen to the pronunciations of English you hear in London (from the cockney driver to the parliamentary whip), or of French you hear in Paris (from Chaucerian Stratford-atte-Bowe to the pure Touraine speech), and you will marvel at the comparatively unique pronunciations of Italian in Rome—Italian not alone of the Italians, but Italian of all the peoples of earth.

In the world of learning the seeds of the Italian pronunciation of Latin are being annually scattered throughout the length and breadth of Christendom by the ecclesiastical graduates of the Roman colleges. A similar process is going on in the world of art. Painters, sculptors, singers also flock to Italy to study the arts on their native heath. Of these, singers the world over are constantly using the Italian pronunciation in concerts and in church services. Vast audi-

ences and congregations are thus becoming more and more familiarized with that pronunciation. And there is another factor in the spread of Italian which deserves some amount of consideration—the vast exodus, namely, of the children of Italy to all manner of foreign shores. The process of diffusion of that pronunciation goes on thus rather in a geometrical than in a merely arithmetical progression.

While all this formal and informal instruction is going on, there is one factor that should not be lost sight of. The reform movement in church music has produced many manuals of the Gregorian chant. These manuals appear to agree wondrously in insisting on the Italian pronunciation of Latin as a necessity for the correct interpretation of the spirit and execution of the traditional melodies of the chant. No nationalism, no insularity of pronunciation asserts itself here. In English we have the "Grammar of Plain Song," by the Benedictines of Stanbrook Abbey, England, devoting four closely printed pages to an exposition of the Italian pronunciation of Latin; the "Manual of Plain Chant," by the Rev. Sisbert Burkard, devoting two pages thereto; the "New School of Gregorian Chant," translated from the German of the Rev. Dom Johnner, O. S. B., giving also two pages to that method. Thus England and Germany give important suffrages to that pronunciation. As for the French, this Italian method is advocated strongly in the translation into French of Dom Suñol's work on the chant (1907), the translator remarking that the importance of the pronunciation of the liturgical text in Gregorian chant is such that any defect in it is immediately hurtful to the integrity and the splendor of the chant itself (p. 63).

It looks like a sufficiently strong current, this, setting Romeward in pronunciation. Shall we help the movement, or, vainly trying to stem it, cause it to move sluggishly? Doubtless there are some who dislike the Italian consonantal sounds of *c* and *gn*. It is a small matter on which to base opposition; and it must meet the curious advocacy of Milton, "the most eminent classical scholar of his day," whose letter to Mr. Hartlib on education contained this precious morsel of advice for the teaching of Latin to the young folk of the school: "Their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as possible to the Italian, especially in vowels. For we Englishmen, being far northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air wide enough to grace a Southern tongue; but are observed by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward; so that to smatter Latin with an English mouth is as ill a hearing as Law French."

The initiative in this movement for a standard pronunciation of Latin in our high schools and academies and colleges and seminaries

can best be taken by the Catholic Educational Association. In its meeting the subject could be dealt with satisfactorily, and the conclusion arrived at would doubtless find hearty endorsement on all sides.

H. T. HENRY.

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A SCOTCH APOSTLE.

WHEN Rinuccini, who afterwards, as Papal Nuncio, played so prominent a part in Irish history during the stirring epoch of the Catholic Confederation, was Prince Archbishop of Fermo, he heard that in the Capuchin convent of Monte Giorgio in his diocese lived a foreign religious who had the reputation of being a man of prayer, of profound learning and unbounded generosity, whose apostolic ministry had been signalized by striking success. This was the guardian, Father Archangel Leslie, a member of a noble Scotch family who, far away from his native heath, had embraced the austere life of a mendicant friar, hiding his identity and rank as Count George Leslie under the humble habit of a Franciscan. How he came to put off the trappings of pride for the garb of humility, to leave country, home and kindred to become a simple religious in a foreign land, he related to the Archbishop, who became his first biographer.¹ It was in a sanctuary of Our Lady,

¹ "Il Capuccino Scozzese," Firenze, 1645. At chapter xviii., p. 228, Mgr. Rinuccini says: "What researches have I not made! I have consulted the records of the order, the books of the Roman Curia, letters received from England; I have questioned a crowd of Scotchmen who came into Italy; I have sought with extreme care all the documents that could give me any information."

There is also a Life by Fray Basilio de Teruel, published in Madrid in 1659; one by Père Francois Beccault, printed in Paris in 1664; another in Portuguese by Fray Cristobal Almeida, an Augustinian, printed in Lisbon in 1667; one in Spanish by Fray Francisco de Ajofrin, archivist of the Capuchin province of the two Castilles, published at Madrid in 1737, and an elaborate one in French by Père Richard, a Capuchin, published by Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie, of Tournai. Mr. R. B. Cunningham Graham has written a biographical sketch, which can only be described as a burlesque biography ("Father Archangel of Scotland and Other Essays by G. and R. B. Cunningham Graham." London, Adam and Charles Black, 1896.) It is singular that neither the "Encyclopedia Britannica" nor "Chambers' Encyclopedia" make mention of this distinguished member of the Leslie family, although others less worthy or noteworthy, if more notorious, are chronicled in their pages. "Chambers' Dictionary of Biography" dismisses him contemptuously in a few lines, throwing discredit upon Rinuccini's biography, the only one it mentions.

an oratory containing an antique image of the Mother of God, situate at the mouth of the river Lete, which flows through the territory of Fermo; they met. Formerly served by monks, who abandoned it, and taken possession of by the chapter of the metropolitan church, it became, in Rinuccini's time, a place of pilgrimage to the inhabitants of the surrounding country, the March of Ancona, the Alps, Tuscany and Calabria. When all Italy was visited with a plague, during the darkness of night, globes of fire and miraculous light were seen over the little chapel. The fishermen who were casting their nets in the deep sea, the gamekeepers who were keeping watch on the mountains were the first witnesses of these prodigies, soon noised abroad among the wondering population. As soon as he made himself certain of the reality of this event, the Archbishop repaired processionally with all his clergy to this sanctuary, to which, he says, "Mary seemed to invite us to come to implore and receive her benefits."

Thither, from time to time, went Father Archangel Leslie to pay homage to the Madonna del Lete. As he had to pass through Fermo, he often met the Archbishop, and a close friendship was the result. "I would have considered myself culpable in the eyes of God," writes Rinuccini, "in keeping hidden under a bushel the light of this holy religious' ardent charity. I therefore employed him in preaching the Gospel in my vast diocese, in which he acquitted himself to the great profit of souls; I took him into my counsel, upon which I have always congratulated myself; I got him to preside at ecclesiastical conferences, in which he distinguished himself by his prudence, wisdom and profound theological learning; I gave him all my confidence, to which he ever responded by fruits of extraordinary diligence."

When obedience summoned the Capuchin from the Convent of Monte Giorgio to that of Ripa, the Archbishop lamented the loss of such a saintly and prudent counsellor. One evening, when he was spending some days in his edifying company along with Father Pica, rector of the Oratorians, as they were seated at the foot of a rustic Calvary in that enchanting solitude, listening to the birds singing and the soft music of the many-sounding sea, admiring the beauties of nature, their thoughts being wafted from nature up to nature's God, he claimed from Father Archangel fulfillment of a previous promise and heard for the first time from the friar's lips the moving story of his life. "When he had ceased speaking," says Rinuccini, "Father Pica and I were so absorbed in admiration of what we had just heard that we resumed our promenade along the garden walks without uttering a single word. At last, having recovered myself, I drew Father Pica aside and said to him: 'As

you have every facility of seeing each other often, try and get Father Archangel to talk to you again about the incidents of his life and take notes, which you will please send to me; for I intend some day writing this history for the edification of the faithful.' ”

The story of the Capuchin friar's life, tinged somewhat with the color of romance, is interestingly illustrative of the country which gave him birth, of the epoch in which he lived and of the order to which he belonged. In the world he was the bearer of a name which figures rather prominently in the history of Scotland. The Leslies, of remote Hungarian descent, settled in Scotland in the twelfth (1171-1199) century. The manor and domain of Monymusk, near Aberdeen, were first conferred by Malcom III. upon a Hungarian knight, Bartholf, one of those who accompanied Edgar and his daughter Margaret—known to history and hagiography as Saint Margaret—in their flight to Scotland after the Norman Conquest.² He was the founder of the illustrious house of the Counts Leslie, which gave to Scotland a large number of distinguished personages.³ George

² La sua gente veniva d'Ungheria con un Bartholomeo, dei piu illustri che nel secolo undecimo accompagnarono S. Margherita, prima nel suo ritorno in Inghilterra, poi nella fuga in Iscozia (“Storia della miss. dei Cappuccini,” II., p. 104).

³ They took their surname from Lesslyn, or Leslie, a wild pastoral parish in Aberdeenshire. The family was ennobled in 1457, when George Leslie, of Rothes, was made Earl of Rothes and Lord Leslie. The fourth earl was father of Norman Leslie, who stained his name by the murder of Cardinal Beaton. John Leslie, the sixth earl, who died in 1641, was one of the most prominent leaders of the Covenanters. His son became Lord Chancellor of Scotland (1667), and was created Duke of Rothes, Marquis of Ballinbreich, Earl of Leslie, etc. These honors became extinct upon his death, when the earldom passed to his eldest daughter. Before the family left Aberdeenshire it had thrown off branches, some of which still exist—Earls of Leven, Lords Lindores, Lords Newark and Counts Leslie. Walter Leslie, a younger scion of the house of Balquhain, distinguished himself in the Austrian army, and was created Count of the Empire (1637). Dying without issue in 1667, he was succeeded by his nephew James, a field marshal in the Austrian service, who died in 1694. This title became extinct in 1844. One of the most remarkable personalities the family produced was John Leslie (1527-1596), Bishop of Ross, a Scottish historian and statesman, who signalized himself as a champion of Catholicism at the Reformation, taking part in a famous controversial discussion in Edinburgh in 1561, when Knox was one of his antagonists. He had a very checkered career. He was one of the commissioners sent to France to bring over the ill-fated Mary Stuart to be queen, and became her most staunch and steadfast supporter and defender. He was Abbot of Lindores, and in 1565 was made Bishop of Ross. It was he that projected a marriage between Mary Stuart and the Duke of Norfolk, which was frustrated by the execution of that nobleman. For this he was given in charge to the Protestant Bishop of Ely, and afterwards imprisoned in the Tower, where he wrote his “History of Scotland” and, to afford spiritual aid to Mary, his “Pla Consolationes.” Liberated and banished in 1573, he went to Rome and France, and, after twice suffering imprisonment, was made Bishop of Coutances, in Normandy, with license to hold the Bishopric of Ross till he could obtain peaceable possession of his former

Leslie, son of James Count Leslie and Jean Sylvia Wood, his Countess, was born in 1574 in the ancestral home of the family, which, like most of the Scotch titled families, was Calvinist to the core. His father, who died when his son was still very young, stipulated in his will that the heir to his title and estate, as soon as he was old enough to begin the study of what in old-fashioned academic phrase used to be called *belles-lettres*, should be sent to Paris to pursue his course. If he could have foreseen to what this provision would lead he would have promptly canceled it. His widow, a bigoted Calvinist, who brought him up in the severe tenets of that gloomy creed, and who by a second marriage became Baroness Forrey, in due course sent him to Paris in company with a tutor and with a solemn warning to beware of the Papists and to preserve his Protestantism intact!

Man proposes, but God disposes. One "who ordereth all things sweetly" had so ordered or directed the course of events that young Leslie, who endeared himself to his teachers and companions by his gentleness, affability and rare modesty and astonished every one by his marvelous progress in knowledge, formed a close friendship with two brothers, fellow-students, who became instruments in the hands of Providence to detach him from the most repulsive and Puritanical form of Protestantism and lead him into the one true fold.⁴ When he refused to accompany his tutor to the Calvinist prayer meetings at Charenton, near Paris, to which a decree of Henri IV. had relegated them, and the poor man learned that his pupil had made his abjuration and become a Catholic, he used every argument he could think of to shake his resolution, but the young Scotch convert stood firm—although in lurid language the distracted dominie portrayed the horror with which his family would regard his perversion from Protestantism, his mother's grief and despair, how friends and kindred and the whole Scotch nobility would shun him as one plague stricken and how he could never more make his appearance again in his own house or in his native land after sully-ing the family escutcheon with such an indelible stain! When the Baroness heard the news her wrath rose to such a pitch that she wrote to him declaring that she would never more recognize him as her child, would deprive him of his property, efface his name from the ancestral roll and abandon him to his fate if he did not at once

see. He died in 1596, in a monastery at Gurtenberg, near Brussels, to which he had retired. Besides Father Archangel, the Capuchin, there were three other Leslies priests—Alexander Leslie (1694-1758), a Jesuit, distinguished as an Orientalist and as prefect of studies in the Scots College and English College, Rome; William Leslie, rector of the Scots College, Douay, and Father John Leslie.

⁴ Despite numerous researches, the French biographer was unable to trace the family name of the young men who brought about his conversion.

renounce Papist abominations and return to the religion of Calvin, with a contrary assurance of the most seductive promises if he obeyed her and corresponded with her wishes. In the course of his reply, having reminded her of the words of Christ, "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me" (Matthew x., 37), and of the Apostle's response to the Jewish elders, "Better to obey God than man" (Acts v., 29), said: "I only knew the Catholic religion by the false portrayals and black calumnies which the ministers of the pretended reformed religion disseminate against it. To deceive simple hearts and make dupes, they artfully disfigure what is most reasonable, holiest and worthiest of veneration in that religion. So nothing has more surprised me than the exposition of Catholic doctrine such as I have heard it from the mouths of those who profess it; so different have I found it from what I have always been told. Believe me, good and loving mother, I have no interest in deceiving you; it is only after having prayed much, studied long, attentively observed the conduct of the most honorable and best educated men among the Catholics, only after the Lord had made known to me the truth in a manner so clear, so evident that it would have been pride and rebellion on my part to resist, that I determined to embrace that holy religion which, a century ago, was that of our ancestors. Ah! I haven't the least doubt, my good mother, that one day the Lord will open your eyes also; like me, you will see the resplendent light of the Catholic faith and embrace it with all your heart, as I have embraced it. It is my most earnest wish, and I declare before God who sees me, who sees the sincerity of my heart, to obtain for you that grace, my good mother, I would willingly endure the most terrible torments and the most cruel death." On receipt of this letter, which destroyed all her hopes, her anger exceeded all bounds. She broke off all correspondence with him, all relations and ordered his tutor to return immediately and leave him to himself. Cut off and cast adrift in Paris, having, as a convert to Catholicity, forfeited any claim upon his patrimony in accordance with the penal laws then in force, after repairing to the church where he had made his abjuration and spending some time in silent prayer before the tabernacle, he told his friends of his mother's cruel decision in his regard. The father of these young men received him as he would a son, and he was treated and regarded as if he was one of the family.

After two years spent in attending lectures at the university, where he went by the name of "the Scotch saint" among his fellow-students, his benefactor sent him, along with his sons, to Rome, with the view of broadening and applying the education they had received through the medium of the supplementary education of travel. At

the conclusion of their sojourn in the Eternal City, to the great regret of his attached friends, who had learned to love him as a brother, he announced to them his resolution to remain in Rome and not return to Paris. For the second time, and when he was scarcely seventeen, he found himself alone in the world.

While his friends were visiting the different monuments, he had passed a great portion of his time with the Capuchins in their Convent of St. Bonaventure. At that time, the beginning of 1591, there was a distinguished member of that order in Rome, known in religion as Père Ange de Joyeuse, in the world as Henri de Joyeuse, Comte de Bouchage, Duc de Joyeuse, peer and marshal of France, Governor and Lieutenant General of Anjou, Touraine, Maine, Perche and Languedoc, who after the death of his virtuous wife, Catherine de la Valette, eldest sister of the Duc d'Epéron, put on the Capuchin habit, under which he lived holily for five years, dying at Rivoli, near Turin, on September 27, 1608. The young Scotch Count opened his mind to him, told him the story of his conversion and how he was disowned by his family and exiled because he would not renounce the Catholic faith he had embraced. Père Ange not only consoled him and exhorted him to perseverance, but warmly recommended him to a prelate who received him into his own palace and made him the recipient of a hospitality worthy of a prince of the Church; from which it is to be inferred that the hospitable prelate was his brother, Cardinal de Joyeuse. But it was not in a princely palace, but in a convent cell he was oftenest found. During the months he sojourned under this prelate's roof he spent all the time in spiritual exercises or in visiting Père Ange in his cell, feeling more and more drawn to the Capuchins, in whose companionship he delighted, observing every detail of their life, copying their virtues and conforming his manner of living and, as far as possible, his outward garb to theirs. He soon conceived a desire of imitating the noble example of Père Ange de Joyeuse, but underwent many interior conflicts, many wrestlings of the spirit, many temptations to discouragement before his resolve was fixed by hearing these words as it were interiorly: "Fear not, my son, enter courageously on this way of life and do not be so distrustful of thy weakness, for I am with thee to sustain it and shall never abandon thee; thou dost not act of thyself in this matter, but by My divine will. The contradictions thou hast overcome in France were much more difficult than these which are now reserved for thee. Consider, in sacrificing thy will in the inconveniences, penances and mortifications of the religious life, thou givest it to Him who is absolute master of it and to whom thou owest thy whole entire self, body and soul." And in relating this phase of his inner life and the thoughts sug-

gested by the evil one, which made his nights restless, Father Archangel says: "These words, which I distinctly heard, were to me like sweet music which stilled the tempest of my heart. I took a small crucifix which was on my table and, pressing it to my breast, threw myself on my bed, where I soon fell into a peaceful sleep."

Early next morning he sought Père Ange, and, throwing himself on his knees, kissed his feet. The humble Capuchin protested against this extraordinary manifestation and asked him for what reason he showed such excessive deference to one who, of all the sons of St. Francis, was the most unworthy of it. "Ah! father," he replied, "I appreciate all I am indebted to you for, and now I come again to ask of your charity a service for which I shall be grateful to you as, after God, the author of my salvation." Father Angelus having promised to do all he could to oblige him, he begged him to facilitate his joining the Capuchins; and, after some hesitation and having satisfied himself as to the solidity of his vocation, he presented him to the general, who raised what seemed to be an insurmountable objection, several bulls which forbade the Capuchins receiving into their houses converted Protestants, advising him to seek admission into some other order to which the Papal constitutions left freedom of action. Père Ange pointed out that these bulls only applied to those who, born of Catholic parents, returned to the Church after having denied their faith, and not to those who, born in heresy, had afterwards abjured their errors. The general, though impressed by these considerations, postponed his decision. George Leslie, meanwhile, felt prompted during prayer to appeal to the Pope, to whom he tearfully told the story of his conversion, and heard from the lips of the Holy Father the consoling words: "Very good, my child. Go at once to the father general of the Capuchins; tell him, in our name, that we admit you into his order." The general, on receiving the Papal mandate, exclaimed: "Blessed be God! I need no other evidence to know what heaven requires of me!" He embraced the new novice, to whom he gave the name of Archangel and his obedience for the Camerino Convent, where the novitiate was situated. Then ensued a contest in humility in which none was vanquished and both were victors. The general cast himself at the feet of his postulant in a spirit of supplication and thanksgiving, craving pardon for the refusal and delay and secretly, in the depths of his heart, giving thanks to God for this manifestation of the divine will through the mouth of His Vicar. The novice, begging him to rise, knelt in turn at his superior's feet and humbly asked his first paternal blessing, affectionately bestowed. This took place in 1591, when the Most Rev. Father Jerome, of Politio, was general and when George Leslie was seventeen.

His vocation was subjected to another test when, having knocked at the door of the friary at Camerino, he knelt at the guardian's feet and made known to him the object of his coming. The novice master, to try his constancy, having disclosed to him the austerities of the order, concluded by stating that he was not sufficiently enlightened or experienced to undergo such an ordeal. "No doubt," he added, "the father general has given you your obedience; but I think you are still too young and your health too delicate for me to take upon me the responsibility of your reception." But the young Scotsman pleaded so earnestly and evinced such good dispositions, that the novice master yielded to his entreaties and gave him the habit. After the lapse of six months his constancy was again put to the test when a young gentleman who had known him at Rome visited him and used many plausible arguments to induce him to return to the world, but in vain, his visitor leaving him with the impression that he had held converse with a saint. After a novitiate, during which he edified the whole community by his assiduous cultivation of the cloistral virtues, he made his profession in 1593, was raised to the priesthood in 1598 and at once began missionary work in the March of Ancona and the neighboring provinces.

Meanwhile his mother, relenting of her harshness towards him, learning where her son was and that he had become a Capuchin—a proceeding which, to her thinking, compromised the family honor—sent his stepbrother, now Baron Forrey, to Italy to induce him to return to Scotland, where his father's heritage awaited him and where his mother, now repentant of her ill treatment, would receive him with open arms if he would only put off the coarse habit he had assumed. He found him in the Convent of Urbino, where he was making great progress in virtue and sacred science under the direction of the guardian, Father Justus De Bonnefoy, nephew of Nicholas De Bonnefoy, Bishop of Chiusi and Governor of Rome during the Pontificate of Pope Julius II., a profound theologian who possessed such a perfect knowledge of the Summa of St. Thomas of Aquin that he was called "the second Angelic Doctor."

The Duchy of Urbino was then governed by Francesco Maria de la Rovere, Duke of Urbino and Count of Montefeltro, who entertained the Scotch noble and lodged him in his palace. The visit to Italy eventuated quite otherwise than the Scotch Baroness and her envoy anticipated. Instead of succeeding in leading George Leslie back to Scotland, where he was assured he would be allowed to practice his religion freely if he would only lay aside the religious habit, Francis Forrey, after frequent conferences with Father Archangel and the guardian, was led to follow his stepbrother's example and abandon Calvinism for Catholicism. The Duke, who had some

share in bringing about this happy result, determined that the event should be signalized by a public ceremonial and rejoicings. The church bells were rung, and, on the appointed day, the Baron was driven in the Duke's carriage through crowded and decorated streets to the Cathedral, where the neophyte was received by the Archbishop and his chapter and a numerous concourse of clergy, and, after the chanting of the "Veni Creator," solemnly made his abjuration of the errors of Calvin and profession of the Catholic faith. His return to the palace was a triumphal march, the day closing with a splendid *festa*, by which the Duke designed to suggest some faint idea of heaven's rejoicings over his conversion.

But these rejoicings were soon to be followed by revilings. As the life of every Christian must be conformed in some way to that of the Saviour, the lights that gleamed in the Cathedral fane at Urbino were like the light on Thabor which preceded the gloom of Calvary. As soon as his mother discovered, on his return, that he not only failed in his mission, but had himself abandoned the creed of Calvin for that of Rome, she denounced him as a traitor, exclaiming: "Miserable woman that I am! I have lived till now only to wish I was dead! I thought I had borne sons, but now I find they are vipers!"⁵ Throwing at him contemptuously an enameled chain and gold reliquary which he had received from the Duke of Urbino as a souvenir of his conversion, and which she regarded as a badge of slavery and idolatry, she drove him out of the house, bidding him share his brother's exile and never come into her presence again.⁶

While this was taking place the exiled son was making his mother's conversion the object of his daily prayers and penances, cherishing an earnest desire to go to Scotland, ready to risk his very life for the salvation of a soul so dear to him as well as for the conversion of his kindred and his fellow-countrymen. Events were gradually leading up to the fulfillment of his wishes. While he was acquiring fame as an eloquent preacher and missionary friar in Italy, momentuous events were changing the course of history in France. On May 16, 1610, Henri IV. was assassinated by Ravallac. Succeeded by his nine-year-old son, Louis XIII., Marie de Médicis was proclaimed regent by the Parliament of Paris. Eight years afterwards the young King, who had a special regard for the Capuchin Order, wishful of having a preacher of distinction, charged his ambassador at Rome to request the superiors of that order to send to France a religious of known virtue and talents. The choice of a court preacher fell upon Father Archangel Leslie, whose birth, learning, edifying life, eloquence and knowledge of the French

⁵ "Franciscan Annals," l. c. T. IV., 52.

⁶ "Storia delle missioni dei Cappuccini," II., 409.

language, which he spoke with purity and fluency, at once marked him out for the post. The Capuchins, highly esteemed throughout France and counting among them some of the highest personages in the kingdom, had then peaceful possession of their convent in the Rue Saint-Honoré, undisturbed by apprehensions of March decrees or separation laws like their successors under the revolutionary *régimes* which have sent so many French religious adrift in these latter days.

Father Archangel was not slow to gain the confidence of the youthful monarch, the Queen and the whole court. The influence of his preaching gradually made itself felt in the changed habits of life of many of the courtiers. It was wisely directed more to moving hearts than to stimulating imaginations, and eschewed lurid word-painting and scholastic subtleties.⁷

He had been filling this important function for four years when Paul V. died and was succeeded by Gregory XV., during whose short Pontificate (1621-1623) the Congregation of Propaganda was established. It owes its origin to the saintly Capuchin, Girolamo of Narni, a celebrated preacher, of whom the illustrious Cardinal Belarmine, after hearing one of his sermons, said: "I have just been listening to St. Paul."

The Congregation, rightly regarding the English and Scotch missions as among the most important under its jurisdiction, asked the minister general of the Capuchins to designate those of his brethren fittest by their talents, zeal and virtues to labor in that portion of the Lord's vineyard, then overrun and ravaged by the ravening wolves of heresy. Father Archangel was one of those selected. Gregory XV., having been told his history, directed that the brief imposing upon him this charge should be at once sent to Paris with the necessary powers. The Scotch friar recognized in this the mysterious designs of Providence in his and his family's regard, opening, as it did, a way which might lead to their conversion. Wishful of obeying without any delay the orders of his superiors, he sought some way of facilitating his entrance into England, an undertaking attended with enormous difficulties in those penal days when Catholics were so cruelly persecuted. He had the happy thought of addressing himself to Anne of Austria, who, though regretting the loss of so virtuous and wise a director, in whom she had long reposed the fullest confidence, promised to con-

⁷ Era il tempo in cui l'eloquenza sacra, non abbracciando piu tutti gli interessi della società, come nel medio evo, ma solo il dogma e la morale, vaneggiava per scolastiche e stranezze anche in Francia: il tempo del Valladier, del Besse, del Bosquier; pure Archangelo se ne tenne lontano, la sua eloquenza muoveva del cuore, e l'opera sua profitto alla corte. (Pelgnot: *Praedicatoriana*.) "Il Cappuccino Scozzese," III, 100.

sult the King and to aid him as best she could. Her woman's wit came to her aid and his. James I. was then maturing a design of uniting his son Charles to the Infanta of Spain, sister of Philip III. The English King having consented to the conditions laid down by the Spanish court,⁸ the Spanish ambassador had arrived in Paris, and it was arranged that Father Archangel should accompany him as interpreter, suitably equipped at the Queen's expense. As permitted by the Papal brief, he laid aside for the occasion his Capuchin habit, and reassuming outwardly his rank as Count Leslie, donned the costume worn by seigneurs of the Court of France in the seventeenth century.⁹ In this attire he was presented to the Spanish envoy at a dinner given by the King of France in honor of the latter. The contemplated marriage raised high hopes of England's return to the Church. So, soon after his arrival in London, he gradually despatched the friars who accompanied him, disguised as members of his suite, to the various parts of the country they were to evangelize. After discharging his duties as interpreter during the day, he passed long hours at night in prayer begging God's blessing on his missionary work. In conversation with the Scotch lairds at court about the state of religion in his native country, he learned that his mother had become a more ardent Calvinist and that his stepbrother, Francis Forrey, was living on a property he had in the Highlands. The latter, apprised by letter of his coming into the kingdom, hastened, at his request, to London, where it was agreed that Francis should return to Scotland and that Father Archangel should rejoin him there as soon as his diplomatic mission was ended. The matrimonial negotiations having fallen through, the Spanish envoy urged George Leslie to go with him to Madrid, promising him, in the name of his royal master, an honorable position at court, but he declined, alleging that affairs of the greatest importance demanded his immediate presence in Scotland. Having taken leave of James I., who bestowed on him a handsome gift in recognition of his services, he sent a messenger to his brother to announce his departure. Clad in a coarse hair shirt, as his first biographer relates, he passed the night in prayer, celebrated Mass secretly at dawn the next morning, and, full of zeal and courage, mounted horse and set out for Scotland with two faithful servants, fervent Catholics whom he had converted from Protestantism.

At this point the narrative begins to take a somewhat romantic turn. Under the assumed name of Lord Frindgal, Father Archangel, still attired as a cavalier, visited the Baroness Forrey in her manor of Monymusk on the plea of having an important message

⁸ See "Dodd's Church History of England," T. V., pp. 115, 333.

⁹ "Storia delle missioni dei Cappuccini," II., p. 408.

to deliver. He said he had come from England, after spending several years in France, where he had known her son, George Leslie, who filled the office of court preacher to Louis XIII., and had requested him to deliver to her a letter written by his own hand. This letter had a soothing effect upon the Baroness, and during his sojourn he succeeded in effacing from her mind the idea that her son had done anything unworthy of his birth and family in becoming a Capuchin, as that order was held in the highest esteem on the Continent, and the noblest in the land deemed it an honor to be received into it. He had been five days domiciled at Monymusk when his mother accidentally discovered the identity of the strange visitor, in whom she at last joyfully recognized the son whose absence she had long mourned.¹⁰ The disclosure evoked much rejoicing, not only in the manor, but in all the country round. The only one who did not share in the general joy was the Calvinist minister, who as chaplain was a salaried appendage of the household, and with whom later on, in his mother's presence and at her request, he held five controversial discussions, which afforded him the desired opportunity of paving the way to her conversion by a complete and lucid exposition of Catholic doctrine. The chaplain being silenced, confuted and confounded, she rose from her seat at the end and exclaimed: "Great God! is it possible I have so long lodged error in my house without knowing it, without even suspecting the truth?" The vanquished minister, realizing that his occupation was gone, speedily beat a retreat, leaving Father Archangel master of the situation. The Capuchin judiciously left his mother to her own reflections, did not importune her with religious controversy; but, seeing that her mind had been sufficiently enlightened to perceive error, left it to the operations of grace to pour in the larger light of faith which would enable her to see and grasp the whole truth. Her intellect, that outwork of the soul, had been captured; it remained to seize its citadel, the heart. The victory of grace was won when one day, as they were walking along a terrace overlooking the river Dee, both absorbed in thought, she broke the silence with these words, spoken with emotion, which must have sounded like sweet music in his ears: "My dear son, it has entered into the adorable designs of God that you should be the instrument of His mercy in the work of the regeneration of my soul. You are not unaware in what aversion I held the Church of Rome, with what hatred I pursued it. Who should know it better than you, since it is upon you chiefly have fallen

¹⁰ She overheard him remarking to a domestic the disappearance of a pigeon house over one of the doors, which had been removed thirty-five years before. A newcomer, after a five days' sojourn, could not know of this. It aroused her suspicions, and, on questioning him about it, he revealed himself to her in his true relationship.

heaviest the effects of that blind, implacable hatred? It was that which drove me to throw you upon the world in Paris, to strip you of your property, to repudiate you as my son. I thought I was justified when, like a cruel mother, I cursed the fruit of my womb. Now that I see the depths of my wickedness, now that divine grace has opened my eyes, so that I see clearly where before I was blind, I have no longer any hesitation in embracing that Roman faith which you teach. While my heart was steeled against you and I was trying to blot you out of my memory, you never ceased to think of me, to think of my soul, to pray and work for my salvation. I should be most ungrateful, if I resisted grace any longer. I am ready to put myself, my dearest interests, the interests of my soul, in your hands; to place myself under your guidance, thus becoming the spiritual daughter of one of whom I am now the happy mother."

The conversion of the Scotch lady, hitherto known as a bigoted Calvinist, made a great impression and came as a great surprise to many. Intent on redeeming the time because the days were evil, and impatiently desirous of seeing all those around her embrace the Catholic faith, she zealously aided in the subsequent conversion of the other members of her family and her whole household; and as conversions multiplied, she constructed a domestic chapel in one of the donjons of the manor, where the Easter of 1623 was made glad by the reception of many converts, the first fruits of the zealous coöperation of mother and son, long separated, but now united in the same faith which had been the faith of their ancestors before the dark clouds of heresy had settled over that northern land.

Not content with accomplishing the conversion of his own family, the Scotch Capuchin, in company with his stepbrother, pursued a zealous propagandism in all the towns and villages round Aberdeen, penetrating into the most remote parts of the country under pretext of hunting or fishing excursions or antiquarian researches; making their way into cabins as well as castles and gathering the faithful together into some secret place, where he preached, baptized or offered the Holy Sacrifice. These journeys were sometimes made on foot, sometimes on horseback at all hours and in all weathers and involved great fatigue and labor and constant vigilance. This apostolate resulted in drawing a large number of heretics away from Calvinism, among the converts being members of the highest families in Scotland.¹¹ Forgetful of self and thinking only of the souls he wished to save, he led a more austere life than ever, fasting rigorously. He usually stayed at some friend's house, the owner of which assembled the Catholics and such heretics as evinced dispositions

¹¹ Including Lady Herries, three of the Maxwells, Lady Lockerby and Sir Robert Gordon, of Lochinvar, whom he assisted on his deathbed.

towards conversion, and there, reassuming his Capuchin habit, he preached, catechised, heard confessions and administered the sacraments.¹² Sometimes, when warned of danger and so as not to embarrass his host, he redonned his cavalier's costume and, with a sword by his side, mounted horse and rode off to some other place, continuing his missionary work. He declared later that in Scotland he converted more heretics with the sword by his side than with the crucifix in his hand. The success of his preaching and the increasing number of conversions reaching the ears of the Calvinists, alarmed the enemy, and the Protestants denounced him and his aiders and abettors to the government. An edict of the King enjoining every Catholic priest to quit the kingdom under pain of death was proclaimed with sound of trumpet in Aberdeen, while the same penalty, with confiscation of property, was imposed on any one who harbored a priest. In order that this edict might not remain a dead letter, the Protestants bribed several officials of the palace to excite the irritation of the weak-minded monarch by giving him to understand that if the conversions increased a change of religion might bring about a change of government.

On his return to Monymusk manor, the occupants of which had been thrown into a state of alarm by the proclamation, Father Archangel decided to seek refuge in England, where the persecution was not so severe, and from thence direct the Scotch mission. When the delay fixed by the royal edict had nearly expired he employed the last days in encouraging the converts. Early on the day of his departure, after hearing their confessions and celebrating Mass for the last time on the altar erected by the piety of his mother and sisters-in-law, he gave them Communion and addressed them in a touching discourse. Mother and son having mutually blessed each other, he took the road to London, accompanied by two servants. His object was to confer with the other missionaries on the means to be adopted in view of the edict of proscription and other penal measures which threatened the complete extinction of the Scotch mission. They unanimously resolved not to yield an inch of the vantage ground they had won by their labors, but to redouble their exertions to propagate the faith over a still wider area. After some days spent in prayer and retreat, Father Archangel, like a general about to give battle, assigned to each one his sphere of operations, reserving to himself the duty of supervision and direction and hold-

¹² Many powerful houses in the north, whose attachment to the ancient faith no amount of persecution could conquer, and whose doors were always open to receive and protect the outlawed missionaries, continued to labor for the preservation of the Catholic Church in Scotland. During the reign of James I. the Catholics in Scotland were numerous and influential, and scattered over every foot of the country. ("Hist. of the Catholic Church in Scotland," by James Walsh, *passim*.)

ing himself free to go to whatever place most needed his presence, wherever the combat was most painful and perilous. He soon returned to the Scotch border to be nearest to the field of action; and under his guidance the mission, despite penal laws, continued to progress and produce such fruits, such a harvest of souls rescued from heresy,¹³ that the enraged Calvinists became more and more embittered. Encouraged by letters from Monymusk which kept him well informed of all that was taking place in Scotland as well as by the help amply provided by his mother, he daily extended the Kingdom of God and achieved new victories over the Church's enemies.

Though dangers and difficulties increased in proportion as the persecution became hotter, he knew no fear. An intrepid soldier of the Church Militant, he had that virile courage, at once natural and supernatural, of which the psalmist speaks: "Though armies in camp should stand together against me, my heart shall not fail, for Thou art with me." It was courage of that heroic type which nerved the martyrs to brave tortures and death, which sustained the Apostles in the midst of perils and persecution, as in these days it sustains their successors, the missionaries in far off heathen lands, the outposts of the Church, whose broad boundaries they are extending by their self-sacrificing labors.

One day as he was riding across a lonely part of the country he suddenly perceived at a short distance a cloud of dust raised by a large troop of men on horseback. It was an Anglican Bishop who was making a visitation of his flock. Trusting in the protection of Providence, Father Archangel saluted the prelate, who returned his greeting. To his surprise, he discerned among the heretic's followers the chaplain whom he had caused to be dismissed from his mother's house and who had gone to England and taken service in the household of a Protestant Bishop. He pretended not to see him; but the latter recognized him and told the Bishop, who made his men halt and sent off twenty-five in pursuit of the Capuchin, ordering them to bring him back dead or alive. Father Archangel at once put spurs to his horse and rode at full speed to a neighboring wood, where he found a place of concealment. His servant, not so good a horseman, was arrested. In his precipitate flight Father Archangel dropped his valise, which contained his papers and the chalice he used for the celebration of Mass, a loss which deeply afflicted him. On reaching his destination the Calvinist closely questioned his prisoner about his master, but the servant, a good Catholic and devoted to the Capuchin, played the simpleton so suc-

¹³ He is said to have converted upwards of four thousand in and around Aberdeen in the course of eight months, and to have got the whole of that part of Scotland in a fair way towards a return to the ancient faith.

cessfully that they left him alone, thinking they could get nothing out of such an idiot. On discovering the father's papers, which contained a detailed refutation of their errors, the Calvinists burned them publicly, and at their next meal filled the chalice with wine and drank to the speedy extirpation of Popery!

To purify and perfect His servants God tries them in many ways. Among the perils through which St. Paul passed in the course of his apostolate he includes "perils from false brethren." It was the next trial which Father Archangel had to endure. Some days after the incident narrated he received a letter from the general informing him that Propaganda had been told that he was not following exactly the instructions he had received; that he was allowing himself too great liberty, and was leading an entirely worldly life in the midst of his family. Although, after testing the information, the Congregation recognized that the accusations were unfounded, his superior deemed it prudent that he should proceed to Rome, present his defense and obtain from the Holy See a declaration of his innocence. "You have sufficient courage," concluded the general, "to endure the inconveniences of this journey whe it is a question of safeguarding your honor and that of the order."

Before setting out for Paris, where, in the convent in the Rue Saint-Honoré, he reassumed his Capuchin habit, he apprised his mother, whose reply revealed to him that as she was now a sharer in the same faith she was also a sharer in the same cross, that mysterious mark which distinguishes elect souls. Shortly after his departure for France the manor of Monymusk had not been lost sight of by the government agents; she was accused of harboring and abetting priests and, her property being confiscated, the family were scattered.

They were days to try men's souls, days of civil and religious strife. The hot gospellers of the Kirk were opposing a strenuous resistance to episcopacy; but while Covenanters and Episcopalians were divided and waged war upon one another, they were united in one thing, and that was hatred of Catholicism. The Presbyterians, when they became masters of the situation and swayed the religious destinies of Scotland, boasted that they would carry the triumphant banner of the Covenant even to Rome. The French ambassador said to the King that the fate of the Scottish Catholics was still more deplorable than that of the Catholics of England. The pulpits of Aberdeen were thundering with denunciations of the hated Papists. In 1640, by command of the General Assembly, all memorials of the ancient worship still surviving in Aberdeen were ordered to be destroyed, and masons were set to work by these iconoclasts to destroy images of our Lord and the Blessed Virgin in

stone or stained glass and chisel out the Holy Name wherever they found it.

When Father Archangel's family were excommunicated by the Kirk and their estate seized by the government, his mother took refuge in a hovel or humble dwelling in Aberdeen, where she tried to support herself by spinning. "Thus, my dear son," she added, "God has made me undergo the treatment I formerly inflicted upon you. I recognize therein His sovereign justice, but at the same time His fatherly mercy, wherefore my soul overflows with joy. Yes, my heart is content; for I feel that the precious treasure I possess within me is none other than the treasure of grace. Know then, my son, in leading me to recognize and embrace the true religion, you have changed my heart, you have transformed it. I have only given you the life of the body and you, in enkindling in my soul divine love, have given me spiritual life in this world and the hope of the life of glory in eternity. Let us rejoice, then, since in possessing nothing more in this world, we gain the treasures of Paradise. Pray to God, ask Him to make me entirely poor in spirit and in heart, and to finish His work in giving me the grace of self-detachment and renunciation of my own will."

Father Archangel himself relates what ensued upon the reading of this letter. "As soon as I received this touching letter," he says, "filial love, the voice of nature at first struggled in my heart with the knowledge I had of real felicity which is not found in the fleeting goods of earth. Flesh and blood revolted within me at the thought of seeing this noble woman, to whom I owed my existence, reduced to such great need; but my reason, illumined by faith, soon led me to rejoice thereat and envy her lot. I felt completely covered with confusion, considering that after so many journeys and labors, I was still the same, while my mother, immediately after her conversion, had the heroic courage to sacrifice everything without any regret. I sought, however, to reconcile what nature claimed with what reason in some sort commanded. I resolved to do everything that, humanly speaking, was possible to help my family, leaving the rest in the hands of God. I repaired to the court where, thanks to the acquaintances I had made when preaching there, I obtained without delay an interview with the Queen, to whom I told what had happened to my mother. Her Majesty, touched by this great misfortune borne with such admirable resignation, wrote with her own hand to the King of England, Charles I., asking him earnestly not only to restore my family to the possession of their property, but also to grant them permission to freely practice Catholic worship. Very glad of the result of my move, I resumed my journey and reached Marseilles, where I was to embark for Italy, when I saw in the harbor a vessel

ready to set sail for Scotland. As the most reverend father general had not fixed any date for my arrival in Rome, and as I had left England without taking leave of my mother, it seemed to me that I would be doing a thing pleasing to God and useful to my Scotch mission if I availed of this favorable opportunity of announcing to my family that the Queen of France had interposed with the King of England, who would certainly not refuse her request. I then departed for Scotland, where I stopped with a faithful and discreet Catholic friend. I had no time to lose. I dyed my hair and beard and put on the traditional costume of the Scotch Highlander. Loading a barrow with vegetables of all kinds, I pushed it before me as far as Aberdeen, where I intended to find out my mother; for I was completely ignorant of her place of retreat. At the entrance into the town the guards made some difficulty and asked me where I was going. 'I'm going to sell my vegetables,' I said. One of them looked me full in the face, saying, 'You have more the look of a Papist than of a gardener!' I began to laugh and made a jest of him and his companions. They let me pass. I then traversed the streets and alleys, hawking my wares, attentively examining every house, always hoping that I would see my mother. A good part of the day was already spent, I had hardly any more goods to sell and I was beginning to despair when at a turning in the street a door opened and a voice well known to me cried out, 'Come here, gardener!' I turned round my head and remained for some moments motionless, seeing my mother poorly clad and obliged to buy her own provisions. Despite myself, tears fell from my eyes, and it was with great difficulty I concealed my emotion. I drew nigh, however, all of a tremble and looking carefully to every side to see if I wasn't watched. While my mother was treating with me about the price of my vegetables I looked at her attentively and said in a low voice: 'Madam, this gardener doesn't sell vegetables to his mother; he offers them to her very willingly!' Surprised, she raised her eyes and uttered a cry which sounded far down the street; but quickly realizing the danger, she signed to me to go into an adjacent lane, where there was a passage leading into her house. She immediately shut the door, and I pushed on my barrow, bawling out my goods after the manner of country gardeners. Seeing that no one made his appearance, I glided furtively into the lane, and from thence into the house and found myself in my mother's arms. After the first moments of emotion, she told me in all their details the events that had reduced to the misery in which I saw her. She spoke to me long of her joys and consolations since, destitute of everything, she saw herself more conformed to the Divine Crucified One. I thanked and blessed the Lord from the bottom of my heart for having granted

my mother the precious grace of resignation to His adorable will; I was enraptured at the way she spoke. However, time was slipping away and I was going to inquire about the fate of my brothers and sisters-in-law and tell her of the hopes I grounded on the letters of the Queen of France to Charles I., when suddenly the door was violently thrown open and gave entrance to four constables. My mother recognized them and had only time to say: 'Courage, my son; we are lost!' I was first seized with dread, but recovering myself and saluting my mother, I made as if I was about leaving. One of the constables stopped me and said: 'We have come to visit your lodging, madam, and to see if you haven't concealed here some Papist priest. And you,' he added, turning to me, 'what are you doing here?' 'You see what I'm doing,' I said; 'I'm selling salad.' 'It isn't in houses,' he replied severely and brutally, 'but in the street that you should ply your business; don't you know that you are here with a rabid Papist who is very suspected? . . . You seem to me to be a spy!' And looking me from head to foot, he hesitated, like a man who did not know what decision to come to. Then he exclaimed: 'Come! I order you to clear out this very instant, and be careful; we'll keep a close eye on you.' My mother motioned to me to bend before the storm and I withdrew with a swelling heart. Realizing that it would be impossible for me to see her again without exposing her to some danger, before the King had restored her to the possession of her property and given her permission to practice the Catholic religion, I offered my sacrifice to God and the next day embarked for France."

After leaving Scotland, never more to see his native country again, fearing that his abrupt departure might be misinterpreted by the converts and produce a bad effect on them, he felt it his duty to write to a gentleman of proved zeal, Colonel Sempill, in the following strain:

"I propose to shortly publish a work, in which I shall explain my manner of dealing with heretics and the methods I employed in Scotland during the last six years (1623-1629) for the conversion of souls. I shall dedicate this work to His Holiness the Pope; such at least is the advice which most of those who, fleeing from the evils of persecution in our country, have taken refuge in France have given me. During my sojourn in Scotland I have written three other treatises—two on 'The Vocation of Ministers of the Gospel' and the third in reply to a book entitled 'Reasons for Which a Lady Became a Protestant.' These treatises have already done much good and led a large number of persons to embrace the Catholic faith; several learned persons are of opinion that they ought to be published and that I cannot dedicate them to a person worthier than

yourself, whose zeal for the conversion of souls and devoted love for the ministers of our holy religion are well known. I have only one single object in offering you the dedication of these works; it is to recognize your tender piety and charity in my regard and in regard of other missionaries who have devoted themselves to the conversion of heretics in our country. As it would be very painful to me to see these treatises remain useless, fruits of my vigils and fatigues in these perilous times, I venture to request you to continue the assistance you have been pleased to give me when I was in the mission by helping me to pay the cost of printing; for if you help me, I intend to publish them in Venice when I shall be in Italy. I am forced to go to Italy for two reasons: first, because the administration of our mission is entirely changed; second, because I have to justify myself to the Congregation of Propaganda against the calumnies affecting me addressed to it. Many Catholic gentlemen and ladies, who have fled from persecution and left our country to take refuge in this land of France, can attest the falsity of those accusations, and besides the large number of conversions which God has deigned to operate through my ministry suffices to demonstrate their falsity. Here are some of these conversions: I converted my mother, my brothers and all my family; Lord Alexander Leslie of Affort, his wife and sons; Lord Regower, an old man of eighty; Baron Kilkardi and his wife; Baron Picalpte; Baron Cluny Gordon, whose infuriated father sought to slay me; three noble families in the mountains of Badenoch; Lord Brunthil Hays, who was standard bearer when Count Errol commanded the advance guard at the battle of Glenlivet against the Earl of Argyll; finally, Lord Littlehill-Leith. On the other hand, I have also led to the true faith, at Angus, the eldest son of Viscount Oliphant and one of his nephews; the two daughters-in-law of the Baroness Monargan, who herself died eight days afterwards, fortified by the reception of the sacraments of our holy religion; in the town of Fowlis, two noble families. In Southern Scotland, Viscountess Herries, the Baroness Locharby and three gentlemen named Maxwell; Baron Lochinvar, who at the peril of my life I brought back to good sentiments and who died in my arms. In the west, a noble family, the two sons of the Earl of Abercorn and several of the people of his household; at Edinburgh, Baron Ridhall-Hamilton and another gentleman, with his wife. I stop here, but I could quote a large number of other persons; for, thanks be to God, of whom I was only the instrument, there is not a single part of the kingdom where I have not sown and caused to germinate the seed of the true faith. These few persons whom I have mentioned are perfectly well known to all Scotland and to my friends. Now, who are my accusers? Let them tell; let them

specify the conversions they have made, and one will see if there is reason to draw a comparison. But enough of such a disagreeable subject, of which it is painful to me to treat. As to the persecution in Scotland, it continues and daily increases, to the great detriment of religion and of souls. It is mournful to see the number of Catholics who, hunted out of their country, arrive in France, where Christian charity seems dead, where their misery is insulted in place of being succored. I am writing this letter without any attempt at eloquence, because I am addressing myself to the common father of all the wretched whose days I beg the Lord to multiply." The letter is subscribed, "F. Archangel Leslie, Capuchin. 30 January, 1630."¹⁴

War and pestilence were raging in Italy when Father Archangel reached it. Ferdinand II. of Austria had revived the claims of the Empire over Rome and to the acquisition of Urbino, and German bands, chiefly composed of the dregs of those soldiers of fortune who were recruited by Condottieri, little better than armed brigands, who fought for the sake of pillage, and who were mostly Lutherans, had descended upon Lombardy by the Valtetina and besieged and sacked Mantua. The affrighted populations fled to the mountains at the approach of these lawless and ruthless freebooters. To crown the calamities which these hordes brought in their train, they left behind them a terrible plague which ravaged Lombardy and the neighboring provinces. Readers of Manzoni's "Promessi Sposi" will recall the graphic picture the Italian novelist draws of the plague of Mantua when popular fury condemned to atrocious punishments the alleged propagators, designated *untori*, because it was said they anointed the walls and doors of houses with poisonous matter which had the effect of spreading the malady. The populace were so carried away by this insane idea that religious, although they devoted themselves zealously to the care of the plague-stricken, fell under suspicion and were forbidden for a time to leave their convents.

It was at this conjuncture that Father Archangel arrived in Italy in April, 1630. What he had to suffer may easily be imagined. Obligated to keep clear of the cities, the gates of which were shut against any stranger through dread of contagion, he had to follow by-roads, always on the watch, passing the nights in the mountains and desert places, exposed to a thousand dangers, particularly to outrage at the hands of an unbridled soldiery. However, thanks to the passport of the King of France, he was enabled to traverse the territory of Venice and reached Ferrara, completely exhausted and hardly able to drag his legs after him. Subject to the approval of

¹⁴ Apud Colon Leslie, "Historical Records of the Family of Leslie," T. 3, III., 420-46. Edinburgh, 1869.

his superiors, he made a vow to devote himself exclusively to the service of the plague-stricken and wrote to the general, who extolled his submission and generous zeal and assigned him to the convent at Cremona, telling him that there was no need to go to Rome, as Propaganda had recognized and proclaimed his innocence.

Cremona was like a city of the dead or a vast charnel house when he entered it. The effects of the contagion were terrible. Most of the survivors were compelled to leave the part of the city first stricken with the plague; solitude reigned wherever the Angel of Death had passed. In the quarters still inhabited every door was closed through suspicion and terror, except those houses from whence the occupants had fled. Some were condemned because the people within were suffering from the fatal malady; others were marked with a black cross, to notify to the *monatti* that there were corpses to be removed. Infected furniture or garments were flung out through the windows. Here lay the body of some unfortunate creature, suddenly death-stricken in the street, awaiting removal by the passing van on its rounds; there, bodies which had fallen off the overloaded car. Neither the sounds of labor nor of vehicle, the cries of street dealers or the steps of foot passengers were heard. The silence of death was rarely interrupted except by the rumbling of funeral cars, the whines of mendicants, the groans of the sick, the screams of people driven mad, or the vociferations of the *monatti*. At daybreak, at noon and at nightfall the tolling of the cathedral bell summoned the people to the recital of the prayers prescribed by the Bishop, the tolling being repeated by the bells of forty-three other churches and numerous convents. Then persons were seen to make their appearance at every window and pray in common; then was heard a confused murmur of words and groans. Most of those whom Father Archangel met carried in one hand a staff and sometimes a pistol to warn off any one who would approach them, and in the other scented pastilles or metal or wooden bowls containing sponges steeped in prepared vinegar, the perfume of which they inhaled from time to time.

The scourge had not spared the Capuchin convent, where almost all the friars, after zealously tending the sick, were stricken with the malady and those who nursed them were so exhausted that they were in as much need of being cared for. Father Archangel took no rest and was, by turns, confessor, cook and infirmarian, burying the dead with his own hands in the convent cemetery, so that those who had spent their lives in the service of God and their neighbor might be interred with befitting ceremony and not thrown pellmell, without religious rites, into the common grave in which other victims of the plague were flung. His zeal did not stop there. During his

free moments he traversed the streets, seeking out miseries to solace and souls to be shriven, or went to some lazaret-house to help his Capuchin brethren who had charge of it and enable them to take some needed rest. He often said he had been in the presence of death a thousand times, and did not know how or why it spared him. Speaking of the deaths of religious whom he had administered, he said: "I blush with shame that after closing the eyes of so many holy personages, I have not yet opened mine, and have not yet learned to live well."

After the cessation of the pestilence he was made guardian of Monte Giorgio, where, as already noted, he became acquainted with Rinuccini and afterwards of Ripatransone. Before going to Monte Giorgio he went to Rome. Urban VIII. not only proclaimed his innocence, but affirmed it in a formal decree.¹⁵

Persecution having become more widespread and severe in Great Britain, the Pope, at the beginning of 1634, manifested to the superiors of the Capuchin Order his wish that Father Archangel should be sent back to Scotland to direct the mission there. Mgr. Rinuccini tells how he received these welcome tidings. "Eight days after my return to Fermo," relates the Archbishop, "Father Archangel, urged by a heavenly inspiration, and remembering the promises he had made me, went to visit the chapel of Our Lady of Lete. He felt full of extraordinary consolation, as if he expected to receive in that blessed sanctuary some precious and particular grace. That very day I got into a carriage to drive towards the sea. On reaching the chapel I saw him prostrate on his knees before the image of the Madonna. His face and eyes shone with a supernatural light. As I approached him he rose and said: 'Monsignor, I knew well that this august sovereign of the sea had in reserve for me some voyage! I've just received here, a few moments ago, these letters, which I beg you to read.' At the same time opening them, I observed the seal of the most reverend father general. He wrote to him that the Sovereign Pontiff, having established a new mission for the Kingdom of England and Scotland, had nominated him companion of Father Epiphanius, likewise a Scot, and that he was to hold himself in readiness to undertake these new labors, in which he might feel assured that the divine blessing would not be wanting to him, since the benediction of the Vicar of Jesus Christ was given to him on earth." Having quoted the decree, signed by Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Camerlengo, nephew of Pope Urban VIII. and then Prefect of Propaganda, Rinuccini proceeds: "After taking note of these documents, I embraced Father Archangel and gave expression to all the gladness I felt at his happiness. 'I rejoice,' I

¹⁵ Bull Ord. VII., 331. Decree dated Rome, April 12, 163.

said to him, 'that this mission is beginning in this place, consecrated to the service of the Blessed Virgin and situated in my diocese, which will derive great glory from it.' Then, drawing the happy missionary aside and taking him by the hand, I added: 'The moment has come, father, to make known to you the designs with which God one day inspired me in this very place; I wish to confide the secret to your prudence. If the light of faith should one day beam on England, the Queen of Heaven has imparted to me the wish to be of the number of those who will labor in this great work, and recently I promised it here before her august image. Moreover, in order that this resolution should be sanctified by obedience, I communicated it to the Sovereign Pontiff, who alone can control my conduct. I tell you, in all truth, it would be the height of my happiness if I could employ to this end the humble talents which God has given me, to thus gain eternity and ennoble my blood by shedding it all for the glory of Jesus Christ. What can I wish for? What can I hope for in this miserable life? What can I do more profitable to my soul than to go to those distant countries in search of lost sheep? I sigh when I consider the woes of England and Scotland; I regard with compassion that isle, formerly called the Isle of Saints, and which a century of stupid errors has wrenched from the Church, thus rendering its seamless garment. Ah! how happily I would die if it were given to me to repiece, were it only a small part of it! Who knows if you will not be my precursor? Perhaps it is not without a dispensation of Providence you have received your order to proceed in this blessed place, where I myself conceived the design of going. Pray, keep this secret from men; but please remember it continually before God, to commend it to Him in your prayers. I implore Him who is leading you to now grant me this grace, that in embracing the best of my friends I am embracing a future companion on that beautiful mission of England and Scotland.' Astounded at first at this communication, the father soon gave vent to his holy joy, and, turning towards Mary's image, said: 'O, Mother of Divine Grace, I humbly beg you to accept and bless these holy desires, formed under your maternal and merciful protection! Ah! good Mother, may these desires be soon changed into reality for the greater glory of your Divine Son Jesus Christ!' Then, turning to me, he added: 'Monsignor, as soon as I arrive in Scotland I shall strive to rekindle in all hearts the ardent flames of charity in order that our new Catholics, praying with greater fervor, should in some way do violence to God that He may grant you the grace you so ardently desire. On your part, deign to remember me and recommend me, as well as my mission, to the prayers of your diocesans. I am going to leave you, Monsignor, but we shall meet again in this holy place at the feet of

the Madonna. In whatever place I may be, I shall always be here in spirit. I take as my guide this powerful Queen of the sea; by day and night she will be the star that will show me the rocks and make me steer clear of them.' I took leave of him, promising to go to the convent on the day of his departure. He smilingly replied that he was leaving that very day for Rome to receive his instructions. I was much surprised and at the same time full of admiration at such prompt obedience and marvelous detachment. Casting a last glance at the Madonna, he embraced me warmly and we separated."

After breaking the journey at Loreto, to venerate for the last time the Santa Casa and before the image of Our Lady to offer himself anew as a victim for the conversion particularly of Scotch heretics, he proceeded to Rome, from whence, after a brief sojourn, he went to Livorno, from which port he was to embark for Marseilles.

In a letter to the Archbishop of Fermo, written before he left Livorno, he says: "I am returning once more to those dangers in Scotland I have so often faced; is it not to be crushed by them at last? May the most holy and most adorable will of the Lord be done! The vigor of my constitution and my bodily strength are, alas! declining in proportion as my labors are becoming more numerous and more difficult! The years that are accumulating over my head seem to make my soul's ardor grow old also. Nevertheless, Monsignor, it would crown my desires if, winning again new souls for Christ, it was given to me to give up mine to my Creator in the arms of my good and loving mother; for, I confess to you, it would not be repugnant to me to see the order of nature inverted. What does it matter dying soon if, closing my eyes to the miseries of this world, I have the happiness of opening them to contemplate the beauties of the heavenly Jerusalem? However it may be, Monsignor, I have full confidence that this journey will turn out according to your wishes. We are going to those kingdoms of England and Scotland to sow therein the fertile seed of the Catholic faith in the hope that one day you may come to gather the abundant fruits. Who knows but by a secret judgment of the Providence of God, those countries, now plunged in darkness, will see it dispelled, and, like the Magi Kings, that you will be one of the first to be attracted by the rays of the dawning light? It is what I ask of God from the bottom of my heart. Have the kindness, Monsignor, to tell the Rev. Father Pica and all my friends that they ought not to fail to thank the Lord for the great grace He has granted me in recalling me to my country to labor therein anew for the salvation of my fellow-countrymen. It is to me such a great happiness that in hearing at this moment the whistling of the boatswains announcing that it is time to embark, I seem to hear a heavenly harmony. Give your

blessing, Monsignor, to the least of your servants, who bids you *au revoir*, if not in this world, at least in Paradise."

After hearing from some fellow-Scotsmen in Paris the doleful death a thousand times, and did not know how or why it spared him. news that the persecution in Scotland daily increased, that Catholics were imprisoned or banished the country and their property confiscated and that the few priests who ventured to remain were hunted like wild beasts, he had an audience of Anne of Austria, and at her pressing instance preached before the court on the vanity of human grandeur and wealth.

In the disguise of merchants traveling on business he and Father Epiphanius¹⁶ sailed from Calais in an English vessel, but were caught in a dreadful storm. The rudder was carried away, the masts pulled down and, to lighten the ship, they threw the cargo overboard. The terrified sailors talked of nothing less than making the passengers follow the cargo; they lost head and would listen to no orders from the captain, a Catholic, who, to gain time, proposed to cast lots to determine who should be the victims, if such a sacrifice became necessary. Dreading death, some one asked if the two missionaries should not take their chance, but was overruled, considering the loss it might be to the mission in England and Scotland and the account they would have to render to God if, through any fault of theirs, any evil befell the missionaries. Father Archangel energetically protested against their exemption and demanded to throw in their lot with the others, which was agreed to. Suddenly a dreadful shock was felt. A loud despairing cry was raised. The two missionaries promptly placed themselves at the prow to exhort the crew to contrition and be prepared to give them the last absolution, Father Archangel exclaiming: "Holy Virgin, star of the sea, succor us! And you who are on the point of perishing, throw yourselves with confidence into her arms!"

The vessel had parted in two! The forward portion, upon which were the missionaries and a number of English passengers, got wedged between two rocks some distance from the shore. They were miraculously saved. The stern end was carried out to sea, in which all the rest found death and a grave.

¹⁶ Roger Lindsay, son of Count Lindsay, who when he was a student in the Scots College, Louvain, became a Capuchin, and, after a long, laborious and eventful career, died in 1644, at the age of eighty-six. He was the oldest of the Scotch missionaries. Disguised as a shepherd, he wandered over the whole of Scotland, playing on a flute or some other musical instrument to gather the country folk about him and speak to them of religion. He converted many, and was denounced by the Presbyterian preachers as their greatest and most dangerous enemy, to whom no quarter should be given. See "History of the Catholic Church in Scotland," by James Walsh, p. 449.

It was near nightfall. The storm had passed, the dark clouds dispersed, and thousands of stars shone brilliantly in the clear sky. The shipwrecked, exhausted from fatigue and emotion, after fervently thanking God for their rescue, sheltered themselves under some débris of the wreck. Father Archangel, awaking after some hours' rest, suddenly perceived a large case in which he had packed the sacred vessels and other altar requisites; and, deeply touched by this new mark of God's ever watchful providence, threw himself on his knees and uttered aloud a prayer of thanksgiving. His voice awakened his companions, who, attentively reconnoitering their position, found that they were on a small island off the south coast of England. It was the Isle of Wight.

Always intent on the work to which he had devoted his life, he found an opportunity of exercising his ministry immediately after landing, and effected the conversion of two of his fellow-passengers, two English gentlemen, while they were making their way through a dense wood to the nearest village. Pursuing his route northwards and assuming the name of Selvian,¹⁷ he accidentally fell in with one of his stepbrothers. First meeting as strangers, they discovered each other's identity in the course of a conversation, from which he gleaned that his mother, shortly after she had had her property restored to her by the King, ended by a saintly death a life in which her faith and constancy had been severely tried and bravely stood the test. He had come to the Isle of Wight to see the King, to beg him to continue to the family the protection he had afforded their mother and permission to have a priest to officiate for the household. The Mayor of Newport, imagining the three travelers, the two Capuchins and young Forrey, were spies, had them arrested and imprisoned in separate cells, where they were put in irons. The King sent for them on his return from a hunt, and having made themselves and their mission known—Charles I. recognizing in the pseudo-merchant the former interpreter to the Spanish envoy—promised to accede to their petition and extended to them the hospitality of the royal residence during their sojourn, admitting them daily to his table and sending them away with an autographed passport and letters confirmatory of the privileges granted to Father Archangel's family. A few days afterwards they embarked for Aberdeen, whence they directed their steps to Monymusk, where in the domestic chapel they gathered together the remnant of the flock of converts who had remained faithful. While Father Epiphanius

¹⁷ In memory of his mother, née Jean Sylvia Wood.

¹⁸ Walsh ("Hist. of the Catholic Church in Scotland," p. 449) says 4,000. The "Franciscan Annals," T. V., are quoted as authority for the above estimate. Both figures suggest exaggeration, but it is quite safe to assume that the conversions he effected were very considerable.

selected the Highlands as the sphere of his missionary labors, Father Archangel employed his zeal where he was best known and wielded most influence, assisted therein by his three brothers. In about eight months his converts, according to some, numbered three thousand.¹⁸

It was a perilous ministry. Once, after receiving on his death-bed, in Edinburgh, the abjuration of an old Scotch nobleman, the Calvinists, furious at such a striking conversion, broke into the house after the friar's departure, and, failing to find him or to force the dying man to retract his abjuration, stabbed the latter and then massacred his son, a lad of sixteen, who proclaimed himself a Catholic.¹⁹ Seeing the gaps made in their congregations and their prestige and authority gradually diminishing, the Protestants sent a delegate to London to apprise and alarm the King, upon whose fears he artfully played, saying that if more drastic measures were not taken to stop the spread of Popery, Scotland would rise and, aided from abroad, seek to separate from the Crown of England. The King sent a messenger to Aberdeen commanding, within a month, the presence of George Leslie and his brothers in London to answer for the disloyalty imputed to them.

The next day, after saying Mass for the last time at Monymusk, Father Archangel, accompanied by his brothers, who had received Communion at his hands, started on their journey, traveling by night so that he might devote the day to visiting and encouraging the Catholics and effecting conversions. The annals note that at no period of his work were his labors so successful as during the last few days he spent in Scotland.²⁰

The day, however, was far spent, and the shades of night—the night when man can work no longer—were falling. Like a soldier dying on the battlefield, he fell, never more to rise, in the very exercise of his sacred ministry. At Torfechan, a town on the Scotch border, he was seized with a violent fever. After several times renewing his religious vows and receiving with great fervor the last sacraments from Father Andrew, a Jesuit, who happened to be in the neighborhood, he calmly expired. It was in the year 1637. Charles I., to whom he had written in his last illness, expressing his regret that he could not continue his journey to London to clear himself of the false accusations of the Calvinists, simultaneously with the receipt of his letter received the news of his death. He was very moved and expressed to his courtiers his grief at the loss of such a distinguished man, sending a messenger with a missive to the Forreys dispensing them, under the circumstances, of the obligation of appearing at court and assuring them of his good-will in the future. Father Andrew had the remains removed at night to the mansion of a Catholic, whence, the obsequies having been

secretly celebrated in an improvised mortuary chapel, they were conveyed for interment to a mountain said to have been haunted by evil spirits and which none dared approach, a belief it was considered would safeguard his grave from heretical profanation. There, awaiting the resurrection, lies the last count of the elder branch of the House of Leslie, the Capuchin friar, Father Archangel, the Scotch Apostle.

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Cork, Ireland.

REAPING THE WHIRLWIND.

SOME three hundred and seventy years ago a King of England, disappointed of the sanction for his illicit passion which he had tried to wrest from the Vicar of Christ, severed himself and his kingdom from the unity of Christendom. There are people who still imagine that in some extraordinary way the provinces of Canterbury and York obtained "freedom" by this action of the royal adulterer, and that the position of a so-called "national church" involves deliverance from galling fetters that bind the one Church in union with the Holy See. The remedy for this delusion is, simply, the intelligent study of the history of such attempts to improve upon the Divine government of the Church. What, e. g., of Christian liberty is to be found in the administration of the "Orthodox Church" of Russia, ruled by a "Holy Synod" whose procurator and despotic ruler is a layman, soldier or civilian, as the case may be, nominated by the Czar? And, to come nearer home, what liberty of belief or action was secured for the Anglican Establishment set up by Henry VIII., who, as the learned Protestant Bishop Stubbs truly says,* "wished to be, with regard to the Church of England, the Pope, the whole Pope and something more than Pope?" The fact that as long as Henry lived there was no further break with Catholic belief than his terrible act of schism involved does not in the least alter the matter. It had been laid down as the basal principle of the new establishment that the authority of the King was to be held supreme and, in fact, infallible in all that concerned the religion of the country. Henry had been his people's supreme guide in faith and morals when he imposed the "Six Articles" no less than when he defied

¹⁹ "Francis. Annals," T. V., p. 162. "Storia delle miss. del Cap.," T. II., p. 416.

²⁰ "Francis. Annals," T. V., p. 190.

* "Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History," p. 262.

and abjured the authority of the successor of St. Peter; his son Edward was equally their supreme guide when he denied and made it penal to adhere to the Six Articles of Henry. Has it ever struck an Erastian Protestant that, on the same grounds, the restoration of the faith by Queen Mary was equally an act of royal infallibility? What is denied to her can scarcely be logically conceded to her illegitimate sister, who succeeded her on the throne. Yet it is what some writers absurdly call "The Elizabethan Settlement" that Anglicans are living under to this day. As Lord Macaulay expressed it in his "Essay on Hallam," "The work which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset [in the name of Edward VI.], the murderer of his brother, and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest." Now, though the regal power is a mere shadow of its former self, the position claimed by Henry and his children is the position claimed by the State to-day. The omnipotence of the Crown has been exchanged for the omnipotence of Parliament, the supremacy of the King for that of his chief minister.

For the last two generations the Anglican Church has been in the throes of a controversy that sooner or later must issue in some great catastrophe. I have heard an English clergyman of high standing, trusted by his Bishop and fellow-ministers, say boldly the sooner the better. On the one hand there has been the bad old Tudor tradition, hugged by a large and sometimes dominant party as if it were the very charter of the English constitution, with a blindness so incredible as to seem almost judicial; on the other, the Catholic principle, however feebly understood and mistakenly applied, of spiritual rule in spiritual things. Of course, there can be no question as to which is the more consonant with the Christian faith and with the most elementary principles of reason. But the other principle, the Tudor Cæsarism, whether exercised by King, minister or Parliament, is, alas! the foundation on which the whole Anglican schism rests and in the application of which Anglican history finds its meaning. The sympathies, not only of Catholics, but of all who believe in the supernatural origin of religion, must be on the side of the men who hold the conviction that the Church (however they may understand the expression) has a life and authority not derived from, and therefore independent of, any civil government. But it is impossible on any fair view of the history of the English Establishment not to recognize, with whatever regret, that historically the Erastians have the best of the argument. The Erastian conception is absolutely, eternally, uncompromisingly anti-Christian in its very root; but it is the conception which has for more than three centuries and a half ruled the destinies of Anglican-

ism, and against which all the noblest souls within her borders have struggled almost in vain.

The recent letter to his clergy of the Archbishop of Canterbury on their conduct with reference to the act for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister is an outstanding example of the supremacy of the State over Anglican consciences in a matter of the very highest moment. Dr. Randall Davidson, after exhausting all his eloquence in denunciation of the bill when it was before the House of Lords, after declaring his conviction of the evil of the proposed measure and defending to the utmost the Anglican principle on which such a union is declared contrary to Divine law, sends his clergy and people a letter which proclaims in the strongest and strangest way (however little His Grace may intend this) the absolute subserviency of his Church to the civil power. In that letter he condemns the celebration of such marriages in church; he distinctly holds that the canons of 1603, enforcing the Table of Affinity which forbids them as against the Divine prohibition, are yet in force, and yet if any clergyman should celebrate such a marriage His Grace will "in no way regard him as disloyal or disrespectful." And he goes on to lay down that those who have contracted such marriages, and are, consequently, living in a union which the Anglican Church declares to be no marriage at all, are not to be debarred from "the ordinary privileges and ministrations of the Church—*i. e.*, while living in sin (according to the Anglican theory), they are to be able to claim successfully Anglican absolution and communion!

A Wiltshire clergyman, who some years ago made his submission to the Holy See, relates in a most interesting book published after his conversion, that his Bishop—Dr. Moberly, of Salisbury, an excellent and in many ways Catholic-minded Protestant prelate—once said to him that he could conceive of an Anglican Bishop having to resign his see for conscience sake, but he believed it would never be possible, while the Establishment remained, for a Bishop to refuse to carry out any demand of the State and yet retain his position. So iron and so enduring is the tyranny which the guilty hands of Tudor despotism forged for English souls so long ago! It is curious that while freedom has advanced by leaps and bounds in the secular domain, men should have endured in religious things so vile an exploiting of their consciences and trampling on their inalienable rights. Truly, when the English convocations bowed to the will of the tyrant and accepted him as "Supreme Head of the Church" they sowed the wind which their children for more than twelve generations have reaped in a roaring tempest that has shattered faith in millions of souls and spread misery and disaster untold throughout

a land once marked by special loyalty to the See of Peter and whose glorious title was "Our Lady's Dower."

During the last few days an incident has arisen in an English diocese that brings out into unhappy relief the condition of the State-bound Church and the appalling chaos that reigns within her. The present Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campell-Bannerman, a nominal Presbyterian, who knows as much about Anglicanism as he does about the Catholic faith, nominated to the Bishopric of Newcastle Dr. Straton, Bishop of Sodor and Man, a gentleman whom the leading Edinburgh newspaper admirably describes as "the leader of what is called the Erastian and Orange party in the Church of England," and who, the same paper goes on to say, "was treated as dangerous by Lord Salisbury and was, therefore, cooped up in the See of Sodor and Man." To the dismay of the Premier's best political followers and of Anglicans generally, Dr. Straton let it be known on his coming into his new diocese that he intended to rule it on the lines of the utterly discredited Privy Council decisions of thirty and forty years ago. A *casus belli* between him and his clergy has quickly arisen. A Mr. Jackson, who is described as an excellent, hard-working clergyman who has won the regard and love of his people, and who had been encouraged and supported by Dr. Lloyd, the late Bishop, has met with extraordinary treatment on the part of the newly appointed prelate. The just completed buildings of the "mission of the Holy Ghost," which Mr. Jackson serves, have been refused episcopal license. The Bishop instructed Mr. Jackson to attend at the cathedral, and there delivered an admonition ordering the clergyman to discontinue the use of wafer bread, a tabernacle for reservation, a crucifix and the Stations of the Cross. Whether these things are suitable furniture for an Anglican church or consistent with the spirit and history of that communion is a question to which most Catholics will easily resolve for themselves, but there is no question as to their acceptance by a large minority and their practical toleration by the Anglican Bishops. However, if Mr. Jackson's case had been dealt with as a single episode the matter might have blown over, whatever opinion the diocese might conceive of the good sense and justice of its episcopal ruler. Dr. Straton, however, took the opportunity of fulminating a decree (to use the expression of the article from which I have already quoted) to the whole of his diocese. In this pronouncement, the spirit of which carries us back to the palmy days of the "Victorian Persecution," he lays down the principle that Privy Council law is to run in the Diocese of Newcastle as the law of the Anglican Church. The clergy of the city have taken up the challenge with alacrity; nineteen out of twenty-four beneficed clergy have presented a remonstrance

to His Lordship, which, as described by one of them, "declares neither sympathy nor want of sympathy with Mr. Jackson; but it does protest against the revival of persecution or even government according to the judgments of the Privy Council." It is to be remarked that Newcastle is not, like some large towns, by any means "advanced" in the character of its ecclesiastical leaders; even the few churches that might be considered as more or less "extreme" in ornaments or services would simply provoke no comment in the south of England or in some Yorkshire or Lancashire towns. The indignation of the Newcastle clergy has been aroused because of the reckless attempt of their new Bishop to enforce a system which was tried with disastrous results a generation ago, and only escaped bringing about a catastrophe in the English Establishment because it fizzled out in a dismal failure. The espionage, suborned witness and abominable cruelty that marked the attempt only brought lasting discredit on the persecutors and the cause they represented.

It is useful to remember, as is pointed out by Dr. Straton's opponents, that Lord Brougham, no friend to any religious society, admitted that it was by a legislative accident that the judicial committee of the Privy Council became vested with jurisdiction in ecclesiastical causes; that the judgments Dr. Straton is attempting to enforce have by common consent remained inoperative for many years; that a recent Royal Commission declared them to be without moral authority and incapable of enforcement, and that Dr. Stubbs, late Bishop of Oxford, one of the most learned of Anglican clergymen and a "broad" churchman, described them as "a foul thing." To this may be added the fact that the late Chief Baron Pollock described one of the most notorious of these deliverances (the "Ridsdale judgment") as a judgment not of law, but of policy. Dr. Straton is asked why he does not propose to enforce the statute of Charles II. against Sunday trading; the statutes compelling attendance at church and the punishment of the stocks for the drunk and disorderly. What can be the outcome of the present quarrel is not easy to decide; but we may be certain it will not end as His Lordship desires, and that he will not find his rule the easier for the hopeless lack of statesmanship and of common sense that he has shown.

The Newcastle clergy, and Mr. Jackson in particular, must command the sympathy of all reasonable men. They have been taken by surprise, in the sense that an appointment has been made to their Bishopric which the good sense and statecraft of such Ministers as Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury and even Mr. Arthur Balfour would have rendered impossible and even unthinkable in the days when they reigned in Downing street. Anglican Bishops, clergy

and laity, of all parties but the irreconcilable Puritan faction, have called a truce from persecution for the last twenty years. They may well feel it intolerable that a gentleman of no particular weight or outstanding ability has attempted to reverse the accepted position of affairs. Who is he, they may reasonably ask, that he should destroy the tradition established by Dr. Lightfoot, of learned and pious memory, and sustained by Dr. Wilberforce, Dr. Jacobs and Dr. Lloyd—none of them “advanced” men in the slightest degree?

But for Catholics—and surely, too, for Anglicans, if they would face the situation in the light of history and hard fact—there is a lesson of supreme importance in the *impasse* that has arisen in the city on the Tyne. The genesis of the whole trouble is not to be found in the unwisdom of Dr. Straton, or even in the ineptitude of the Prime Minister. The unfortunate quarrel is, so to speak, one blast, and not by a long way the most serious, of that whirlwind the Anglican Church is ever reaping, because the tyrant Henry and the apostate Cranmer, Somerset, Elizabeth, Walsingham and their abettors sowed the wind many generations ago. Cæsar planted his iron heel on the Church of Christ, swept her away from the land that she had civilized, and trained, and united in her obedience, and on the ruin of the ancient worship set up a new altar of his own devising, above which the royal arms should henceforth displace the crucifix. Until that time there was freedom for the Church—the liberty demanded for the *Ecclesia Anglicana* under the Great Charter—because she was recognized as in truth an *imperium in imperio*, a part of a world-wide empire; behind her was the might of the whole Divine Kingdom and the supreme authority of the Vicar of Christ. The position of the new establishment, founded by Henry VIII. and restored by Elizabeth, was in a totally different position. It is true that during Henry’s lifetime the Catholic faith, except on the fundamental question of the authority of the Pope, was preserved, as well as all the sacraments, while under his son and daughter heresy in its most hydra-headed form was imposed on the royal Church, and priesthood and sacraments were irretrievably lost. But from 1536 onwards, except for six brief years of restored Catholic life, the principle was the same—the royal authority the source of jurisdiction, the arbiter of doctrine, the fountain of ecclesiastical as well as civil law; the Church reduced to a mere department of the State, her officers ministers in that department and as such deriving all their right to execute their office (and, indeed, that office itself) from the supreme civil power; no appeal from the narrow bounds of a small provincial establishment to the general consensus of the Church in all the world, or from the caprice and tyranny of King or Parliament to the strong, unchanging justice of the Chair of Peter.

The miserable, inherent weakness of a so-called "National Church" would be apparent to every thinking man if long custom had not blinded his eyes to obvious facts. Of course, if there is no such thing as revealed truth; if one religion is as good as another; if a church is merely a moral magistracy or a school of philosophical thought, it cannot much matter what the State does or does not do. But, given the truth of the Christian religion, and the fact that Christ founded a society for its guardianship and propagation (and to hold one without the other is logically impossible), the hopelessness of a State governed church needs no demonstration.

For every one who believes at all in the truth and the fact just stated, the position of the Church to the civil power can only be one of honorable alliance or of absolute independence. The first was Christian Europe's way of deciding the matter for twelve hundred years, from Constantine to the time of the great apostasy, and all Catholics know it to be the right adjustment of the relations between the two powers. But now, when once Christian States are *officially* Christian no longer, the Church can claim nothing less than absolute independence in her own sphere. She endeavors everywhere to maintain such friendly relations with the civil government as are possible under the circumstances; she trains her children to be good and loyal servants and soldiers of that government; she teaches lessons of such true patriotism as can be learnt in no other school. But, on the spiritual side, she is independent of Emperor, King, President or Parliament. The boundaries of the empire, kingdom or republic are not her frontiers. The faithful of all lands are fellow-subjects beneath her loving sway.

Is it too much to hope that many members of the Anglican Church may find in the present chaotic state of things in their communion the occasion of looking more profoundly into that radical evil which is the source of all their troubles? The best and most devout amongst them, and there are indeed many such, are always hoping and working for the spiritual independence of their Church. They make no secret of their detestation of the catastrophe of the sixteenth century and of the methods by which it was brought about. They look forward to a "reunion of Christendom" which shall restore them to all lost grace and privilege. And how much they have had and still have to suffer for their convictions! They are, indeed, reaping the whirlwind, but they would have had no part (so they honestly believe) in that disastrous sowing which has brought about their unrest and trouble. There are few things in life harder (as some of us know by pitiless experience) than to relinquish a hope held fast, in the face of overwhelming odds, for many years. But until that first act of rebellion is repented and disowned, there cannot

be spiritual freedom, or restoration to forfeited privilege, or unity with the mystical Body of Christ. Anglicanism cannot liberate itself from the original sin of its existence until an act of submission undoes that first revolt. And, as a body, is there any prospect that this will ever be made?

Extreme cases like that of Dr. Straton, of Newcastle, are now phenomenal, but the root evil is as vigorous as ever. The recent Royal Commission, the findings of which the majority, if not all, of the English Bishops desire and are endeavoring to make the rule of their dioceses, is essentially an exercise of the same power that forbade appeals to Rome and arrogated to itself the title "Supreme Head of the Church." The point is not whether the Commissioners' report was good or bad, fair or unfair, practical or the reverse, but that a Royal Commission should sit on the internal affairs of the Church at all. An outsider might naturally ask if the Bishops and the Houses of Convocation could not arrange such matters as came before the Commission. But as a matter of fact, they could not, on their own initiative. An Anglican Bishop is in no real sense a ruler of his diocese; he has no power behind him but that of the civil government. And the Convocations—in theory the Sacred Synods of the provinces of Canterbury and York—cannot meet except by the gracious permission of the State nor frame any canon except under "letters of business" from the Crown. Nor can any canonical enactment have force in law unless it has received the assent of a Parliament largely composed of Jews, secularists and Protestant Nonconformists! Cæsar takes good care that the synods of the Established Church should be no more than dignified debating societies.

In the face of all this it is vain to dream of spiritual freedom. Even if disestablishment, as seems not unlikely, were to become a fact before many more Parliaments have met, the Anglican Church would still be bound by the evil traditions of little less than four centuries, and would still have no appeal beyond her own small limits. For those who have escaped from it, Anglicanism compared with the wide international life of the Catholic Church is like a stifling room in comparison with the free air and open sky of the far-stretching moorland. To change the metaphor and return to that which has been the keynote of this article may we not hope that the tempest of trouble, and disquiet, and opposition to their highest ideals and most strenuous effort may lead some at least into the shelter of the true home of souls and the joy of her abiding liberty?

J. FABER SCHOLFIELD.

England.

THE STORY OF A PAPAL ENVOY DURING THE REIGN
OF TERROR.

THERE are few epochs in history more fruitful in tragic surprises, pathetic incidents and unforeseen developments than the French Revolution, that social and religious upheaval from the effects of which modern France is still suffering. Like all momentous periods, it presents to the student of history an almost inexhaustible fund of dramatic episodes, where the extremes of human heroism and human ferocity stand out in strong relief.

One of the most curious of these episodes was brought to light unexpectedly not long ago. Its hero is no less a personage than a French priest who, during the Reign of Terror, filled the responsible position of Papal Nuncio in Paris. So little indeed was his story known that few people were aware how, during those years of bloodshed and anarchy, the common Father of Christendom continued to keep officially in touch with the eldest daughter of the Church. Still less did they imagine that there lived in Paris, under the very shadow of the "guillotine," a priest who was the authorized representative of the Holy See. So miserable was the condition of this ambassador, so deadly the danger to which he was exposed, that when weighty religious matters had to be discussed between him and his fellow-priests the thickets of the Bois de Boulogne served as his council chamber!

The way in which this most dramatic tale, told by its hero, became known to the public is in keeping with the strangeness of the story itself.

A well-known French priest, l'Abbé Bridier, was staying at the Sulpicians' house in Rome when a lawyer, acting on behalf of a noble family whose name has not been revealed, put into his hands three small manuscript volumes, carefully written and bound. These, he was informed, were the memoirs of Mgr. de Salamon, a prelate who became, after the restoration of the Bourbons, Bishop of St. Flour, and who, during the Revolution, filled the post of Papal Nuncio in France. They were written by the prelate at the request of a French lady, Madame de Villeneuve, but were not intended for publication. This particular manuscript copy, duly signed and authenticated by Mgr. de Salamon, was his gift to some members of an Italian family, whose descendants, having experienced severe reverses, were now willing to part with it for a certain sum.

M. Bridier's curiosity was thoroughly roused. He set to work and easily pieced together the story of this most authentic but hitherto forgotten Papal envoy. He was able, with the help of other documents, to satisfy himself that the volumes were absolutely gen-

uine and, having become their happy possessor, he made them public, and thereby created no small sensation in the literary world. The fact that these memoirs were written for private circulation adds to their interest, but it seems almost strange to us who live at a time when publicity is the order of the day, that neither Mgr. de Salamon nor Madame de Villeneuve should have sought to publish them; so it was, however. The prelate was willing to oblige a friend, but he had no ambition to "pose" as an historical personage, and we know as a fact that on one occasion, when he was in dire poverty, he refused to sell his memoirs. Hence it is that the reminiscences are very human.

Mgr. de Salamon, who at the time of the Revolution was a young man just over thirty, here reveals himself as he really was, with his faults and his virtues. His individuality is an interesting one, but is by no means heroic. He frankly owns that he had no thirst for martyrdom, but he was resigned to the will of God, and, taking him altogether, he seems to have been a conscientious, kind-hearted man, faithful to his friends, grateful to those who helped him, anxious to fulfill his duty towards the Holy See, whose official representative he found himself in moments of extreme difficulty. He takes no trouble to conceal from us that he was fond of good living, and even in the most tragic passages of his life the sight of a fat turkey as of a warm cup of chocolate appealed to him strongly. At the same time he keenly appreciated in others the heroisms in which he knew himself to be deficient, and his love of comfort did not prevent him from being good humored and full of resource when he literally had neither a roof to his head nor a crust of bread to allay his hunger.

Louis de Salamon was born at Carpentras, near Avignon, in 1760, and was therefore by birth a subject of the Popes, to whom Avignon belonged till the French Revolution. He was, owing to a special dispensation, ordained a priest at the age of twenty-two, and towards 1784 he was appointed to fill a legal position in the Paris Parliament, where in those days certain offices were held by ecclesiastics. Both on account of his family connections and of his being a Papal subject young Abbé de Salamon was well known to Pope Pius VI. In 1790 the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Dugnani, left Paris. The head of one of the King's guards had been thrown into his carriage, and he promptly decided to quit a city where anarchy reigned supreme. M. de Salamon had been in the habit of writing to Cardinal Zelada, the Pope's Prime Minister, for the last four or five years. Thus it happened that when it became necessary for the Holy See to choose a new representative in France, its choice fell on the active young priest, whose tact, discretion, powers of observation and prudence fitted him for so responsible a position.

On account of the disturbed state of the kingdom his embassy was a secret one and was surrounded by none of the pomp and ceremony that usually mark the mission of a Papal legate. He was in truth the authorized envoy of the Sovereign Pontiff, but he had no official position or title, and his mission was fraught with more danger than glory.

One of his chief duties was to keep the Pope informed of the religious persecution that, from the outset, marked the policy of the government; the endeavors of the revolutionary leaders to separate the French clergy from the Holy See made it of the utmost importance that the Pope should keep in touch with the harassed Bishops and priests, and through our abbé he was able to receive accurate information on the subject.

Pius VI. seems to have had a special affection for M. de Salamon, who certainly possessed the art of making friends both high and low, and Cardinal Zelada often alludes to the Pope's affectionate solicitude for the safety of his envoy, as well as to the delight with which both he and his minister perused the abbé's long and vivid descriptions of men and things, where a humorous touch or quaint remark often relieves the tragic tale.

These letters are now in the archives of the Vatican. A French writer, the Vte. de Richemont, has published them in a volume that forms a most interesting contribution to the momentous history of the French Church during the Revolution. M. de Salamon seems to have been a capital correspondent. "You are, monsieur, an admirable correspondent," writes Cardinal Zelada; and he adds: "I do not read your letters; I devour them." With the letters the abbé was accustomed to send a quantity of pamphlets, engravings and even caricatures. He seems to have made his letters amusing as well as deeply interesting, and did not disdain to enliven them with anecdotes, intended, he owns, "to make His Holiness laugh."

In order to gather information he was obliged to see men of all sorts and kinds, and before he became an outlaw he used to disguise himself in order to mix more freely with the people in the streets, and thus ascertain the drift of public opinion. One of his first duties was to visit the unfortunate King, who was virtually a prisoner in his own palace, and to whom he expressed the Holy Father's concern and sympathy. But in August, 1792, the royal family was removed from the Tuileries to the Temple, and shortly afterwards M. de Salamon was arrested, together with many other priests.

His faithful housekeeper, Mme. Blanchet, who had served his mother during thirty years, followed him weeping to the prison door. By her presence of mind this humble friend was eventually able to

save her master's life, and she plays a prominent part in his memoirs. She could neither read nor write, but the abbé tells us much about her good cooking, a certain "potage Borghese," in which Blanchet surpassed herself, helped him through the hardships of his prison life, and he enlarges still more on her absolute and fearless devotion. This was, later on, handsomely recognized by Pope Pius VI., who sent the faithful soul a generous present.

M. de Salamon had no illusions as to the danger that threatened him. The policy of the National Assembly, in whose hands lay the destinies of France, was from the outset distinctly anti-religious, and since the beginning of August, 1792, all the priests who refused to take a certain oath called the "Constitution civile du clergé" were liable to be imprisoned. The oath was contrary to the obedience due to the Pope, and was in consequence schismatical and unlawful. To the honor of the French clergy, the priests who consented to take it were the exception, and the chief prisons of Paris, l'Abbaye, la Force, les Carmes, were now filled with faithful confessors willing to risk their lives rather than put their conscience in peril. Over these devoted men hung the shadow of a hideous death.

On the day that followed M. de Salamon's arrest Blanchet was allowed to speak to him through a closed door. "Monsieur, monsieur," she cried, "what can I do for you?" "Go and make my chocolate," was the reply, "and bring it to me with some peaches and a bottle of lemonade." The chocolate was soon forthcoming.

"I was as faithful to the habit of taking my chocolate every morning as to that of reciting my breviary," owns the abbé, with a touch of "naïveté" that redeems his remark from irreverence. A little later a basket came, full of excellent eatables daintily packed by the faithful housekeeper, and M. de Salamon's good heart got the better of his comfort loving instincts. He immediately divided his provisions with a poor priest whose pitiable condition had attracted his attention, and his guest's voracious appetite speedily made away with more than half of the contents of the basket.

Soon, however, graver thoughts absorbed our abbé's mind. On September 1, 1792, he and his fellow-captives were transferred to the prison "de l'Abbaye," and Blanchet, who kept hovering around the place, brought her master evil tidings. "Oh, monsieur," said the good soul, "when this morning I went to the market to buy your peaches I heard that all the priests are to be killed." And on the abbé's answer that in this case she might take possession of his furniture, "What do I care for the things that are in your house if I lose you?" cried the old woman.

The Nuncio's description of his fellow-prisoners has a touch of intense reality. The greater number were priests, but with them

were a few soldiers, servants and tradespeople, and, standing far above the rest on account of his quiet courage, was an old priest eighty years of age, the "curé" of St. Jean en Grevè. "He was a holy man," says M. de Salamon; "bright, gay and even jovial, a living proof that God prefers a piety that does not exclude gaiety to a severe exterior that seems to censure others." Sometimes the old man's stories were so droll that "I laughed till I was ill," adds the Nuncio.

At l'Abbaye the "curé" of "St. Jean en Grevè" revealed the depth of heroism that lay concealed under his humorous moods. The 2d of September, the day appointed for the massacre of the priests who filled the Paris prisons, was a Sunday, but in their hurry, terror and distress the prisoners of the "Abbaye" seem to have overlooked this fact. "Messieurs," said the old curé, "it is Sunday; we shall be allowed neither to say nor to assist at Mass. Let us therefore kneel down during the time that Mass would last and pray." Then, when a few hours later news was brought that the massacre had begun at the neighboring prison "des Carmes," the priests, who were huddled together in the long, low room at the "Abbaye," knew that their turn would come shortly. They threw themselves on their knees before the curé of "St. Jean en Grevè," who, after bidding them recite the confiteor and the acts of faith, hope and charity, gave them absolution "in articulo mortis." Then, turning to M. de Salamon, the old man added: "I am a great sinner. Will you, monsieur, who represent the Vicar of Our Lord, give me absolution?" And kneeling down before our young abbé he bowed his white head to receive the grace he had given to others. The old curé continued to lead the prayers. He said the litanies, then the prayers for the dying, and at the words, "Go forth, thou Christian soul," all the priests, says our abbé, wept.

A little later, M. de Salamon having somewhat impatiently complained of the credulity and childishness of some of his fellow-prisoners, "Helas! monsieur, you are right," said the old curé, "but when you are my age you will be more indulgent towards human weakness."

When that same night the curé of St. Jean appeared before the mock tribunal by whom the priests were made over to the paid assassins who were waiting outside, his courage did not flinch. He was asked if he had taken the schismatical oath required of all priests. "No," he said calmly, "I have not taken it." Then and there he was hacked to pieces under the eyes of M. de Salamon. "Oh, great saint, happy old man," whispered the latter. "Thou art in heaven; pray for me. Grant that I may die with the calmness, gentleness and resignation that thou hast shown." Nevertheless,

M. de Salamon owns that, although he was determined to die rather than take the schismatical oath, a secret feeling told him that with patience and presence of mind he might still save himself. He "naïvely" confesses that the heroism of some of his companions astounded him. A young Franciscan who was not a priest literally thirsted for martyrdom. "Oh, monsieur," he said, "I do not look upon it as a misfortune to die for the faith. I am, on the contrary, afraid that, not being a priest, I may not be killed."

When the same monk appeared before the so-called Judges a dispute arose. His youth excited the interest of some of the bystanders, who tried to save him; but the more bloodthirsty party carried the day and he, too, was murdered. M. de Salamon marveled at the unconscious heroism of this mere boy. "His words," he says, "made me blush, and I was ashamed to see these noble and elevated feelings in one so young while I felt so differently."

Nevertheless, when his turn came the Papal envoy carried himself bravely. It was a tragic scene. A handful of ruffians of the lowest condition were grouped together behind a table; others, blood-stained, red-handed and armed to the teeth, stood in the doorway ready to despatch the prisoners whom their comrades, the so-called Judges, had condemned to death. The darkness outside, the oaths of the assassins, the pale faces and trembling forms of the victims who stood waiting for their sentence made up a ghastly picture.

It was nearly daylight when M. de Salamon was questioned. His object was to avoid the fatal question, "Have you taken the oath?" which had he answered in the negative, as he was resolved to do, must have sealed his fate. Cleverly enough, he assumed the offensive, and without waiting to be spoken to he put forward his profession as a lawyer, kept silence on his ecclesiastical character, spoke boldly and fluently in his own defense and quoted, somewhat at haphazard, the names of well-known Revolutionists who, he said, were his friends and protectors.

In the end, either because they were weary of their bloody work or because the abbé's defense impressed them favorably, the so-called Judges commanded that he should be taken back to prison until further information should be forthcoming concerning him.

It might be but a momentary reprieve, but at any rate for the time being M. de Salamon was safe. The tension of those long hours of agony had been too great. "I felt no joy," he writes; "on the contrary, I felt so depressed . . . that I burst into tears."

While her master was too much overcome by the remembrance of past horrors to enjoy a feeling of comparative safety, the faithful Blanchet was seeking for him high and low. From all she could hear, she at last became convinced that he had perished during the

fatal night of the 2d of September with hundreds of other priests; but she determined to find his body. With extraordinary courage the poor woman sallied forth into the bloodstained streets and patiently examined the dead bodies that were lying in heaps at the prison door. After bending over more than a hundred corpses that lay outside the prison, she began to hope that her master had escaped, and turned her attention to the best means of saving him. Just then an influential revolutionary chief happened to pass down the street. Blanchet ran after him, threw herself at his feet. "Oh, sir," she cried, "give me back my master, the best of men, to whom my child and I owe our daily bread."

Strangely enough, the republican was moved. He consented to interfere on M. de Salamon's behalf, and, thanks to the bold activity of his old servant, our hero was set free. One of the last sights that he witnessed on leaving the prison was the brutal murder of l'Abbé Leufant, a well-known preacher. "I was very glad to be saved," says M. de Salamon, "yet I own that I envied his lot and that I began to wish for so heroic an end!"

The Nuncio's first thought after his escape was to write a full account of the massacres in Paris to Pope Pius VI., who in reply sent him an affectionate letter expressing the utmost concern for his personal safety. It was accompanied by an official document, drawn up by Cardinal Zelada, the Pope's Minister, by which M. de Salamon was appointed "Vicar Apostolic" for France, where the Revolution had, for the time being, swept away all traces of ecclesiastical hierarchy. Madame Blanchet, who by her presence of mind had saved not only her master's life, but also the most important documents in his possession, was not forgotten by the Pope, and received a present of three thousand francs.

Although he was out of prison, our hero's position was far from secure, and during the winter and spring of 1793-1794 he led the life of an outlaw. His priestly character, if discovered, was enough to make him lose his head on the scaffold. Moreover, he had been a member of the Paris Parliament, and forty-nine of his colleagues perished on this account. His name had been brought forward at their trial and a search instituted to discover his whereabouts. Not only, therefore, did his life hang on a thread, but the very fact of giving him an asylum was enough to bring destruction on his hosts. To add to his difficulties, Blanchet was arrested and imprisoned in the convent of the English Augustinians of the Rue "des fossés St. Victor," which, like all the large buildings in Paris, had been turned into a prison, and where she remained till the fall of Robespierre put an end to the Reign of Terror. M. de Salamon now exerted himself on behalf of his devoted housekeeper. He was a marked

man, and had he endeavored to visit Blanchet would have uselessly compromised her; but he contrived to send her sugar, coffee and two hundred francs in money. One of his messengers was a noble lady, the Duchesse de Saulx, who, dressed as a servant, succeeded in forcing her way into the prison where the faithful housekeeper was detained.

The Reign of Terror was then at its height. The guillotine was in permanent use, and during the space of eighteen months from twenty to forty persons—men, women and even children—were daily executed. The houses of rich and poor alike were liable to be searched at any hour of the day or night. It was impossible to leave Paris without producing a card testifying that the bearer was a "patriot." In fact, humanly speaking, it seemed impossible that a marked man like M. de Salamon should in the long run escape discovery.

Our abbé had many friends who bravely risked their lives in order to befriend him, and his good temper, unfailing presence of mind and considerate ways evidently made their task easier. A widowed lady, Madame Dellebart, who lived with her daughter, an ex-nun, won his lasting gratitude by her kindness; but one day he heard that the house was watched, and fearing both for himself and for his hostess, he left it.

He tells us how he found himself, an outlaw and an outcast, wandering along the banks of the Seine towards the Bois de Boulogne, then a thick wood where the Kings of France were accustomed to hunt, and which was very different from the parklike "Bois" of to-day, with its brilliant flower beds, its "cafés," its cyclists, its motor cars and general aspect of gaiety and refined civilization. In the depths of the wood, towards Auteuil, then a country village, he found an empty shed, where, having made himself a bed of grass and straw, he lay down to sleep. The next day he discovered another more convenient shelter further on, close, he tells us, to the fairylike villa of Bagatelle, built by a royal prince for a wager, and which still stands untouched in its eighteenth century elegance above the plain of Longchamps.

For some time he continued to sleep in one or other of these places. In the daytime he generally walked into Paris, chiefly, be it said to his credit, with the object of claiming the letters that he continued to receive from Rome. These were conveyed to him through many roundabout ways and were left either at a certain baker's, where M. de Salamon or his friends called for them, or with a poor old woman called Marianne, who lived in a miserable room in the very heart of Paris. The letters were couched in mysterious language to provide against what might happen if they fell into the hands of

the police. M. de Salamon generally signed himself Giuseppe Evangelisti, and Cardinal Zelada "Blanchet" or "Eysseri," the first, adds the Nuncio, being the name of "my poor, good servant," the second that "of one of my Italian grandmothers." "In this way," he continues, "thanks to the goodness of God, my correspondence with Rome was never interrupted even during the Reign of Terror."

Sometimes, instead of going to Paris, the outlaw wandered through the villages beyond the Bois—St. Cloud or Meudon—where he could buy food without exciting curiosity. He occasionally made new friends. Once in the woods of Meudon he saw a man who was picking grass. The two began to talk, and M. de Salamon became convinced that his new acquaintance was, like himself, a fugitive. By degrees they grew confidential, and he learnt that the unknown was a canon of Ste. Geneviève named Joli. "I live like the wandering Jew," he owned. "I spend the day in the wood picking grass and I only eat once a day when I go back to Passy, where I have a room. I am beginning," he added, "to get used to the life." M. de Salamon, who never forgot that he was the Pope's representative, tells us that his new friend, a man of culture, "treated him with much respect," and that through him he was able to give to several other priests the dispensations and permissions of which they were in need. He thus became acquainted with a vicar general of Châlons, M. le Moyne, and with another priest named Girard. With these two and M. Joli he formed a little council. "I was entrusted," he tells us, "by Pope Pius VI. with the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom. Having in my hands the fullness of his power, I felt a great need of advice, and since then I have always been glad that I gave my confidence to these gentlemen, who were men of good judgment."

This "council" met in the thickets of the Bois de Boulogne or at the neighboring woods of Meudon. The passers-by who may have noticed these four miserably clad, unkempt, disreputable looking men, who clearly shrunk from notice, probably regarded them with well justified suspicion. They little thought that one of them was the representative of the highest power in Christendom, and that between them were being discussed vital questions that touched upon the eternal interests of souls!

Through the Abbé Girard, one of his three "councillors," M. de Salamon ended by taking a small room at Passy, then an outlying village, where he was safer than in Paris. His hostess, Madame Grandin, an avaricious and hot-tempered woman, made him pay a large sum for a wretched garret, in which he only slept, as he continued to spend his days in the neighboring wood. He owns that,

having been fed on potatoes for months, he once felt a great wish to taste some good "soupe." Blanchet's "potage Borghèse" was a thing of the past. He therefore decided to buy a portable stove and a saucepan, both of which were easy to carry. He also bought some vegetables from the women of Passy, and being thus provided with all that he needed, he made his way to a lonely spot in the Bois, where he lit his stove and cooked his vegetables. "My soup," he adds, "cost very little and was excellent." A little later he became bolder. "I bought a tiny bottle for oil in coarse ware to make salad, of which I am very fond. I keep it preciously still. These things remind me of my past hardships and distress. They also prove how little is necessary to keep a man alive."

M. de Salamon's character stands revealed to us in these incidents of his wandering life. He was neither, as we have observed, a hero nor a martyr, but, take him all in all, he was a conscientious, upright man, gifted with a spirit of enterprise and resource that in circumstances of peculiar difficulty and danger was perhaps of more practical use to him than sublimer aspirations might have been. His love for "a good cup of chocolate" and his longing for a "good soup" seem, after all, very venial weaknesses when we remember the long months of privations, during which his good temper never failed. No less harmless is the naïve, childlike satisfaction that he expresses at being the representative of the Holy See, a satisfaction that was dearly bought by the extra danger it entailed upon the holder of so perilous a responsibility.

The fall of Robespierre, at the end of July, 1794, put an end to the worst excesses of the Reign of Terror, though years were to elapse before peace and liberty were restored to the Church in France.

M. de Salamon, whose buoyant spirits had been quenched by the execution of forty members of the Paris Parliament, his colleagues and his friends, revived when he heard that the tyrant had perished, and he immediately set to work to obtain his housekeeper's release. His efforts were successful, and one day in a pathway of the Bois de Boulogne, between Passy and Auteuil, who should he meet but Blanchet in person, "so pale and so thin that he hardly recognized her." The poor soul's only son had died in the hospital during her imprisonment, but Blanchet's private sorrows paled before her devotion to her master, and her first thought on coming out of prison was to seek him in the "Bois," where he spent most of his time. With the simplicity of blind trust she walked up and down the wood until she met him; but when at last she found herself face to face with him, the sense of his danger overpowered her. Fearing to compromise him, she hardly dared speak, but she silently held out for his

acceptance three hundred francs that she had earned in prison by acting as washerwoman to the great ladies who were detained with her.

M. de Salamon promptly reassured her. The worst days of the Revolution were over. The Reign of Terror ended when Robespierre fell, and though under the government of the "Directoire" our abbé was again imprisoned, his most exciting adventures were now things of the past.

Blanchet lived long enough to share her beloved master's second imprisonment, which was the result of the political difficulties that arose between the French Government and the Court of Rome; but she died soon afterwards, and M. de Salamon enlarges on the last illness and death of this humble friend.

"I was not able," he says, "to save her life, as she had saved mine, but I have the comfort of feeling that I made use of every human means to prolong it." And his devotion to Blanchet seems, in truth, to have been that of a son. The poor woman clung to him, and only from his hand would she accept the remedies that the doctor prescribed. After nursing her with unremitting attention during many months, it was he who, when the end came, recited the last prayers by her side until her faithful heart ceased to beat. To the last Blanchet was forgetful of self. In order to spare her beloved master's feelings she never mentioned her approaching death to him, but to the priest who visited her and to the lawyer who drew up her will she spoke of it freely, and she impressed upon the latter that, her only child being now dead, all she possessed was to be made over to her master, whom she loved as her own son.

M. de Salamon continued to serve the Church in happier and more peaceful circumstances. The arrival of Mgr. Caprara, who in 1801 was appointed Papal legate in France, put an end to his diplomatic duties, but at different times he was charged with missions concerning ecclesiastical matters, and in 1804 he was made Bishop in partibus of Orthozia. He spent several years in Rome, and it was probably then that he gave his Italian friends the precious volumes so unexpectedly brought to light. In 1820 he was appointed to the See of St. Flour. Although over sixty, he was still full of activity and enterprise, and his reign in his mountainous diocese is still remembered. He showed great zeal in advancing the higher education of the clergy, which had been unavoidably neglected in consequence of the upheaval of 1792.

He established ecclesiastical schools and seminaries, and all his private fortune was expended on these important foundations. He seems to have been particularly generous towards clerical students who had not sufficient means to pursue their studies. Mgr. de

Salamon died on June 11, 1829, and, according to his express desire, was buried like a beggar in a common grave.

Thus closed, in humility and in precious works of charity, a life that had been marked by experiences so varied, so strange, so completely unknown to the general public until a happy stroke of fate placed the abbé's memoirs into the able hands of his countryman, M. Bridier. Few Papal envoys served the Church amid circumstances so difficult and dangerous. M. de Salamon played his part with a conscientiousness that fully justified Pius VI.'s partiality for one whom he playfully called "My little Jacobin," in allusion to his revolutionary surroundings.

The memoirs so unexpectedly unearthed by M. Bridier and the letters published by the Vte. de Richemont have a peculiar interest at an epoch when the Church of France is again going through a phase of severe trial. The ordeal of 1908 resembles in some respects that of 1792; the object of the men in power is the same now as it was then—to destroy religion—but the means they employ are different. The final result of the crisis will, however, be identical—after suffering poverty and persecution, if not exile and death, the twentieth century French priests, like their eighteenth century predecessors, will come out of the battle ennobled and braced by the sacrifices they have been called upon to make. The Church, invincible, will pursue her course, while her persecutors are laid low. Does she not hold in her hands a Divine promise of final victory? With this she can afford to wait for God's appointed hour.

When the young "Vicar Apostolic" of revolutionary France was wandering a homeless outlaw through the mazes of the Bois de Boulogne, religion seemed hopelessly crushed. Churches were closed and the faithful priests who survived the massacres were in prison, in hiding or in exile. A few years later the scene had changed; the desecrated churches reopened their doors, Bishops and priests were at their posts, slowly but surely the havoc wrought by the great tempest was being repaired. History, as we all know, repeats itself; the experiences of the past contain now, as they have always done, the promises of the future.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF NEWMAN.

NEWMAN has been described by the *Irish Theological Quarterly* as the greatest theologian of the nineteenth century. And, on the other hand, the Modernists pay him the compliment of recognizing in his their most invulnerable opponent. The franker and more outspoken members of the school attack his views, and the dishonest ones even mistranslate him into French in order to give currency to their own views under the authority of his great name. We stand at a long distance now from the days when but for the steady support of Cardinal Cullen and of the Irish College in Rome he might have been involved in serious trouble.

It is not of his theology proper, however, that we wish here to treat, but rather of his philosophy. In the technical sense of that word, indeed, he never set himself to construct a system in the way in which Aristotle, or St. Thomas, or Locke, or Descartes, or Hegel, or Coleridge is said to have a philosophy. It is rather with Plato or St. Augustine that Newman's way should be compared. He does not affect the form of metaphysical science; he is a man of letters, a poet by temperament, a preacher by vocation; his methods are literary, and his subject-matter is religion and morals, not the *totum scibile*. He addresses himself not to the speculative understanding, but to the heart and the moral reason; and if he could convince a man against his will, he would not value the triumph. For he contends not for victory, nor even for abstract truth, but for the salvation of souls. Though his philosophy is nowhere formally and systematically expounded, he has one, however; every great thinker has. A view of man and the world in relation to God, and of man's relation to the universe in which he moves is something which every man that is in earnest must have, however implicit and latent it may be. Newman's has to be pieced together from his different works; but it is worth while to take that trouble. The impression which prevails in some quarters that he was ignorant of the philosophers is chiefly due to his own humility and modesty and to the loftiness of the standard by which he judged himself. Gifford used to tell that once in speaking of Dr. Johnson's knowledge of Greek to Jacob Bryant, the antiquary, he said: "But Dr. Johnson himself admitted that he was not a good Greek scholar." "It would not be easy, sir," replied Bryant, "for you or me to say what Dr. Johnson would have called a *good Greek scholar*." When we read a man's statements about himself we must first inquire what level he expects himself or others to attain to; and I have heard one of our Bishops say that

he could have kissed Newman's feet, such reverence did he feel for Newman's combination of humility with genius. In fact, Newman writes with intelligence and accuracy concerning all of the British philosophers whom he names; and these are the most of them. His "Essay on Assent" was directed against Hume and (though in a less degree) against Locke.

One of the first questions asked about any great man in these days is, What is his political philosophy? Secular politics Newman had none; his interests were religious, and practical politics he did not profess to understand; his practical politics consisted, during the period of Mr. Gladstone's ascendancy, in confidence in that statesman, whose religious temper he considered to be a guarantee against the adoption of any policy injurious to religion. Purcell, in his "Life of Manning," among his many blunders, asserted that Newman withdrew his confidence from Gladstone when that statesman adopted the policy of Irish Home Rule. The best answer to such a falsehood may be given in words written by Newman to Gladstone after that event: "I have known and admired you so long, . . . and I hope you will take my blessing, which I give from my heart."¹ In fact, Newman's sympathy for the Irish was clear enough; and he held as firmly as any man that government should be paternal. In one of his university essays, written in 1854, he speaks of the old conservative party of that day, led by Lord Derby, with contempt, as a party caring nothing for the welfare of the common people. His good wishes went to the reforming conservatives, who called themselves "Peelites," of whom the most famous is Gladstone; who were mostly "Anglo-Catholic" in religion and progressive in their policy; and he continued to trust them even after they joined the "Liberal" party (and it was they who infused into it some genuine liberality). In his principles, however, Newman was a Conservative. He undoubtedly held high ideas of loyalty and obedience to authority in civil society as well as in the Church. Thus he says in the last part of his history of his religious opinions:² "In reading ecclesiastical history, [even] when I was an Anglican, it used to be forcibly brought home to me how the initial error of what afterwards became heresy was the urging forward some truth against the prohibition of authority at an unseasonable time. There is a time for everything, and many a man desires . . . the fuller development of a doctrine, . . . but forgets to ask himself whether the time has come. . . . He may seem to the world to be nothing else than a bold champion for the truth and a martyr for free opinion, when he is just one of those persons whom competent

¹ November 6, 1888, Morley's "Gladstone," ii., 547. See also iii., 388.

² "Apologia," ch. v. (p. 259 in edition of 1887).

authority ought to silence. Yet its act will go down to posterity as a tyrannical interference with private judgment, . . . while, on the other hand, the said authority may be accidentally supported by a violent ultra party which exalts opinions into dogmas and has it principally at heart to destroy every school of thought but its own." And as regards civil society, he held that the "Liberal party was infected with theological liberalism; that its principles, spirit and tendency were hostile to dogmatic Christianity, and of course to Catholicism as the most dogmatic form of Christianity. That tendency was not permanently altered because the "Liberal" party sometimes needed the Catholic vote, or because "Liberals" believed that Catholics if well treated would grow indifferent and imbibe liberalism, or because Mr. Gladstone and his High-Church followers infused for a time into the Liberal party some respect for Catholicism and kept the Puritan wing of that party under control. Allies are not always friends; and why should Catholics be grateful to Non-conformists for hating the Anglican Church because it retains some remnants of Catholicism, or for helping to disestablish Episcopalianism in Ireland? The true spirit and character of parties is seen when an education bill is opposed by the Irish Nationalists and the English Conservatives and supported by the Irish Tories; or when, a few years ago, a Liberal government tried to set up, at the public expense and in Westminster Abbey, a monument to Oliver Cromwell and the attempt was defeated by an alliance of Irish Nationalists and English Conservatives. It is only fair, too, to remember that not one of the wrongs of Ireland was inflicted by the English Conservative party, and that the Liberal party, if it redresses grievances, is only undoing its own work. "The Tories," writes Gavan Duffy, "obtained their historic name (*Toree*=Irish *Rapparee*) on account of their sympathy for the Catholics of Ireland, whom the Whigs were plundering and loading with penal laws." The Irish Tories, of course, are not Conservatives at all in principle; they are Covenanters, Cromwellians and Revolution Whigs accidentally allied by their interests with the English Conservatives. "During the century which followed the Revolution," as the greatest of Whig historians⁸ acknowledges, "the disposition of a Protestant to trample on the Catholic was generally proportioned to the zeal he professed for liberty in the abstract. If an English Protestant expressed any sympathy for the (Irish) majority oppressed by the minority, he might safely be set down as a Tory and High-Churchman." It is well to remember that in later times Pusey and Keble, though they would not support the Liberal party, supported the disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland. It may be added that it was

⁸ Macaulay, "History of England," ch. xvii.

the Liberal party which extended the income tax to Ireland, though the Conservatives, when they instituted that tax for the purpose of lowering the tariff, had exempted Ireland, as they exempted Ireland from some of the war taxes during the South African war. It may be worth our notice that at the time of the American Revolution neither Grenville, nor Townshend, nor Grafton, nor North was a Tory; that the Ministry which passed the taxation acts was Whig, though the Whig party was then so large that it split up, and one section (the Rockinghams) was in opposition; that the Tory party was in a position resembling that of the War Democrats in 1861; that they did not support the Ministry until after the Declaration of Independence; that Burke, and Chatham, and Shelburne pronounced the country gentlemen (the great majority of whom were Tories) to be the most honest and fair-minded members of the House of Commons; that the coalition of Fox and North was a reunion of two Whig sections, and that the Tories followed Pitt. When we look at contemporary politics, especially questions affecting Ireland, we may often feel provoked with the Conservatives for opposing measures of progress from sheer conservatism; but it is only fair to remember that, when once a right is conceded, the same conservative temper which opposed the concession becomes its best protection; whereas the Liberal party appears to be regularly seized with fits of repentance for its concessions to Catholicism. In 1850, when the "furor Protestanticus" raged on both sides of the Atlantic, it was fanned in Great Britain by the Liberal Prime Minister; and it was the Liberal party which enacted the law against Catholic ecclesiastical titles (since repealed), which the Peelite Conservatives resolutely opposed. Two Liberal ex-Premiers expressed their approbation of the German *Kulturkampf*; and it was one of them who tried to persuade the English-speaking world that the Vatican decrees rendered it impossible for a Catholic to be a loyal citizen. A man like Newman could not forget that it was the Liberal party which bestowed the blessings of the Divorce Court upon England, and that one of their arguments against the indissolubility of marriage was that this is a Popish doctrine. "Why," said Mr. Gladstone, who opposed the divorce bill, "why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that the Church of Rome might here and there, by accident at least, do right?" Nor could Newman forget that when, after the attempt of Orsini to assassinate Napoleon III., Lord Palmerston introduced a bill to increase the penalties against "conspiracy to murder," his party revolted against him, though the Conservatives, suspending their opposition, enabled him by their support to carry the second reading of the bill, which affirmed its principle; that the Liberals, in order to prevent the bill from passing,

picked a quarrel with their own Ministry on a point on which they knew that the Conservatives would vote as an opposition against Palmerston, and that when the Conservatives came into power and prosecuted under the existing law those newspapers (*Liberal papers*) which excused political assassination, the Liberals started a popular agitation against the punishment of the editors. The attitude of the Liberal party towards divorce and towards political assassination was a thing which a religious man could not overlook. And the present attack upon the teaching of the Divinity of Christ in the schools shows the justice of his description of liberalism as "the anti-dogmatic principle." The Liberals try to produce the impression that their party is infallible and impeccable—and perhaps induce some others to think so—by the following representation: When they do anything good they are called "the Liberals;" when they do anything bad they are "the English;" consequently "the Liberals" are never said to do anything wrong. In this way "the Liberal party" is made to appear infallible and impeccable. Yet the Liberal party waged the two "Opium Wars" against China, and the Afghan War of 1839, and the Crimean War, which they joined in for the advantage of European liberalism (which hated the Russian autocracy for putting down the Hungarian rebellion in 1848), and it has almost always supported revolutionary and anti-Catholic parties abroad.

It is not wonderful, then, that Newman, though no Conservative party man, should have been anti-Liberal, when he looked not at particular measures or at the policy of the Gladstonian period, but at the abiding tendency, spirit and principles of parties. In those days Manning, too, said to a priest who remarked that the Nonconformists (the chief section of the Liberals) were now liberal towards the Catholic Church: "Never forget that Oliver Cromwell is not dead, but sleeping." Apart from the occasions when it needs the Catholic vote, has the Liberal party ever been liberal towards Catholicism except when it was led by High-Church men such as Burke and Gladstone?

Newman before he became a Catholic held the Lutheran doctrine of "Divine Right," which he inherited. He once said that Lacordaire was a Liberal and he a Tory for the same reasons—both were good Conservatives in spirit, and therefore took up with docility the opinions of their environment. While he was an Anglican, his view of parties was greatly influenced by their attitude towards the Church of England, not that he considered that disestablishment would do much harm to the Church, but that it would be a sin, an act of apostasy, on the part of the State, and that it would make religion unfashionable among the higher classes. We must remember, too,

that the fundamental principle of European liberalism, and at that time of British liberalism, is that the State has no conscience and therefore *ought not* under any circumstances to have a religion. Thus Vinet, who is one of the champions of conscience and who was perhaps the most eminent ethical writer among French-speaking Protestants of the nineteenth century, argues that if the State have a conscience the individual can have none, for the State will impose its own conscience on the individual. The contrary, of course, is the truth—if the State have *not* a conscience, it will impose its own opinions on the individual. What else is there to make the State, if it have not a conscience, respect the conscience of the individual or of the minority? A constitution? But a constitution guaranteeing the rights of the individual conscience is not likely to be framed by men who hold that the State has no conscience, nor will it long be respected by a majority who hold that the State has no conscience. In fact, this principle is simple Machiavelism, though it would be very unjust to say that Liberals generally see the consequences of their principle. If the State has not a conscience there can be no confidence in treaties or in any international engagements; and to say that the State *ought not* under any circumstances whatever to have a religion is certainly contrary to Catholic teaching. Newman, in 1868, when Mr. Gladstone explained (in the pamphlet entitled “A Chapter of Autobiography”) how a State may disestablish its own religion and still keep a conscience, wrote to him: “It is most noble, and I can congratulate you with greater reason and more hearty satisfaction than I could upon a score of triumphs at the hustings.”⁴ It may be seen, then, in what sense Newman was anti-Liberal, not at all as opposed to paternal government (which liberalism has never favored), but as opposed to the theological liberalism that is, as a rule, associated with political liberalism in any country in which religion and politics are much intermingled, and as believing most Liberals to be insincere in their professions of liberality. “Liberals,” said he, “are the bitterest persecutors.”⁵ That has always been true of European liberalism and sometimes of British liberalism.

When we turn from political philosophy to other branches, we may notice that Newman was well acquainted, as became an Oxford man, with Aristotle, in logic, rhetoric, poetics and ethics. “While we are men,” he says, “we cannot help being to a great extent Aristotelians; for the great Master does but analyze the thoughts, feelings, views and opinion of the human kind. In many subject-matters, to think correctly is to think like Aristotle; and we are

⁴ Morley's “Gladstone,” II., 250.

⁵ Newman's Essays, II., 214 (“Essay on Milman's View of Christianity”).

his disciples, whether we will or no, though we may not know it."⁶ One of his earliest essays is a fine and delicate criticism of Aristotle's theory of poetry. In his "Essay on Assent" he quotes "the philosopher" on the modes of proof in moral and practical questions.

The religious philosophers with whom Newman was best acquainted, probably, were the Alexandrians. When he began to read the fathers for his history of Arianism he was fascinated by the great school of Alexandria. "The broad philosophy of Clement and Origen carried me away—the philosophy, not the theological doctrine. Some portions of their teaching, magnificent in themselves, came like music to my inward ear, as if in response to ideas which, with little external to encourage them, I had cherished so long. These were based on the mystical or sacramental principle, and spoke of the various economies or dispensations of the Eternal. I understood these passages to mean that the exterior world, physical and historical, was but the manifestation to our senses of realities greater than itself."⁷ And in this connection we may quote a letter written (in May, 1834) in reply to a question concerning Berkeley, Hume and Reid: "As to Berkeley, I do not know enough to talk; but it seems to me that while a man holds the moral governance of God as existing *in and through his conscience*, it matters not [from a religious standpoint] whether he believes his senses or not. For at least he will hold the external world as a *divine* intimation, a scene of trial, whether a reality or not—just as a child's game may be a trial. I have tried to say this in my 'Arians,' ch. i, s. 3. I conceive Hume denied conscience; Berkeley confessed it. To what extent Berkeley denied the existence of the external world I am not aware; nor do I mean to go so far myself (far from it) as to deny the existence of matter, though I should deny that *what we saw* was more than the accidents of it, and say that space perhaps is but a condition of the objects of sense, not a reality."⁸ As to Reid, I used to know something of him twelve years since, when I was preparing for Oriel. He is a Scotchman who pretends to set Plato to rights. I have no business to talk of writers I have not studied; but the Scotch metaphysicians seem to me singularly destitute of imagination." The Lowland Scotch are the most purely Teutonic portion of the United Kingdom, and their dialect is the nearest of all the English dialects to the German. The greatest living English historian says that, on account of the large mixture of Celtic blood, "we (the British) ought to accept and glory in the title 'Anglo-

⁶ "Idea of a University," Discourse V., sec. 5.

⁷ "Apologia," ch. i., p. 26.

⁸ Scholastic philosophy holds that our mental image of Space (*spatium imaginarium*) is not correspondent to the reality.

Celtic' as the fitting designation of our race."⁹ It may be noted that many who talk more of philosophers have studied them less than Newman.

With the mediæval scholastics Newman certainly was not acquainted, but we may console ourselves in some degree by his incomparable familiarity with the fathers. With the British philosophers he was sufficiently conversant. Besides Berkeley, Hume and Reid, he writes with intelligence and accuracy of Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Clark, Butler, Bentham and Coleridge. Butler, indeed, who proclaims the authority of the moral law and of conscience as forcibly and solemnly as any man has ever done, and whose "Analogy of Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature" is founded on principles similar to those of the Alexandrians (and, indeed, of Catholic philosophy in general), is the one man whom Newman in philosophy calls master. Of Coleridge, who (as Mr. Wilfrid Ward has pointed out) is the link between Burke and Newman, he in his old age, by a failure of recollection, said that he never had read a word; and the statement has been quoted by some who should have known better. In fact, he quotes Coleridge in the "Essay on Assent." In the year 1835 he noted down: "During this spring I for the first time read parts of Coleridge's works; and I am surprised how much I thought mine is to be found there." He knew well the substance of Coleridge, and he saw clearly where the divergence came between the mystic tendency of Coleridge and the severely ethical and practical character of his own philosophy. Some of his own countrymen, perhaps from literary jealousy, perhaps to display their own reading, perhaps from annoyance that he is not a Kantian, criticize him for not studying Kant and echo Dean Stanley's silly remark: "How different the fortunes of the Church of England if Newman had known German!" Why Newman should be expected to read Kant any more than German philosophers are expected to read Newman is not very clear. He had friends around him well able to give him information about things German. In fact, the insularity of British scholarship in that day is chiefly an imagination of the later critics. With France, indeed, the wars with the French Revolution and Napoleon had suspended the interchange of ideas. But the same cause, together with the personal connection between the crowns of Hanover and of the United Kingdom, tended to increase intercourse with Germany. Coleridge's "Wallenstein" is there to attest the study of German. In Italian studies Carey's "Dante" belongs to those years; and the Oxford

⁹ Bancroft had long ago described the inhabitants of Great Britain as a breed "in whom the hardihood of the Norman was intermingled with the gentler qualities of the Celt and the Saxon."

School were marked by love of Italian literature. Spanish was probably more studied then than even now. As to philosophy, there are not now in Great Britain, or perhaps in any other country, men who have a greater acquaintance with the history of other men's ideas and systems than Mackintosh, Coleridge and Hamilton. Pusey had studied in Germany, and the controversy between Hugh James Rose and Pusey concerning "the state of German Protestantism" and "the causes of the rationalist character of German theology" shows no lack of knowledge on the part of either. Newman's friend, John William Bowden, a good German scholar, who read many German works for his "Life of Hildebrand," advised him not to give to German the time needed for so many pressing interests, as Bowden could always find for him anything he needed to know from a German book. Newman knew quite enough about German philosophy to be able to say, in reference to the results of a combination of ideas, that "the same philosophical elements, according as they are received into a certain sensibility, or insensibility, to sin and its consequences, lead one mind to the Church of Rome and another to what, for want of a better name, may be called Germanism."¹⁰ And again: "What were Arius and Abelard but forerunners of modern German professors, who aim at originality, show and popularity at the expense of truth?"¹¹

The truth is that a man of original genius such as Newman is not to be criticized by those who only know what other people have thought. To know all about other people's ideas is good; but it is better if a man be of the kind whose ideas are worth being known by other people. Now, Newman is one of those men given to us by Providence not for the mere purpose of talking about the contents of "the last German book," but of pouring out ideas of his own. I cannot but think that Newman has given us the Patristic philosophy of religion and morals in the language of our own day and our own world. His arguments for the existence and attributes of God are chiefly, but no means exclusively, psychological and moral. Of "the things which are made," through which "the invisible things of God are perceived," the most important, after all, is the human soul, which is made in the likeness and image of God. And while the sensible universe furnishes evidence of God's power, wisdom, majesty and in some measure of His benevolence, it is the soul, with its conscience, free will and moral ideals, that affords proof of His personality and holiness; and thus Newman says that conscience witnesses to God "as a shadow to a substance." He is as

¹⁰ "Development of Doctrine," ch. v., sec. ii., n. 2 (p. 180, edition of 1887).

¹¹ "Rise and Progress of Universities," ch. v. ("Historical Sketches," iii., 73).

far as any man can be from thinking that the conscience has an immediate apprehension, or intuition, or "experience" of God.¹² As Dr. Ward pointed out in the *Dublin Review* (January, 1872, pages 58 and 55): "Liberatore, Dmowski and, we think, all modern Catholic philosophers hold that in intuiting the moral evil of a given act men spontaneously and inevitably cognize the fact of its being prohibited by some Supreme Law-giver. . . . They say that some knowledge of God is included in the cognition of a moral axiom, . . . and they say that a large number of moral axioms are self-evident." Newman says in natural theology what they have been in the habit of saying in their ethics. That is the only difference.

And he keeps as far away from rationalism as from skepticism, and from Gnosticism as from Agnosticism. He often points out that there are mysteries in nature as well as in revelation, and that not all difficulties can be solved and not all objections answered; and this is the confession of Job and of St. Paul. His "Essay on Assent," when it first appeared, was severely criticized by some, of whom he said: "I think, I do not understand them, and I am sure they do not understand me," and he refused to reply, leaving the work with calm confidence to the judgment of the future. The future to which he looked forward is now the present, and it has not much fault to find with the book. The "Essay" contains a few mistakes, and in that it resembles every other treatise on philosophy which it has ever been the present writer's fortune to meet. But on the whole it is one of the most notable contributions ever made to the philosophy of moral certitude and to the logic of religion, and its repute is bound steadily to increase. He does not come before us in the pomp and circumstances of technical terminology; and he once showed that one of his critics (a countryman of his own) did not understand the English language. But truth is none the worse, but all the better when it is invested with the charm of beauty, which is its natural right; and through the graces of Newman's style that ancient Catholic philosophy has won its way into the mind of many a Catholic and, indeed, many a non-Catholic, who in their weakness would only have been repelled by the style of the scholastics. He is the interpreter of the mind of the Church to the English-speaking world. And if a Pope could say, after Sobieski's deliverance of Vienna, "There was a man sent by God, whose name was John," may we not reverently say so of Newman?

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¹² How far the mysticism found outside of the body of the Church is due to grace no one can say.

DON ALEXANDER O'REILLY, FIELD MARSHAL OF SPAIN.

DON ALEXANDER O'REILLY, an Irish soldier in the service of Spain. Captain General of Louisiana and Cuba. Field Marshal of Spain, 1722-1794.

BY THE treaty of Paris, 1763, France relinquished to Spain all claims to Louisiana, and by a treaty previously made with the King of Spain the French King ceded to the Spanish Crown Louisiana and the Island of Orleans. But Spain seemed to care little for this magnificent gift. In 1764 King Louis XV. wrote to Governor Abbadie relating the terms of the cession. But the colonists, being deeply attached to the mother country, besought the King to hold Louisiana for France.

Public remonstrances and petitions against the transfer to Spain reached King Louis frequently. The colonists sent Jean Milhet, the richest of their merchants, to Paris to plead their cause. Bien-ville, the founder of Mobile and New Orleans, was then living in Paris, being in his eighty-sixth year. He backed the petition of his former friends, and when he died, a few days later, it was said that he died of grief because the infidel Minister, Choiseul, utterly refused to keep Louisiana. An evil woman who ruled the court about this time would have nothing to do with American colonies, North or South. They were, in her eyes, but some acres of snow. The wealthy delegate Milhet was as unsuccessful as the dying Bien-ville.

Meanwhile many now deemed the cession in some sense an accomplished fact. Don Antonio Ulloa, a scholar of European reputation, arrived in New Orleans March 5, 1766, commissioned by King Charles III. as the first Spanish Governor of Louisiana. Discontent showed itself everywhere and soon culminated in open rebellion. At last the malcontents, against the advice of Aubrey, the French Governor, petitioned the Supreme Council to command Ulloa and the other Spanish officers to leave the colony. A petition to this effect was signed by 550 citizens. Six hundred armed men stood ready to enforce the obedience of Ulloa.

Ulloa determined to retire to Cuba, and went aboard one of the King's vessels moored at the other side of the river. Here he remained till the next night, when the cables were cut by the populace and the ship sent adrift.

After this treacherous act the condition of the rebels became more perilous. News of this outrage having reached Spain, the King resolved to restore order at any cost. There was then in the service of the Catholic King an officer of high rank, in whom he had the fullest confidence. Don Alexander O'Reilly, a native of Ireland and

a descendant of one of the bravest of Sarsfield's soldiers. Debarred by his religion from a career suitable to his rank, he, like many of his countrymen, sought military service under the Spanish flag. It has been computed that from the Battle of the Boyne and the sieges of Limerick, '89-'90, to the French Revolution, 1789, three-quarters of a million of Irishmen served in the armies and navies of Europe.

One of the most distinguished of these warlike exiles was Don Alexander O'Reilly, who won high renown as a commander in war and a civil administrator in peace.

O'Reilly was born in Baltrasna, in the fertile County of Meath, in 1722. The penal laws were in full force, but, like other gentlemen of his rank, his father contrived to procure for his children excellent tutors, probably disguised priests, from one or other of the great continental universities, many of whom were to be found as missionaries in Ireland at that date. Count O'Reilly's polished manner, his fine address and his beautiful letters, which are treasured as heirlooms in Louisiana to-day by the best Creole families, prove that from early associations in childhood he mixed with persons of rank and learning.

When quite young he joined the Irish Brigade in the service of Spain, and several of his brothers became soldiers of the Catholic King. His youngest brother dedicated his life to God in the religious state as a friar of St. Francis, and after laboring for several years on the dangerous missions of his native land he died in the odor of sanctity a Franciscan priest in the ancient monastery of St. Francis near Dublin.

The parts of Ireland where O'Reilly first saw the light abounded in romantic and historic lore, which was not without its influence on his education and temperament. It was in Royal Meath that much of the tragedy of the hapless Queen Devoirgilla was enacted—her sin and her long and bitter repentance. No doubt he visited beautiful Clonmacnoise and admired the classic pillars and carved arches of the penitent Queen's stately chapel. Here he could bewail the evil days, not yet forgotten in the songs and traditions of the people, when her favorite, Dermot, led the Anglo-Norman Fitzstephen into Ireland to aid him in his evil war against her own husband. These were sad days for the whole country. The fallen Queen, let us hope, made all the reparation it was possible for her to make. The remains of schools, churches and monasteries to-day attest her sincerity. And perhaps we may be bold to say, as of another great sinner who is known wherever the Gospel is preached: "Many sins were forgiven her because she loved much."

O'Reilly married in Spain a lady of rank. They were blessed

with several children, whom they brought up in the fear and love of God and in the strict practice of the holy Catholic religion.

In the early days of his military career O'Reilly fought in the wars of Italy, where he received a wound which lamed him for life. This caused his enemies in Louisiana to nickname him "Le Boiteux." They also called him "Cruel O'Reilly" and even "Bloody O'Reilly." But it is probable he never heard this. And it is certain that there never was a soldier in America or elsewhere who less deserved these opprobrious epithets than this fearless captain general. He figured in many battles in Europe and America and was a special favorite of the King, Charles III., whose life he had been fortunate enough to save in a popular tumult at Madrid in 1762.

This energetic officer, who stood in such high favor with the Majesty of Spain and in whom the King had implicit confidence, was selected by his royal master to quell the insurrection in New Orleans, investigate the disturbances and, as far as necessary, punish the insurgents, especially the ringleaders.

Count O'Reilly arrived at the Balize early in August, 1769, with a fleet of twenty-four sail and two thousand six hundred of his best troops. When the New Orleans people heard of the arrival of this armament they were not anxious to face the foe. They did not even wait for the landing of the soldiers. Terror-stricken, they deserted the streets and shut themselves up in their wooden houses. The new Governor, however, quieted their fears, declaring that only the leaders would be arrested. Only they would be tried, and if found guilty, punished according to the laws in force in all civilized countries for such cases.

General O'Reilly on this occasion showed the lofty enthusiasm with which his whole character was tinctured, and treated the misguided people with extreme gentleness and courtesy. It is clear that the King had sent the general to punish those who deserved punishment and pardon all who deserved acquittal. These were well known in the colony. The King was a sincere friend of the general and entertained for him such affectionate regard as rarely passes the domestic hearth.

One does not ordinarily speak of a royal favorite as a friend, but there seemed to have existed a genuine friendship between the Catholic King and the renowned captain general. The Spanish Governors were noted for their mildness. "The people will remain quiet," said Nuzaga, O'Reilly's successor, a little later, "as long as

¹ The story of the men who went down the river to meet O'Reilly in 1769 is given as it was given in a public library of New Orleans by a gentleman who claimed to be a descendant of one of the party, and had the incident in writing. Gayarre tells it somewhat differently in his "History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination."

they are gently treated, but the use of the rod would produce confusion." "The royal intentions are," said another, "that nothing be done which may breed discontent among the King's subjects."

Several leaders of the insurrection went down the river¹ to see the redoubtable chieftain and try if they could judge what his action was likely to be in the coming crisis. The general received his self-imposed guests very graciously, and they seemed to enjoy themselves at his hospitable board. Dinner over, they assembled on deck to recreate before leaving. The Governor joined them. He probably knew at this time that their chances of acquittal were small. They were surprised to see him strike his bosom beneath his uniform and exclaim: "Gentlemen, I have here in my bosom the orders of the King, which must be obeyed." He then tossed up his arms and cried out: "Flee, gentlemen, if you want to escape. Flee!"

They were then untried and, of course, unconvicted. They could have escaped to their plantations or elsewhere with little difficulty and no danger. But they looked for acquittal and they heeded not the warning. O'Reilly certainly stayed long enough in the river to give all the accused ample time to escape.

Towards the middle of August the Spanish armament cast anchor before the city of New Orleans, and in two days more the troops finally disembarked and were marched into the public square in front of the government buildings. Here, on the 18th of August, in presence of a large concourse of people and before the troops of both powers, the public ceremony of delivering the province to the Spanish Governor was performed. The flag of France slowly descended from the top of the flagstaff, greeting that of Spain as it mounted aloft before the assembled multitude, and was cheered by the troops of both nations.

The landing of these soldiers was the most magnificent spectacle ever beheld in Louisiana, always fond of brilliant spectacles. The Spanish soldiers were gorgeously equipped and moved to their appointed places with the martial tread of perfectly drilled soldiers. Always delighted with sights, the populace poured out towards the river to gaze on one of the showiest ever seen in America, seeming to care little whether the lilies of France or the flaming colors were flung to the breeze. The prolonged shouts of "Viva el Rey!" were distinctly heard in the cloisters of St. Ursula, about four squares distant.

The hoarse roaring of the cannon was mingled with the mellow tones of all the bells in the towers, while with all possible pomp and circumstance the captain general, attended by his staff of splendidly accoutred men, preceded by officers bearing massive silver maces,

crossed the square to the church, marching to the music of many instruments, not a note of which was lost on the inmates of the neighboring convent, who could see the whole gorgeous pageant from their broad galleries and dormer windows. At that epoch there was nothing to obstruct the view to the river. The row of large houses which now lift their heads above the outer garden wall had not yet been built.

This warlike chieftain who represented the potent Majesty of Spain was received at the sacred portals of the church with royal honors by the French clergy, the head of whom at that time was the famous Père Dagobert,² of the province of Champagne. He welcomed O'Reilly with effusion, and with the utmost enthusiasm promised fidelity for his brethren, the Capuchins and the Congregation of St. Louis, having previously bestowed the benediction of the Church on the Spanish flag.

A splendid military service in honor of the god of armies was performed within the sacred walls of the parish Church of St. Louis. And when the congregation sang the "Te Deum" it was observed that the pale, intellectual countenance of O'Reilly was radiant with devotion as he knelt with his forehead to the earth at the "Te ergo quæsumus, tuis famulis subveni."

Some speak of the church in which O'Reilly's soldiers paraded and that devout chief had knelt in lowly adoration as the famous Cathedral of Almonaster. But that commodious temple, built in 1725, before whose walls the sad Acadians had worshiped, had served its purpose for over sixty years and was destroyed in the dreadful conflagration of 1788, which spread over the whole city from the lamp of the pious treasurer, Don Vincente Nuñez. This plain brick edifice was replaced by the picturesque Cathedral built by Almonaster in 1794, with its white turrets and shining cross, which the princely O'Reilly never saw.

On the historic Place d'Armes, Aubrey, the last of the French Governors, handed the keys of the city to O'Reilly, who, bowing low, received them for the King of Spain, Charles III.

Miniatures of this celebrated soldier preserved among his

² Père Dagobert was a well-known character in New Orleans, Mobile and other places for half a century. His picture is rare. One is owned by Miss Victoria de V—. A venerable Creole lady says it is the only one in existence. Dagobert had a nephew in the colony named Gullmard, an engineer in the Baton Rouge expedition under Galvey, though some historians aver that there was none in this expedition. This Gullmard must have been a jack-of-all-trades. I have seen a plan of the Cathedral drawn by him, and he was the painter of his uncle's portrait. He was also a sculptor, a non-commissioned officer, a scholar and a great favorite of Carondelet. Dagobert was the Père's first or Christian name; the family name was de Louguy. O'Reilly was a special friend of Dagobert's.

descendants in Cuba show that his lineaments resemble those of his illustrious contemporary, George Washington. A small portrait of O'Reilly was given to the writer by the grandson of his Contador (Comptroller), Hon. Carlos Gayarre. This was given by the writer to the late John Boyle O'Reilly, of the *Boston Pilot*, an ardent admirer of his illustrious namesake, and, like him, born among the fertile meads of Royal Meath.³

The trial of the chief conspirators resulted in their conviction, and Laprenière, Marquis, Noyant, Milhet and Caresse were duly sentenced. O'Reilly remained inexorable to the earnest entreaties of those who wished their lives saved. The only concession he would make was the commutation of the death sentence by hanging to military execution or shooting.

Judge Gayarre says, and Monette insinuates as much, that O'Reilly was only thirty-four years old when he came to Louisiana, and they were surprised at the firmness of so young a man. But this is not correct, for relatives in Meath give the year of his birth 1722, and there is reason to believe that this date is correct. In 1769 O'Reilly was in his forty-eighth year.

The defense of the rebels when tried was that Spain had not formally taken possession; that Ulloa had never shown his credentials; that the colonists had never taken the oath of allegiance to Spain. But it was proved that the Spanish flag had for many months been floating at every post from the Balize to Illinois; that the accused had held their commissions from Ulloa and drawn their salaries from the King of Spain while exciting revolt against him. The King's lawyer, Don Felix del Rey, spoke of Laprenière with withering contempt as an unfaithful officer and the chief instigator of conspiracy against the King, whose money he was receiving as Attorney General while exciting rebellion against him.

No particulars are given as to the last hours of the seditious men who were shot in the prison yard on the 27th of September, 1769, about 3 o'clock P. M. The Spanish law always assigned priests to attend criminals under sentence of death. If a priest was sent to these poor men, it was surely their favorite, Father Dagobert, who would be most acceptable. Père Dagobert did not always bear the highest reputation for sanctity. With great wisdom and profound policy O'Reilly liked to place natives of France in the principal offices of Church and State, and hence Dagobert was continued at the head of the French clergy. He was much beloved in the colony and had married, buried or baptized almost all who had need of these ministrations. But if all were true that a certain historian

³ O'Reilly's shield was lately shown in New Orleans to several friends by a Miss R—, whose mother was a lateral descendant of the count himself.

(Shea) says of his conduct, his faults could not escape the eagle eye of O'Reilly, who would have had him removed for far less than his accusers allege against him. The chief authority against him was the austere Father Cyrillo, who at that time did not understand French and was, moreover, ignorant of the customs of Louisiana. He wrote disparagingly of religion in Louisiana. "It is more difficult," said he, "to weed the garden of New Orleans than it was to plant it in the beginning." Very soon was recorded the close of Dagobert's troubled life. "There is no conqueror but death." In the deaths for the parochial Church of St. Louis June 1 is recorded Père Dagobert's. Curiously enough, it was the pious Cyrillo who attended him and "gave ecclesiastical sepulture to his body."

As the King of Spain wished his subjects to receive the great sacrament whose office it is to rouse and fortify the Catholic faith in the heart—Confirmation—Cyrillo was consecrated Bishop in 1781 for this purpose.

We have to return to the execution of the unfortunate malcontents. Some of their relatives took refuge in the Ursuline Convent the day of the execution, where they were treated by the kind Sisters with all possible goodness. One religious who had a relative among these poor men fainted away when she heard the fatal shot, and from that hour could never hear a shot fired without falling into a swoon. But no word of censure was uttered against the King or his Minister by the nuns or their guests.⁴

The state of religion in Louisiana about the time of the cession was truly deplorable. In 1763 the Supreme Council issued a decree of banishment against the Society of Jesus, a blow from which the Church of the colony never wholly recovered. The baseness and tyranny of this insignificant body, composed chiefly of wicked and ignorant men, were indescribable. Their property was confiscated and sold for one hundred and eighty thousand dollars. Their chapels were leveled to the ground and the bodies of their dead desecrated. The faithful in many places were left without an altar.

⁴ Speaking of O'Reilly, I forgot to mention that our Mère de Ste. Thérèse de Moüy, who had been a pupil of the pioneer Ursulines, and who lived until July 25, 1820, had some relatives among the condemned rebels, yet my venerated friend, Sister Mary Gertrude Young, who had lived with her for a decade of years, never heard her censure O'Reilly or his government. She told me, however, that after the execution Mère de Ste. Thérèse could not bear to see a horse or hear a shot fired without weeping or fainting. It seems to me that this goes to prove that great as had been the shock received on the occasion of the execution of the rebels, the action was never set down by O'Reilly's contemporaries to cruelty or injustice; still less was he described as "bloody" for having allowed the law to take its course. Two religious who were living at the execution of the rebels survived that unhappy event for sixty-seven years. It could scarcely have injured their health, and certainly did not shorten their lives.

Among the sacrilegious wretches who aided in this infamous work the Attorney General, Laprenière, head of the Supreme Council, stands conspicuous, and his fate and that of some of his confederates a few years later was regarded as a striking instance of the retributive justice of God.

The Jesuits were torn from their flocks, their chapels burned and their effects sold at auction. Many French and Indians begged that their pastors and altars might be spared to them, but in vain. The harsh orders were carried into effect with details of cruelty which we spare the reader.

Judging from the official reports of the French Governors of Louisiana, it is evident that for several years previous to transfer abuses of all kinds and even complete anarchy reigned in the colony. Aubrey, the last of the French Governors, expresses surprise that the mere presence of one individual (O'Reilly) could have restored tranquillity, good order and peace. Only a man of genius could have suppressed universal insubordination and quieted disturbances which had lasted for years.

When O'Reilly's record was rigorously examined after he had resigned the government of Louisiana by officials appointed for this purpose, these gentlemen "declared that every one of his official acts deserved their most decided approbation and were striking proofs of his extraordinary genius." Nevertheless, we regret that so humane a ruler was unable to restore order and spare the lives of those to whom the law decreed death. The Supreme Council was suppressed by O'Reilly. This body had ordered the expulsion of the scholarly Ulloa. The Cabildo replaced it. The Cabildo brings back to every Spanish mind recollections of Spain's glorious past.

During Spanish domination no taxes were levied in Louisiana. The priests were liberally supported by the King, who also furnished everything for church services. The austere Cyrillo became Bishop. He infused new life into the country parishes (counties), and became a terror to the evildoers who made the religious history of time and place so painful to the Catholic student.

Bishop Cyrillo issued a pastoral, in which he eloquently urged the people to hear Mass on Sundays and holidays. He severely censured the wicked customs of the Negroes, who at the Vesper hour every Sunday assembled in a green, still called Congo Square, to dance the bamboula, throw the wanga and worship the serpent with hideous rites imported from Africa by the Yollofs, Foulahs, Banbarras, Mandingoes and other barbarians of the Dark Continent.

O'Reilly officially declared that it was contrary to the mild and

beneficial laws of Spain to hold Indians in slavery. To evade this merciful law they were often classed with mulattoes as colored. In May, 1784, Indian congresses were held in Mobile and Pensacola, at which Count Arthur O'Neil and Governor Miro presided. Here is an article framed on that occasion :

"In conformity with the humane and generous sentiment of the Spanish nation, we (the Indians) renounce forever the custom of raising scalps and making slaves of our white captives."

O'Reilly's closest attention was given to everything concerning the Divine worship. He even requested the commandant at Natchitoches to see that the church was kept clear of dogs during the hours of Divine service.

The Governor was ordered to visit all the prisoners several times a year—the Alcaldes, the alguazil and the escribano (scrivener) to visit them once a week. These humane and Christian established in Louisiana by this great man reflect high honor on Spanish colonial legislation. This princely ruler was among the last high priests of expiring chivalry. In the oath of office he imposed on his subordinates there is a promise to defend the Immaculate Conception of Our Blessed Lady and never to take any fee from the poor.

The Irish clergy scattered over the territory over which Cyrillo ruled—Fathers Burke, Savage, Walsh, White, O'Reilly, Hassatt, Crosby, Barry, McKenna—who had been accustomed to keep their registers in Latin, were commanded to keep them in Spanish henceforth.

O'Reilly was kindness personified to the Acadians. When they complained he listened gently to their grievances and rectified them on the spot as far as possible. De Clonet, who was commandant of the Poste des Attakapas, at which were many Acadians, is represented to-day by many descendants, especially about St. Martinsville, and much information regarding these early days might recently be gathered from this ancient officer, although the religious wars and disturbances of New Orleans found but little echo in this peaceful region.

Opelousas, "the green Opelousas," was governed from the Attakapas, but in 1787 was made a distinct command, while the Attakapas remained in charge of Chevalier de Clouet. O'Reilly spent some time in these quiet regions and was much beloved by the people whose affairs he regulated in 1770.

Forstall (Forristal), an Irishman placed in office by O'Reilly, carried everywhere with him a huge genealogical tree showing his descent from the Kings of Ireland. Many of his descendants bearing the name Forstall exist in Louisiana. Judge Gayarre told the

writer that he had examined the above genealogy. Several Acadians attained eminence as lawyers and soldiers.

When the Acadians were exposed to evil influence they were easily corrupted. They became the accomplices and tools of the disaffected. They were among the insurgents who paraded the muddy streets and with shouts and yells sustained the Supreme Council when that body ordered the expulsion of Ulloa. In his report to his government Ulloa charges the Acadians with ingratitude, they having received nothing but benefits from the Spaniards. Bishop Carroll noticed in Baltimore the deterioration of the Acadians.

Associated with O'Reilly in the government of Louisiana were several able statesmen—Gayarre, Navarro, Baulign and Loyola, who died soon. He was said to be related to the great founder of the Jesuits.

A noble youth related by marriage to O'Reilly was Sebastian O'Farrell, Marquis Casacalvo, who remained in Louisiana during the Spanish domination.⁵

Francisco Bouligny came to Louisiana as aide-de-camp to O'Reilly in 1769. His father, Jean Bouligny, wrote a genealogy of the family. After referring to their escutcheon, he says: "The principal nobility is to be 'hombre de bien,' of deeds without reproach, to live in the fear of God, in obeying His commands." In a letter dated Alicante, October 21, 1769, Jean writes to Francisco saying he recommended him to O'Reilly, "who offered me to do all for you that would depend on him." He concludes: "Apply yourself to your duty well, for God is the true patron of honest people. I am your dear father, who always thinks of you in his feeble prayers that God may keep you in His holy grace."

When Francisco Bouligny married, El Conde O'Reilly sent the following pretty interesting letter to the bride, written in French:

1770.

Madame: Your happiness will always interest me, and I will give you, with pleasure, all the proofs of this that will depend on me.

I felicitate you on your marriage. Your husband is a worthy officer, of whom I think highly. I hope you will be happy together, and it is in this persuasion that I wished your union.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, madame, your very humble and obedient servant,
O'REILLY.

The above letters and documents, with many others from Governors, Kings, ecclesiastics, written in French or Spanish, are in possession of Mrs. Albert Buldwin, of New Orleans, *née* Bouligny (Artemise), who kindly allowed the writer to examine them.

⁵ A magnificent dinner and ball celebrated the transfer of Louisiana to Spain on December 1. It opened with a minuet, danced by Marquis Casacalvo and Madame Almonaster, the sprightly widow of the pious founder of the New Orleans Cathedral. The Supreme Council was suppressed by O'Reilly, as it had ordered the expulsion of Ulloa. The Cabildo replaced it.

In 1770 O'Reilly introduced many useful regulations and salutary laws, and perfect order was soon established. Spanish emigrants began to come in great numbers, with Americans and West Indians. The population increased so rapidly as to cause a general scarcity. Flour rose to twenty dollars a barrel. Oliver Pollock came from Baltimore with a cargo of flour which he offered O'Reilly on his own terms for the use of the city. O'Reilly declining to receive it on such terms, Pollock sold it to him at fifteen dollars. O'Reilly was so pleased at the purchase that he granted Pollock the free trade of Louisiana as long as he lived and promised to report his generosity to the King.

A pretty story is told in connection with Pollock. He was an Irishman—a native of Meath. In O'Reilly he discovered an old companion. So closely were they related that they both spoke their native language with the same accent and were happy to renew under tropical skies their ancient friendship.

On O'Reilly's return to Spain he remodeled the Spanish army. He was created field marshal and sent to Havana to restore the fortifications. In 1775 he was made commander general of Andalusia and Governor of Cadiz. In 1794 he was placed in command of the army of the Pyrenees, but died on his way there in 1794, at the age of seventy-two, near the small city of Chinchilla.

O'Reilly, by a long, wide street in New Orleans known as O'Reilly street, to this day the chief business street in Havana is styled Calle O'Reilly, O'Reilly street. The Governor's palace is between O'Reilly and Obispo, fronting on the Plaza. The post office is at the foot of O'Reilly street.

MARY AUSTIN CARROLL.

CATHOLICITY AND THE DABISTAN.

"That they may be One." St. John xvii., 11.

IN THE middle of the seventeenth century there lived a certain Persian traveler named Mohsan Fani, whose claim to fame rests upon a very rare and famous book called "The Dabistain," or School of Manners, well known to scholars, which is really a résumé of Asiatic religions. Fani composed it about the year 1645, and some two hundred years later, in 1843, it was translated from the Persian by Antony Troyer, who wrote a valuable preface containing a synopsis of the work itself, which is in three volumes.

We wish to call attention to this book for the same reason (with a difference) which we think prompted the devout Mussulman to write it—namely, the conviction that if one faith, as we Christians believe, is ever to prevail all over the world, we must find out what the points of agreement are in the great religions of the world; we must see if there are fundamental dogmas common to all, and thus approach each other in the spirit of peace.

It matters not that Mohsan Fani wrote from a Mussulman's standpoint, in the hope that all the world would eventually become Mussulmans, and we from a Catholic point of view, because the underlying principle of both is mainly that a better understanding of the great religions of the world tends to unity and paves the way for Catholic missionaries. It may be asked, if this be so, why then should it not pave the way for Moslem or Buddhist missionaries also, a condition of things not "devoutly to be wished?" We answer it is an indisputable fact, though one often forgotten, that whatever of truth is found in any of the great religions of the world, whether Parsian, Buddhist, Hindoo or Moslem, is also found in the Catholic religion; but this cannot be asserted of any other religion.

There is a natural as well as a supernatural reason for this. The Divine Founder of Christianity was Himself in his human nature an Asiatic, therefore as man His teaching would naturally be consonant with Eastern methods of thought. The supernatural reason is that the Catholic religion contains all truths that ever have been divinely revealed. Therefore, if any other religion contains any of these truths they are bound to be found in the Catholic faith; but it does not follow that they will be found in any third religion, for Islam contains truths not to be found in Buddhism, Buddhism truths not found in the Parsian religion, though, as we shall presently see, there are certain truths common to several of the great religions. It follows, then, that a better understanding of each other's faith will discover a basis of unity with Catholicity because the Catholic religion alone is divinely revealed, and therefore alone is certain to hold what is of truth in any other religion, and just as international hatred and prejudice proceed mainly from ignorance and misrepresentation and are removed by a better acquaintance, so in religious matters ignorance and misstatements of each other's faith are partly responsible for the persistence of heretical creeds and for the impassable gulf which separates Christianity from other religions. Mohsan Fani evidently felt this 250 years ago, from his Moslem point of view, and wrote "The Dabistan" to bridge over the gulf from the side of Islam. How far he succeeded we shall hope to show in this paper.

All religions except the Catholic have fallen from their original

purity of doctrine and have become adulterated and superstitious to suit the uneducated masses of the people. So we cannot judge of the Parsian religion, of Buddhism, of Lamaism, of Hindooism, of Islam by the popular expression of these creeds by the lower orders. Zoroaster, Sakya-Muni and Mahomet would probably scarcely recognize their own teaching in the grotesque practices of their followers of the present day. It is not among the ignorant, superstitious exponents of these religions that we shall find any points of resemblance between their debased idolatrous creeds and our holy religion; we must go to the highly educated Lamas of Thibet, the Sufis of Arabia and Persia and the learned mystics of India, and then we shall be struck by the similarity of our faiths in the deepest philosophical and metaphysical questions and the highest spiritual truths and, more strange still, in the resemblance between the spiritual experience of all the mystics, so that sometimes in Buddhist and Moslem mystical writings passages are found relating to various states of union with God which almost might have been written by Christian mystics.

Before proceeding to summarize "The Dabistan" we would remark that we have here avoided the use of the word "Mahometan" to describe the followers of Mahomet, because, though it is not to them an offensive term, as some scholars have thought, they never use it, and prefer to be known as Mussulmans, or Moslems, or Mu'mins, and call themselves "the people," meaning really the people of Mahomet.¹ Islam means resignation to God, from an Arabic word connected with the Hebrew "Salem," or peace, and is used by its believers to express the religion of Mahomet, the chief tenet of which is submission to the will of God.

The absolute nature of the resignation of the human will to the Divine will inculcated by Mahomet is shown in a well-known story of a Moslem saint, the beauty of which is the best excuse for quoting it. A certain man after spending many years in prayer and fasting, at length knocked at the gate of heaven and a voice from within asked, "Who is there?" The saint replied, "It is I." But the gates remained closed, so he went weeping away and fasted and prayed for seven years, and then again knocked at heaven's gate. Again the voice within asked, "Who is there?" and again the saint replied, "It is I," and the voice within said, "There is not room here for thee and me," and again the gate remained closed, and the saint went away for another seven years of prayer and fasting, and then once more he knocked at the gate. Once more the voice within cried, "Who is there?" But this time the saint, now perfect in submission and so absolutely one with God that nothing of self remained within

¹ See Hughes' "Dictionary of Islam."

him, answered, "It is Thou," and this time the gate was opened and he went in.

Mohsan Fani, a Persian by birth, lived in the decline of Islam. He divided the "Dabistan" into twelve chapters, each descriptive of a religion or sect, but as one would expect, he is most at home when dealing with the religion to which he belonged. His accounts of Judaism and of Christianity contain mistakes, and those of Buddhism and Lamaism, with which he seems to have had but a slight acquaintance, are very brief.

He begins with a description of the ancient religion of Persia, the Mahabadian or Parsian, by which latter name it is better known; the second chapter treats of Zoroastrianism, the third of Hindooism, the fourth of the Sikhs, the fifth of Buddhism, the sixth of Judaism, the seventh of Christianity and the remaining five deal with the various principal sects of Islam. Besides the two great divisions into the Sunnites or Orthodox Mahometans or Mussulmans and the Shiahhs or Shiites, who follow Ali and are mostly found in Persia, Syria and the north of Arabia, there are no less than seventy sects. Mahomet, with sublime impartiality, consigned them all except the Sunnites to eternal damnation. The Parsian religion is the earliest religion of the Persians and prevailed among the first Persian dynasty; there are many sects in it, and it was corrupted both before, during and after the time of Zoroaster.² Mahabada, after whom it is sometimes called, was the first earthly ruler of the present cycle and the first ancestor of a new innumerable population. Mohsan Fani appears to be better acquainted with the religion of the Parsees, the ancient faith of his country, than with any other except Islam, and gives a long account of it and is evidently much in sympathy with it. He says the Parsees believe it to be wrong to hold any religious faith in abhorrence, and hold that we can draw near to God in any faith, but they think that the great barrier to approaching God is the slaughter of innocuous animals. Mr. Troyer in his preface says the Parsian religion is founded on transcendental ideas of the Deity, and he quotes the following passage from the "Desatir," the sacred book of the Parsees: "Except God Himself, who can comprehend His origin? Entity, unity, identity are inseparable properties of this original essence and are not adventitious to Him."³ Mohsan Fani says they were seekers after a Being who is without equal, without form or color or pattern, and they contemplate Him without using Arabian, Persian, Hindoo or any other language.

This is only another way of saying the Parsees practice mental prayer; and it is clear their original conceptions of Almighty God

² See Preface to "The Dabistan."

³ See Preface to "The Dabistan," p. 68.

were of a Spiritual Being, incomprehensible, transcending all others, infinite; they, like us, believed "God is a Spirit," but, unfortunately, instead of being content to "worship Him in spirit and in truth," they fell into the error of worshipping the sun as an emblem of Him, though they believe He created the sun and stars, and that all things emanate from Him.

They worship the stars also and believe that each star has its own particular intelligence or spirit or angel inhabiting it. Thus Adam inhabits the moon, which is the source from which the traditional man in the moon is derived, though Dante believes him to be Cain.⁴ Abraham is worshiped in Saturn, Aaron in Mars, Joseph in Venus and St. John and Our Lord in Mercury, according to the "Desatir," which places some Persian Kings in the moon instead of Adam, whom Fani as a follower of Mahomet places there. In pursuance of this cultus, every private house inhabited by Parsees has images of the stars. They also believe that the eternal Paradise is the heavens and the sun the Lord of the empyrean.

They think that the world is eternal and will continue to all infinity, and that it bears the same relation to the Creator as the solar sun does to the sun.⁵ They believe in the angels and have a beautiful saying "that not a drop of dew falls without an angel." According to them, all creation is the abode of the angels, which may be their version of and way of saying that "we are encompassed about with a great crowd of witnesses." They believe the human soul to be eternal and infinite instead of immortal, and they think if it is a holy soul it will return to the heavens and be united to the stars. While like us they believe perfect souls will attain the Beatific Vision, on the other hand they hold the heretical doctrine that depraved souls will descend to animals, vegetables or stones.

A Persian idea not peculiar to any religious body is that when the soul of a deceased person reaches the bridge of eternity it meets an apparition, which according to the deceased person's past may be either attractive or repulsive, and when asked by the soul, "Who art thou?" the apparition will answer, "I am thy life." What is this but an Eastern and poetical version of the old Western rhyme:

As the man lives, so shall he die;
As the man dies, so he shall be
All through the days of eternity.

The Parsian religion is a strange mixture of truth and error. While on the one hand its professors hold some sublime truths, on the other they have fallen into gross errors. They look upon insanity and illness as a visitation of Providence and as acts of attributive justice for works done in a former existence; for, like

⁴ "The Inferno," xx., 1300.

⁵ This is the doctrine of emanation.

the Buddhist, they believe in reincarnation and the transmigration of souls.

Like other Eastern mystics, they believe man can quit his body for a time and resume it. In their contemplations they, like us, strive after union with God, "keeping their hearts in His presence until they, rescued from shadows of doubt, are identified with God." These are Mohsan Fani's own words, and he continues: "Thou art but an atom, He the great whole; but if for a few days thou meditate with care on the Whole, thou becomes one with it."⁶

In judging of the Parsian religion from Mohsan Fani's point of view, we must not forget that he was a Mussulman, and the Mussulmans as a body hate the Parsees intensely and misrepresent them. This he does not appear to have done, but, on the contrary, to have written dispassionately and even sympathetically of them, as he has of all the other religions he describes.

In Zoroastrianism there are two great principles—God or Light, and Ahriman or darkness.⁷ Fani treats it as a separate religion, but it is generally considered a reform of the Parsian creed, which had become corrupt before Zoroaster's time. What that time was historians are not agreed, some placing him as far as fifteen centuries before Christ, others only six centuries before Christ.

His followers have no altars or temples; fire is offered on the ground by the priests or by Kings, who are called Magi. Neither Mohsan Fani nor his translator, Mr. Troyer, seem to have the slightest doubt as to Zoroaster's existence, which, because his history is so involved in contradictory legends, some modern scholars have doubted. Mr. Troyer says in his preface that Zoroaster prophesied a Saviour who should restore the kingdom of God and destroy the world by fire, and he also prophesied a general resurrection of the dead.

His sacred writings were very voluminous. What remain are contained in the "Zendavesta," or "Living Word," which is in two parts, one in Zend and the other in Phlvi, or Pehlavi, the ancient Persian language. The first part is a sort of breviary, which the priests or Magi had to recite before the rising of the sun; the second section is prayers, some in Pehlvi and some in Persian, and the third is a sort of calendar. The second part is a kind of encyclopedia containing instructions in astronomy, religion, worship, agriculture, cosmogony, civil institutions, etc.⁸

Zoroaster preached no austerities. On the contrary, one of his sayings is "Know that in thy faith there is no fasting except that

⁶ "The Dabistan," Vol. I., p. 69 seq.

⁷ See Preface to "Dabistan."

⁸ See Bouillet's "Dictionnaire Historique."

of avoiding sin, in which sense thou must fast the whole year.”⁹ The exposition of Hindooism contained in the third part is long and full and evidently partly derived from conversation with educated Hindoos in the course of some of Fani’s travels, which extended to India, and partly from a perusal of the Vedas, the sacred book of the Hindoos, which he frequently quotes in the “Dabistan.” This most fascinating book has not a dull page in it. Fani is always interesting, never dry or pedantic and frequently enlivens his subject with little anecdotes, sometimes humorous and sometimes poetic. The great principle of Hindooism as defined by Mr. Troyer in the preface is “the emanation of all existences from a common but unknown source. God is the producer of the beginning and the end (*cf.*, “I am Alpha and Omega”), “exhibiting Himself in the mirror of true space. Creation is held to have proceeded from pure space and time.”

The original Hindoo doctrine of the Trinity approached very nearly to the Catholic doctrine, but it afterwards became gradually corrupted. The Vedanta quoted by Mr. Troyer in speaking of the creation says: “God manifesting His Being and Unity in three Persons separate from each other formed the universe.”¹⁰ Would a Catholic theologian quarrel much with this definition? Afterwards Fani says this Trinity became the three principles of Creation, Preservation and Renovation, which are now personified and worshiped under the name of Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver or Wisdom, and Siva the Destroyer or Fire. Some of the Hindoos believe Brahma, which means excellent, to be the Great Spirit, a Being pure, perfect, omniscient, comprehending all things, overseeing all things, the Lord of life. Those who hold this are called the Vedantines, because they follow the teaching of the Vedas; and they are the wisest of the many sects of Hindooism. The Vedas are four in number. The first, or Rigveda, treats of the Divine Essence and attributes of creation; of the path of righteousness, of life and death. The second treats of ritual and contains prayers. The third deals with music and the proper way of reading the Vedas; and the fourth contains rules of archery and prayers to be said when fighting.

In philosophy the Hindoos are idealists, believing that the world is an appearance only without any reality, and that what exists is in truth God, and everything else is an illusion coming from Him, but having no reality. Mohsan Fani tells two stories apropos to this which show he possessed the saving grace of humor.

He says that one day in the course of his travels he met a little

⁹ Preface, p. 101.

¹⁰ Preface, p. 60.

boy of ten, who told him the world was an appearance only; and the next day he met the juvenile philosopher crying with rage. Fani stopped him and said: "Yesterday you told me the world and all that is in it were an illusion only; why, then, are you crying?" The boy answered: "If the world is nothing, my crying is nothing; I am not in contradiction with myself." And, adds Fani, he continued crying. Perfection is supposed by the Hindoos to consist in knowing that everything except God is an illusion; by austerities and meditation they can become convinced of this, and those who are called Yogis, which means united with God, from Yoga or union.¹¹

The other story just alluded to is of a certain Hindoo philosopher who was always teaching that nothing really existed; that the world and everything in it were only an appearance. His servant thought he might derive advantage from his master's philosophy, so he stole his horse, and when the philosopher wished to ride put the saddle and bridle on an ass and brought that round instead. The master asked for an explanation and was informed it was a practical demonstration of his own philosophy. The philosopher was even more practical than the servant, for he took the saddle and bridle off the ass, ordered the man to go on all fours, put the bridle and saddle on him, and, whip in hand, mounted and flogged away till the man was convinced of the reality of certain things and persuaded his master's whip was no illusion, though his faith in his philosophy was gone.

The austerities practiced by the Hindoos are very great, almost incredible. Fani witnessed some himself, which he mentions, and was so struck with them that he seems to think others he heard of were possible. One great feature in their austerities is restraining the breath. This is held in great esteem, and it is believed that those who are masters of the process, said by Fani to be a very elaborate one, are so united with God that they coalesce with Him. Fani heard of one penitent who had restrained his breath for a week, but appeared to be none the worse for it, as he lived to be one hundred and twenty and then possessed all his faculties.¹²

Another favorite austerity is standing on one leg. Fani mentions one man who had stood for twelve years on one leg. Another austerity is cutting their flesh; another practicing perpetual silence; another leaping from rocks. All these austerities are practiced by the Yogis in the hope of obtaining union with God. When a Yogi is overpowered by sickness he is buried alive, or was in Fani's time, for it would, of course, not be allowed by the government now any more than "Suttee" is.

¹¹ "The Dabistan," Vol. II., p. 100.

¹² "The Dabistan," Vol. II., p. 138.

The fourth chapter, which describes the Sikhs and their religion, is very brief. They are primarily a religious sect, and were founded by one Nanac, a native of Lahore, who was born in 1469. He abstained from wine and flesh meat and taught his followers to hurt no living being. The Sikhs still abstain from wine, but they no longer follow their founder's teaching with regard to meat and hurting others. They believe in the Unity of God, in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls from one body to another, and in the avatars and divinities of the Hindoos. They appear to be a sort of cross between Mussulmans and Hindoos, for Fani tells us they wear the rosary of the Mussulmans in their hands and the thread of the Hindoos on their necks.

The chapter devoted to Buddhism and Lamaism is not so interesting, because we now know so much more about them than Fani did, though he has a general idea of their principal tenets.

He says they call God "Kazak" and believe Him to be one, infinite and almighty, and to have manifested Himself in three forms. He gives a curious definition of what we call mental prayer as a Buddhist theory—namely, "if any one finds God he converses with Him without a tongue and is equal to a prophet." He sums up the whole Buddhist doctrine of reincarnation and Nirvana in a very few words: "They believe the soul to be eternal, and if it knows itself and God, it ascends to the upper world; if not, then it remains below." He tells us that the Buddhists hate the Brahmins and believe Vishnu to have assumed the avatar of Buddha 3112 B. C. The Lamas, some of whom he may have met in the course of his travels, and from them have derived his scanty information, are, he says, called Lamas when they return from "the magnificent temple of Barmianek." (Query: Does he mean Lhasa?) He describes the Lamas as wearing tangled hair, eating from a skull, using the human fingers as rosaries and those of the forearm as trumpets. They abstain from flesh meat, avoid women and say, "We are dead, and dead men have nothing to do with the living."¹³ We assume, then, that the Lamas Mohsan Fani knew were neither sociable nor communicative; at any rate, whether from prejudice or ignorance, his account of the Buddhist religion is very inadequate, and in a comparative view he takes of the great religions of the world he omits it. His account of the Jews is incorrect, though he must have met many, and there are some ludicrous mistakes and a want of proportion in his summary of the Christian religion. He gathered his information about Christianity from a Catholic source, and on the whole his synopsis of Catholic dogma is fairly accurate. He learnt it from a Portuguese priest, probably a Franciscan friar whom he

¹³ *Ibid*, Vol. II., p. 292.

met in Surat and Goa and whom he calls Padre Francis. He seems to have understood the doctrines of the Incarnation and of Transubstantiation and the seven sacraments, but he gives as the fourth precept of the Church "to keep the fast at Christmas and the other fasts." We can only conclude he meant Advent, and perhaps it was during that season that he met Padre Francis. The fifth precept of the Church, according to Fani, is to give a tenth part of one's income to God. This, he says, is obligatory. He says we believe in four places under the earth—hell, Purgatory, limbo and Paradise, which last we call the "house of Ibrahim," by which he evidently means Abraham's bosom, Padre Francis having presumably told him the parable of Dives and Lazarus. It was from Paradise, he adds, that Jesus delivered the souls of the prophets. As an instance of his want of perception of the relative proportion of tradition and revealed truth, he lays as great stress on the legend of St. Veronica as on the resurrection, and mentions that there are three of her handkerchiefs with the impression of Our Lord's face on them in existence—one in Rome, one in Lisbon and one in Milan. Mr. Troyer says this last is a mistake, and that the third is in the Cathedral of Valencia, in Spain; but he also was in error, for the third is supposed to be in the Cathedral of Jaen, in Spain. The one in Rome has been at St. Peter's since the year 700 A. D., according to Catholic tradition.¹⁴ As we should expect, our author is quite at home when he comes to deal with the Moslem religion, to which he devotes five chapters, the most interesting of which concerns the Sufis, to which we shall revert immediately. He tells us that the Sunnis, the Shiahhs and all the various sects of Islam "are agreed on the grand majestic beneficence of one Supreme Being, Creator, Ruler and Preserver of the world, which is the effulgence of His power." This is sublimely expressed in the Koran, which he describes as an inheritance of the most ancient Asiatic religion. The sects of Islam disagree about the attributes of God and about predestination, which has always been a source of violent disputes among them.

They believe "that the highest of all blessings is the sight of God; that on the last day God will fold the heavens together; heaven and hell will be made ready and the bodies of all men will be reformed, some to heaven, some to hell." Adam they believe to be the father of all bodies, Mahomet of all spirits. Mahomet, they say, is the last and the seal of God's prophets, and when the Messiah descends from heaven at the end of the world, He will adopt his law.¹⁵ Like us,

¹⁴ See "Kirchenlexikon," by Wetzer and Welte; Boll. Acta Sanctorum; Albankutten, etc.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 33.

they believe that the angels are pure spirits, of no sex, and that there are four archangels—Gabriel, Israfil, Azrael and Michael—and that some of the angels are engaged in perpetual contemplation of the Beatific Vision. They ascribe to Gabriel the work of revelation, to Israfil the sounding of the trumpet, to Azrael the duties of the angel of death and to Michael the seizing of souls. They believe that the angels can appear to men; that four are the guardians of mankind and write down the good and the bad done by them, two acting during the day and two during the night; that good people keep on the right side of the angel (by which Fani intended no “double-entendre”) and the bad remain on their left hand.

After describing the Sadakiahs, a sect of Islam which arose in the thirteenth century, is widely spread and was founded by one Vaked, who taught a sort of evolution, and the Roshenians, another offshoot from the same tree, which sprang up in the sixteenth century, Fani devotes a short chapter to the philosophers, who based their teaching purely on that of Plato and Aristotle, and then he comes to the Sufis or Mystics. He says Sufism belongs to all religions, to the Hindoo, the Arabian and the Persian, and that it seems to be the rationalism of any sort of doctrine.

Several meanings are ascribed to the word Sufi. It is said to mean merely one clothed in wool, from the Arabic “suf,” wool; another derivation given is from the Arabic word “Safu,” the purity to which its adherents are to attain; another is from the Greek word “Sophia,” wisdom, and yet a fourth is from the word “Sufah,” the name of an Arabic tribe. The best exponent of ancient Sufism is Dschonied, who says: “We have not gained Sufismus by arguing, but by fasting, despising the world and by separating from it.” He belonged to the first and best period of Sufism, which extends from Harumal Raschid’s time to the Crusades; but this is the least known to Western scholars, which is the more to be regretted, because upon the principles there inculcated the best hope of the conversion of Islam is founded. The Sufis of that period were enthusiastic seekers after God, who led a life of great mortification, the goal of which was union with Him—a life which had much in common with Christian asceticism and mysticism.¹⁶

Mohsan Fani writes of the second period of Sufism, which is much better known, thanks partly to his “Dabistan,” and which extended from the Crusades to the decline of the first Mongol kingdom, which began soon after his time, that is, the end of the seventeenth century. He divides the Moslem Sufis into four classes—the Orthodox Sufis, the Mystical Sufis, the Pantheistic Sufis and the Egoist Sufis. It sounds very strange to Christian ears to hear a

¹⁶ See “Kirchenlexikon,” Wetzter and Welte, Vol. VI, p. 991.

Mahometan talking about Quietism, but he tells us that Mysticism in the Sufis of a milder character became Quietism. He wrote before Molinos had published his book, "The Spiritual Guide," in 1773, afterwards condemned; but he may have heard of the Quietists of Mount Athos, the Hezychians in the thirteenth century, or, which is more likely, the term may, like the thing itself, be common to Christian and Moslem mystics. It is another proof of the likeness between them, and confirms the assertion quoted above that it is the mystical side of Islam that has most in common with Catholicity and is the most likely to be converted to it.

The Egoist Sufis, whose axiom is "Who knows himself knows God," believe themselves to be gods because God is the highest perfection, and as they become united with Him they become the highest perfection, and as the highest perfection is God, they become God.

Before we close the fascinating pages of this famous old book we must briefly quote a comparative view given by Fani of the five great religions—viz.: Persian, including the Parsian and Zoroastrianism, Hindooism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. As we said above, he omits Buddhism, which in its virgin state is one of the purest and one of the greatest of the world religions. Of the five religions mentioned by Fani, all, he says, hold five great truths; but we must presume that he uses the word emanation in its looser sense and modern sense, for neither Christians nor Mussulmans hold the Eastern doctrine of emanation. With this reservation the five truths are:

1. The emanation of all beings from One Source.
2. The division of supernatural beings into good and bad.
3. The primitive innocence and posterior corruption of mankind.
4. The Deluge.
5. The immortality of the soul, reserved to future beatitude or damnation.

Fani adds that the dogma of the Incarnation of the Deity is held by Christians and Hindoos only; that of Purgatory by Catholics, Jews, Hindoos and Parsees, and that of the resurrection of the body and the judgment by Christians, Magi and Mussulmans. If from the first list we omit the Deluge, which is rather a matter of history and of tradition than of dogma, the four remaining doctrines form the common chord of the scale of faith, of which the keynote is the origin of all beings from One Source, which rising through the mediant and the dominant, culminates in the octave of the immortality of the soul, and sounded by the souls of men, by Christian and Jew, by Parsee and Zoroastrian, by Hindoo and Moslem, makes one grand, glorious and sublime harmony that in a volume of ever

increasing force rises from earth to heaven to the foot of the great white throne of that loving God whose beautiful face all men of every clime, of every age, of every nation have ever yearned to behold. Can the angels themselves make sweeter music?

DARLEY DALE.

MEDIÆVAL MERCENARIES, MODERN BRIGANDS AND THE PAPACY.

IN HIS valuable and scholarly work, "The Great Schism of the West," Professor Salembier, seeking for the causes which led to the long scandal of a plurality of Popes, each claiming validity of election, finds one very potent one in the existence of the mobile mercenary bodies of armed men known as Free Companies. This euphemism was invented to cover up a system just as unprincipled as the contemporary one that flourished in parts of Italy, that of hiring ruffians known as "bravoes" in some places, and "accabadori," or head-knockers, in others. He finds, indeed, that this evil system was the chief cause. The continual wars that desolated Europe, he says, were "more fatal to the Church than the wars of religion. Leaders who were adventurers, ever in search of sword-play and plunder, were for more than a hundred years the terror and disgrace of Christendom. Robert Knolles, John Hawkwood, Arnould de Cervole, Eustache d' Auberchicourt, Raymond de Turenne, Geoffroy de Boucicault are the leaders of international gangs destitute of faith or pity, without either flag or fatherland. Rival Kings take them into their service; sometimes they get high protection from princes and nobles; and their violence is the terror alike of friend and foe. Fire and pillage devastate episcopal and monastic buildings, and give rise to every sort of temporal disturbance and every kind of moral decay. Bishops cease to visit their dioceses; prelates forsake their residences, ruined by the new barbarism. They fly to Paris or to the Court of Avignon, and Gregory XI. is forced to fulminate against them to induce them to return to their duties. . . . The abbeys have lost all their revenues, and some of them have been burnt down two or three times. Their lands, abandoned by the peasants, are no longer cultivated, the monastic possessions are alienated, churches no longer receive any assistance from the faithful, and chapters are reduced to pauperism. . . . Everywhere the holiness of the religious life is under eclipse."

The system of hiring those dangerous auxiliaries is very old—so very old, in fact, that its origin is lost in the twilight of history. It was a barbarian army, mercenary warriors, maddened at non-receipt of their pay, that sacked Carthage in the time of Hamilcar Barca. In Europe we can easily trace it back to the beginning of the feudal system. Every baron called in a band of free lances whenever he declared war against a neighbor and rival. The Normans were for long nothing more than hired free lances. Duke William, who conquered England, was at the head of one of these mercenary companies, foraging in Italy, when he received the news of the approaching end of King Edward and hastened to meet and entrap his chosen successor, Harold, the son of Godwin. Some of the mediæval Popes even did not hesitate to call in the captains of the free companies when Venice made war upon the Papacy. In Italy these captains were styled *condottieri*. Some of them were very able soldiers, but they could not always depend upon their men to fight as they had undertaken they should, for on more than one occasion their apparent fighting was as unreal and ridiculous as that of present-day pugilists who go into the ring with a perfect understanding at what moment or what blow the one shall go down and the other be declared the victor. Sometimes the free lance waited until the tide of battle was on the turn and then, betraying his trust, went over to the other side and helped to defeat his employer. A very graphic picture of the free lance and his ways is to be found in Bulwer Lytton's fine historical story, "Rienzi, the Last of the Roman Tribunes."

When Philip of Valois concluded peace with England, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the number of mercenary soldiers who were disbanded was so large that the peace became worse to the inhabitants than the war that was ended. They roved the country in powerful bands, plundering and ravishing as they went, and at length sat down in regular siege before the walls of Avignon. The Pope was eventually obliged to give the leaders an immense sum of money to induce them to move off.

In the time of Charles V. the free companies had again become so formidable a support to the Crown that the King entered into a war with Spain and put the great De Guesclin at the head of the free companies with a view to giving them real employment, as he knew the Constable would make them fight and earn their pay. Although he was defeated near Najara, it is said the King was not at all sorry, since nearly all the free lances were annihilated in the battle.

One of the most famous Italian houses is that of Sforza, and this had its rise in a mediæval condottier, Mutius Sforza. He was a peasant, but a man of genius and daring, as well as enormous physi-

cal strength—whence the name, which was merely a nickname, the real one being Giacomuzzo Attendolo. By his military prowess and talents he secured the favor of Queen Joanna of Naples and was made Lord High Constable of that kingdom. There were many more of the condottieri who played great parts in the Middle Ages' wars and founded houses that were long ranked as illustrious. But these exceptions serve only to illustrate the fact that the principle out of which they sprang was simply one of circumscribed and modified anarchy. Every one of them fought, like Hal of the Wynd, for his own hand.

Ever since the State became friendly to the Church—that is to say, in the reign of Constantine—conditions which hampered the Church in her rightful work began to grow and increase with the years. The State laid its hand heavily upon the Church, in return for the protection the Emperors afforded it. Upon the Archbishops of Milan, for instance, devolved the duty of arranging for the defense and civil administration of the city and the territory outside. Such prelates were electors, and as such exercised the rights of sovereign princes in their own particular States. The Lombard cities generally were similarly situated, regarding their government, in the Middle Ages. Their local Bishops had the responsibility of defending them either against foreign invaders or against neighboring and rival municipalities. This responsibility was laid upon them by the German Emperors, in whose election they were official participants, or by the Kings of Italy, and by whose authority they levied war or made treaties of peace, as the case suited. Having no regular armies, but only local militia, or trained bands, these cities were often glad to get the help of some powerful captain of a free company, whose roving life had given him a wide knowledge of the various States and cities of the Italian plains and other countries of Europe, and an intimate acquaintance with the military resources of those States or cities he might find it to be his lot to fight for or fight against. Even the Popes of the Middle Ages were glad at times to have the services—we do not say the help, for sometimes the auxiliary was more dangerous to the employer than to the enemy—of some of the free companies.

It is highly probable that the Church might have been spared the great scandal thrust upon her during the period of the Western Schism—the spectacle of rival Popes—if these mercenary fighting bands had no existence. From the beginning of the schism, in 1378, until its close, in 1418, the free lance bands figure in many chapters of the dismal story. Their first appearance is in connection with the beginning of the opposition to Urban VI., the first Pope of the stormy period. To him the fortress of San Angelo then held by

Pierre Gandelin, refused to open its gates. Within it was the Papal treasure, which had been removed thither by Peter de Cros, brother of the Cardinal de Limoges, on the death of Pope Gregory XI. As soon as the opposition began to take definite shape, six of the dissentient Cardinals took refuge within the fortress and placed themselves under the lead of Cardinal John de la Grange, Bishop of Amiens, whom Urban had converted from a friend into a bitter enemy by reason of his furious temper and unfortunate wealth of vituperative eloquence. This Cardinal was an especial favorite of the French King, Charles V., because of his great talents, his gifts of diplomacy and financial science; and his defection was the primary cause of Urban's final defeat and overthrow. Under his leadership the revolt against Urban was organized and put into effective shape for aggressive action. The captain of mercenaries, Bernardon de la Salle, a former companion of the great De Guesclin, was sent for, and a bargain made with him for the defense of the castle. His lancers lost no time in rallying to his call. They were Gascons and Navarrese chiefly, and men inured to war. They charged upon the Roman troops guarding the Salaro bridge, and speedily put them to flight. Then they proceeded to San Angelo, and formed its garrison pending the measures that Urban might take to assert his authority. Thus we find the mercenaries playing a most important part at the very opening of the schism. Were it not for their proximity to Rome, at that unfortunate moment, the Schism might indeed have proved to be an abortive movement—for, despite his unfortunate temper, Bartholomew Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, before he became Urban VI., was esteemed highly for scholarship, integrity of character and sanctity of life. After that event he underwent a great change. Opposition enraged him, and adversity made him morose and furious—a result which ultimately detached almost everybody from his cause.

At the instigation of the King of France, the revolting Cardinals issued a declaration against the election of Urban, on the ground that it was effected under the pressure of fear of death from the Roman populace. They subsequently excommunicated Urban and pronounced sentence of deposition against him. Then they held a new election and chose Robert of Geneva to be Pope. He took the title of Clement VII. The most serious objection urged against this choice, before the ballots were taken, was that he had let loose a band of foreign mercenaries against the town of Casena, which had rebelled against the Pope, and that he had excused the frightful excesses committed by these lawless soldiers when they had gained possession of the town. Hence the new Pope was regarded more as the leader of condottieri than a representative of the Prince of Peace.

Urban's reply to this action was another bull of excommunication, directed against Clement and all who had taken part in his election. This was the beginning of the great Schism. Henceforth it was to be war all over Europe and war of the worst kind—a war of religion. State was arrayed against State, and city against city; and a glorious time for the free lances was opened up—a time that lasted for forty years. The mercenaries had their pick and choice of employers, and could get any scale of pay they wished to ask for.

Urban died after leading a stormy existence, roaming about from one fortress to another, and giving over to rapine by his mercenaries many of the northern Italian towns that stood out against him. The Cardinals who had supported Urban elected as his successor the Cardinal of Naples, Peter Thomacelli, who took the title of Boniface IX. Clement, too, died soon afterward, and the Avignon Cardinals elected Peter de Luna, of Aragon, formerly Papal Legate, who took the name of Benedict XIII. After some time the French King withdrew from his allegiance to Benedict, and so did a number of the Cardinals at Avignon. Benedict prepared to defend himself by putting the great Papal palace into the condition of a fortress and laying in vast stores of provisions and munitions of war. The Cardinals in revolt sent for a desperate adventurer, Goeffrey de Boucicault, and engaged him to conduct siege operations against the pseudo Pope. The people of Avignon did not sympathize with Benedict and his warlike procedure. They opened the gates to Boucicault and the horde of desperate hirelings who followed his standard for the sake of plunder. Nay, more: these unsympathetic townsfolk joined the free lances in their attacks on the palace-fortress. They were incited to this action by the Cardinal of Neufchâtel, who, throwing aside his robes, donned a suit of armor and rode through the streets urging the citizens on to the attack. Mines were sprung below the castle, and the defenders met these with counter-mines; bombards and Greek fire were discharged by the garrison at the assailants, as they came forward; great catapults flung enormous stones at the gates from the works of the besiegers, and Benedict himself, who conducted the defense with untiring energy and courage, was wounded while repelling an assault. The siege dragged on without much progress, owing to the stubbornness of the defense, but the garrison was being decimated by death, wounds and hunger; and at last an armistice was agreed on, until messengers from the besieged Pope had had time to proceed to Paris and seek the intervention of the King to put an end to the deadlock and endeavor to close the Schism by putting pressure on both claimants to the tiara to resign.

While many of the leaders of the free companies were, in their

way, chivalrous men and stout soldiers, this Geoffrey de Boucicault appears to have been the very worst sort of a freebooter. He is called a ruffian by historians, and he seems to have deserved the opprobrious epithet, since his conduct was worse than that of the modern bandit who carries off people of wealth for the purpose of getting money for their ransom. He seized the persons of the Cardinals of Pampeluna and St. Adrian, in the year 1398, and kept them prisoners until their friends sent a heavy sum for their release. While he was Governor of the Dauphiné, from 1399 to 1404, his irregularities and exactions were so glaring and intolerable that he was excommunicated by the Archbishop of Amiens, in the latter year. Twenty years later he was prosecuted, by order of the King, for his many crimes in office. He obtained, however, from Pope Martin V. a pardon for his excesses in Avignon, on promise of amendment and restitution. But his repentance did not last long, for two years later he began his career of outrage anew in the same vicinity. But happily that career was cut short very soon afterward. He died in the year 1429.

Historians wonder how it came to pass that the revolted Cardinals could choose such a desperado as Geoffrey as their instrument to compel the abdication of a Pope. One of the first explanations is that he had a brother the very reverse of himself in reputation—a renowned warrior and Crusader, Jean de Boucicault, who in the service of the Byzantine Empire did great things in resistance to the encroachments of the Turks. Though Geoffrey had done disgraceful deeds in his younger days, the wild and unsettled state of society, consequent on the upheaval at Rome, might seem to furnish an excuse for many excesses on the part of men who were frequently called upon to deal with popular outbreaks as well as keep rogues and highwaymen from paralyzing all the commercial life of the continent. Then, again, the action of the King in regard to the Pope had established a conflict of claims to authority that seemed to have the effect of dulling the minds even of churchmen as to the lines of the spiritual and the civil authority. These evil years were those in which the noxious weed, Gallicanism, first began to spring up in the garden of the Church. The aim of the King was to set aside the Pope, to get along in everything without the Pope—to ignore his authority, even his very existence; and in this audacious project the King, strange to say, had support and encouragement in the ranks of clerics and theologians of the French nation and doctors of the Paris University—an institution then largely under English influence. At the Council of Paris, in 1398, it was decided that those who withdrew from obedience to the Pope should transfer that obedience to the King, as they were bound to conform to his will,

and he would relieve them of all scruples and become responsible for their conscience! Here was Gallicanism with a vengeance! It was little wonder that with such a confusion of tenets on authority, men's mental vision became so blurred that they were not fastidious, sometimes and in some places, as to what means or agents they utilized to achieve ends which they deemed necessary to their own safety or the safety of the community or nation. A similar indirect claim to infallibility was put forward, later on, by the English monarch, Henry VIII., and those who resisted it were treated to the argument of the headsman's axe.

The Avignon Pope put an end, for the time being, to this insanity-breeding dilemma in France by suddenly abandoning his resistance at Avignon and taking flight from the city. In this he was assisted by another leader of free lances, the Norman Knight, Captain Robert de Braquemont. Having stolen away from the castle in disguise, he was met by a band of four hundred armed men, followers of the Knight, and conveyed by them up the Rhone until he came within the dominions of the King of Sicily, at Chateau Renard. These liberators are not described in the narrative as free lances, it is true, but such would appear to be their real character. They were Normans, and the Normans of that period, and long antecedent to it, were always ready for any enterprise that promised booty or substantial reward or advancement.

It can never be forgotten that it was a body of Norman free lances that began, without any authoritative commission, the enterprise which resulted in the Anglo-Norman conquest of part of Ireland. James Fitzstephen, who began the adventure, was the son of a Norman who had married a Welsh princess, not for her reputation, which was the reverse of good, but for her wealth and position. Many of the Norman leaders who followed Strongbow and Henry II. later on were adventurers like him, who cared little on what soil or for what cause they fought so long as there was profit in it. Even the noble house of Fitzgerald, in Ireland, would appear to have had its origin in the system of the military hireling. The poet Davis traced their origin as far back as the Italian wars of the Dark Ages, for he finds them fighting in the vineyards of Tuscany, as the Ghirardini, a thousand years before he wrote his pæan of praise of the gens.

When the new Pope, Martin V. (who, under God, was ordained to put an end to the Great Schism), returned to Rome he found the country about devastated by the bands of the condottieri, and, as a result of their oppressive exactions, he also found that brigandage had become endemic in the Campagna. His first task was to dispose of the cause. He induced a large number of the cities and

towns which kept these dangerous auxiliaries in their employment to make peace, unite for the common good and dismiss their mercenary hangers-on. His wise and vigorous action put an end for the nonce to the employment of the condottieri in Italy; but it was not so easy to stamp out the moral poison of brigandage. There was, in fact, a close connection between these two pests. M. Tournon, the Commissioner for the Papal States under the French invasion, has much interesting matter in his report on his four years' administration, relative to the origin of brigandage. He finds that certain districts are noted for the propensity of their inhabitants to violent and sanguinary deeds, and the banditti who infest these places are the natural outgrowth of the feudal system, under which the great barons trained their vassals to deeds of cruelty and bloodshed. It was not until the time of Pope Sixtus V. that these factional barons were put down, but the brigandage survived until long after, nor has it entirely disappeared even yet. Before the "unification" of the Italian peninsula—the euphemism for the absorption of the Papal States and the city of Rome by the Sardinian monarchy—it was a favorite device of the assailants of the Papacy to "fling the existence of brigandage at the Church as a reason why its rule should no longer be tolerated. The Papacy might with equal justice have been blamed for the existence of the maremma or the eruptions of Vesuvius. Brigandage was the heritage of centuries of wars and the conflict of civilization with the *dissecta membra* of ancient barbarism. Even so far back as the time of Cicero one district in the Campagna was noted as being the haunt of *banditti* and men of violent and uncontrollable temper. This was the region adjoining the Alban Hills and bordering the Pomptine Marshes. "Noctu invidioso," he says, in the oration "Pro Milone," "et pleno latronum in loco occidis," regarding the little town of Bovillæ, at the foot of those hills. The Papal Government, as long as it was free from outside interference, kept brigandage well in check within its borders, but when the Sardinian Monarchy began its encroachments the border territory became the nursing ground of desperadoes who were needed at times to form an excuse for the complaint that the Papal Government was not strong enough to maintain tranquillity or afford security to the traveling public within its territory. In M. Tournon's book on the Papal States we find it stated that after the French took possession of Rome in 1809, the number of banditti in the hills between that city and Naples had increased to an alarming extent; and this increase M. Tournon attributed to the confusion that had long existed in the government of the country, owing to the conflict of two powers—the Papal authority and the French. In other words, the responsibility for the existence of the banditti in large

numbers lay at Napoleon's door, while he and other invaders made that very fact one of the excuses they put forward for seizing the Pope's territory. The disturbed state of the Roman borders was pleaded by the Italian Government sixty years later, when Cavour prepared to make his memorable coup with the help of Lord Palmerston and other eminent friends of freedom. In one village, named Giulano, near Mount Lepini, there were twelve desperate outlaws; in Santo Stefano, Prossedi, Supino and Sonnino there were several bands equally well known and equally formidable to travelers and residents. When the Pope was enabled to return to Rome, and Cardinal Gonsalvi was given the helm of State, he found about a hundred desperadoes in complete control of the roads between the capital and Naples, and in order to root them out and exterminate them—which he completely succeeded in having done—it became necessary to level the whole village of Giulano to the ground, so that no more of the outlaws might find an asylum there.

It had been charged against the Papal Government that the existence of the banditti was due to either a connivance with their misdeeds on the part of certain functionaries or else a weakness in dealing with them that was as culpable as connivance or condonation. Acting on this assumption, the French commanders formed a gendarmerie to hunt down the outlaws, and dismissed the old Papal guards or *sbirri*. Some of the bandits were captured and executed, but the greater part made their way into inaccessible mountain fastnesses, keeping quiet for a considerable time, and thereby enabling the French invaders to boast that they had brought order and security to the Papal States. The quiet was illusory. After a couple of years of French rule, the bandits were again heard from. They appeared in considerable numbers in several places, widely separated, almost simultaneously. They spread terror almost to the gates of Rome; while away in the north as far as Tuscany, Parma and Genoa, bands, which found shelter in the spurs of the Apennines, made the vicinities of these and other cities more dangerous than they had been since the end of the Middle Ages. The French invasion was the direct cause of the increase in disorder. In the first place, the dismissal of the entire Roman police; in the second, the introduction of the law of conscription—a system previously unknown in Italy. Many members of the old *sbirri*, thrown out of employment, and unable to turn their hands to civil pursuits, went to join those whom they had formerly kept at bay or hunted down; while large numbers of young men in the north fled from the cities and the rural districts to avoid the roll of the conscription drum.

Like the French *demimonde* the Italian bandit had established for himself a certain social status. Beginning his career as an outlaw by the perpetration of some deed springing from his fiery blood and his ungovernable temper, his flight to the mountain caves was excused by his former friends in the city or the village. The place around which he hung to eke out a living was generally sure to afford him furtive help, for the people sympathized with him where they did not fear his vengeance in case of refusal. The neighbors cultivated for him his abandoned fields; the village shopkeepers gave him food and other necessary supplies; the goatherds and cattle keepers formed a chain of signalmen to warn him of the approach of danger from the garrison; he was regarded not as a thief and a scoundrel, but as a victim of unfortunate circumstances and the passions which are the common heritage of the meridional races. In return for all these friendly offices the local bandit was usually good enough to abstain from plundering the villagers who rendered them, and reserved his attentions for travelers or the people of villages at a distance. But woe to the villager who betrayed him, or whom he suspected of such base treachery to the traditional principles of the outlaw amenities. His cottage was given to the flames, his crops destroyed and he himself waylaid and done to death, by slow torture often, if time permitted the indulgence of such sweet revenge on the part of the aggrieved outlaw, as he believed himself to be, and indeed as the vast majority of the people about him also considered him. This perverted notion of honor, as it appears to order-loving citizens of a constitutionally governed country, was not, under the circumstances, so paradoxical as it looks on the surface. When we consider that the men who from honest peasants were transformed in *banditti* were driven from their homes by the French invaders, in later times, or, as mercenaries, dispersed, penniless and homeless, at the close of the mediæval wars, by the regular troops of the Austrian Emperor or the Papal States, we must allow a good deal for the principle of self-preservation in the breasts of men and also for the unsettled codes of morality then almost universally existent. Men knew not who was the true Pope and who the false; they beheld persons in high place as well as low indifferent about the law of *meum* and *tuum*; right was called wrong, and wrong was called right. This had been the case while the great Western Schism lasted. The public reason of Europe was, in fact, unbalanced by reason of a long nightmare of horror and internecine strife. The *banditti* were the natural progeny of such a monstrous parturition. Similarly, when the French invaders drove the rulers of the Italian Republics from their capitals and substituted the rule of the sword for that of the Dukes and Doges, the men who fled to

avoid the conscription believed that they were the friends of freedom and society when they took to the hills, and as such were perfectly justified in preying upon the enemy whenever it was possible to do so, and preying upon anybody else when it was not. To those who befriended him in his greatest need the bandit was not ungrateful, but often most generous in rendering them help in times of distress and protecting them from attack by enemies or stranger bandits. Often, too, he was generous in almsgiving to the indigent, like the followers of Robin Hood. The character of the typical bandit is, indeed, presented with much fidelity in the humorous opera called "Fra Diavolo," save that it fails to give one side of the daring marauder's character which it is difficult to reconcile with the facts of so lawless a life, but which, nevertheless, has been vouched for by witnesses whom he had held for ransom. This is his devoutly religious feeling. Often the bandit was fanatically devout as well as grossly superstitious, carrying his rosary and his blessed medals always about him and paying furtive visits to some favorite shrine to make a vow or make a little offering for the good of his soul—or, more marvelous still, for the success of some marauding enterprise in contemplation. It is difficult to believe that so startling a contradiction could be found in the life of any reasoning individual; yet the phenomenon is attested by so many respectable witnesses that it is hard to say it is incredible.

The conventional type of outlaw has now almost entirely disappeared, but the lawless spirit it represented still exists, but under different forms. The secret societies of Italy, such as the Carbonari and the Mafia had their origin in the same sort of conditions which produced the older order of banditti. At first directed against the evils of foreign rule, they struck their terrific blows against French and Austrian agents during the long period of Mazzini's agitation, but gradually extended the system of terrorism to their own countrymen in the south until it produced a sort of *imperium in imperio* in Calabria and many districts of Sicily. It is even now so strongly intrenched in Naples that the Italian Government has had lately to send warships to threaten the city because of the commotion excited by the arrest and imprisonment of the ex-Minister Nasi, a fellow-countryman. The Sicilians have been clannish and haters of foreigners ever since the time of Charles of Anjou and the memorable "Vespers" holocaust.

During the existence of the Papal Government it was customary for travelers and writers to hold that government responsible for the existence of brigandage, even though it was confessed that the brigands had no difficulty in crossing the border into territory that was claimed by other governments, such as the Sardinian. The

Italian Government of to-day finds itself unable to cope with the form of brigandage instituted by the Mafia, yet the fact passes almost without notice by foreign critics. This fact only shows that such critics usually write with an animus. There would be some danger to European peace were the internal troubles of Italy brought too prominently before the world just now, and so matters are allowed to drift, even though to the defeat of justice and the defiance of orderly government.

If there were ever any real justice in the complaint of European governments that the Papal Government failed in its duty in dealing with the marauders who made traveling in the Papal States unsafe, there is certainly the strongest reason for an indictment against the Italian Government of to-day because of the danger to ecclesiastical visitors in the streets of Rome. The outrages against Cardinal Merry del Val and the Abbé Gasquet would in themselves constitute a *casus belli* in case the parties insulted had been civil representatives of any outside sovereign State. Many other outrages occurred during the carnival of popular license begotten of recent Bruno and Garibaldian demonstrations, but no power, either Catholic or non-Catholic, outside Italy, ventured to address a remonstrance against those glaring infractions of the Law of Guarantees.

Of the system of government which prevailed throughout the Papal States, M. Tournon wrote:

"The system of municipal administration will surprise those who imagine that in the Papal States everything is left to the will or caprice of the government. Abuses of power are common, no doubt; but the written law is more favorable to the liberties of the people than is commonly supposed."

Regarding the disposition of the people, when left to themselves, toward the Papal Government, M. Tournon's book afforded the most valuable sort of testimony. He pointed out that while on the northern border there were unsettled conditions of mind consequent on the irruption of agitators from outside, in the south everything was profoundly quiet and the people most contented. The inhabitants had been long accustomed to look up to the Pope and his government as truly paternal; there were peace, plenty and a happy temperament everywhere; provisions were cheap and abundant; the climate fit for paradise; the peasants' life was like a beautiful dream in the loveliest of countries. They were so content that when in 1831 some disturbers came from Bologna to stir up rebellion the people took up arms at Rieti, and drove them out twice, disappointed and chagrined at such want of "patriotism."

The Papacy is indispensable to the peace of the world. It is perfectly unnecessary to offer any arguments in support of this proposi-

tion; it is a truth demonstrated by fifteen centuries of the world's history. The Papacy is indestructible by human power, because it rests on a foundation not of the earth. The destruction of Rome as a city never meant the destruction of the Papacy; the seizure and imprisonment of a Pope, the chaining of one to the chariot wheels of a conqueror, as more than once was effected, almost in a literal sense, meant nothing more than a transient victory of brute force over the impalpable and intangible power of the spiritual soul of the world. We have among the Catholic body many who believe that the Temporal Power is dead beyond the hope of restoration. It were well that they read the history of the past five hundred years. Several times during that period it was believed that Rome had fallen forever, and the Papacy as dead as the ancient Cæsardom. When Bonaparte seized Rome, hauled the Papal flag down from the Castle of San Angelo and ran up the tricolor in its place, most people believed that the prophecy of the Colosseum was about to be negatived by the fact. Rome had fallen and the Colosseum still stood. But a few years showed that it was not Rome that fell, but the bubble Empire that decreed its fall. The milk-white hind, "oft doomed to death, yet fated not to die," was realized, allegorically, in the relation of the Papacy to Rome, and in the case of Rome, again, and the outside world. Its necessity to that world's well-being and tranquillity was recognized and confessed when the allied powers met in council at Vienna, after the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo.

The statistics of a great city's population from decade to decade may be likened to the breathings of the human system on the doctor's stethoscope. They record the rise and fall of the country's health with equal mathematical regularity. The fluctuations in the Roman census for the past few centuries tell of the violent seismic movements in the great world of political action and social struggle, on the Italian peninsula as well as the Continent of Europe, in a very remarkable way. In speaking of the population of Rome it is necessary to be as circumspect as in adverting to the population of seaside resorts: both are affected by the seasons, by sudden invasions of tourists, by causes outside the ordinary everyday life of humdrum, quiet places of human settlement. No city of first rank has encountered such radical fluctuations in regard to numbers and well-being as the city of Rome, since the removal of the imperial capital to the banks of the Bosphorus. Old chroniclers estimated its population, in the heyday of its pagan glory, at a couple of millions. The first reliable census, since the beginning of the modern epoch, was that of 1198, under Pope Innocent III., which showed the population to be 35,000 only. This was low enough estate for the place that had for centuries been known as the mistress of the world, but lower

still came when the Popes held court at Avignon. Then the nadir was touched in the figures 17,000. When the Pope returned, in 1377, there was an immediate rise in the tide, until in the time of Leo X. the census showed a total of 60,000. The storming of the city by the French, under the Constable of Bourbon, in 1527, made a great gap in the population, either by death or flight; only 33,000 showed on the succeeding census. Under the vigorous rule of Sixtus V. city and country were given security and peace, and the urban numbers rose again and kept steadily increasing from that period onward to the first French invasion of the revolutionary epoch. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of the city was 138,000, having quadrupled in the course of 150 years. In 1730 it was 145,000; in 1750, 157,000; in 1775, 165,000. Then came the French invasions, and with them renewal of the old story of decline and disaster. By 1800 the population had dwindled to 153,000; by 1805 it had still further fallen, showing only 135,000; and by 1810, during the imprisonment of Pius VII. in France, only 123,000 remained in the city, and of these, according to the official showing, 30,000 were paupers living on charity or the public taxation. Bankruptcy and ruin came to noble, banker, merchant and mechanic alike, during the twelve dreadful years of the French republican and imperial despotism. Had this not interrupted the city's course of advance, at the end of the twelve years which it embraced, there should have been more than 200,000 inhabitants in the city.

The return of the Pope once more brought a renewal of growth in the city's population, for in 1815, the succeeding year, the census showed 128,000 souls resident therein; in 1820, it showed 135,000; and in 1831, 150,000. By 1846 the population numbered 180,000, but the revolutionary movement in 1848, which drove the Pope to Gaeta, turned the increase into a decline, for when the census was taken again, in 1852, it had fallen to 175,000. When this trouble was over and the Pope was enabled to return to his rule, the period of tranquillity was marked by a resumption of the onward movement, for by 1858 the figures again rose to 180,000. Thus it will be seen that the population of the Eternal City had always been dependent on the permanence of its government, and its prosperity on its population. During the many enforced absences of the Popes the city had always fallen into a state of dilapidation and insecurity. These conditions were in themselves melancholy enough, but the wild exaggerations of unfriendly travelers multiplied the evil a hundred fold.

In M. Tournon's interesting report he took care to censure and confute the misrepresentations of travelers, including a rather dis-

tinguished fellow-countryman, M. Bonstetten, as to the limited industries of the Roman population. These industries, they gave out, were chiefly confined to "the manufacture of beads, rosaries, agnus deis, relics and indulgences"—whatever the latter might mean as a substantial "industry." In the year 1813, M. Tournon's statistics showed, there were 682 factories and workshops in Rome. The woolen industry alone gave employment to 2,000 workmen; while the silk factories, the linen factories, tanneries, paper mills, iron foundries, potteries and various other classes of workshops employed many other thousands.

In a preceding paper in the *QUARTERLY* the strong testimony borne by this Commissary of Napoleon's to the admirable institutions of Rome, especially those of education and the relief of the poor, was briefly summarized and commented on. It proved that the ancient capital of the Popes amply reflected the enlightenment and humanity of the system of which the Papacy is the illustrious centre and head.

What a contrast is presented by the Rome of to-day! What charity, what enlightenment can be looked for from a *régime* dominated by infidel Freemasonry?

Does any Catholic who has studied the history of Rome genuinely believe that there is finality in the present arrangement, or rather derangement? "Accomplished facts" is a phrase that has been overmuch emphasized. It is an unsafe rule of calculation as to the future. In no instance is it so misleading, so unwarranted, as in regard to the centre of the Papacy. In the inscrutable ways of God, the mutations which, in regard to other sovereignties denoted the annihilations of old-established dynasties and the complete overthrow of systems and ideas which they represented, have passed again and again over the firmament of the Eternal City, but the wave that swept out the Papacy has invariably borne it back in triumph on its crest, sooner or later. This is the history of Christian Rome; and it seems unlikely that it shall be brought to an end as long as the Church has a mission to fulfill on the face of the earth.

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LENDING MONEY WITHOUT INTEREST.

THE present paper has a very limited scope, indeed, and begins by deprecating any expectation that it will try to solve the question why the Church, after so long forbidding interest on money, now allows it to be taken. We admit that in the interval facts have changed, but no one will say that money had no commercial use at all during the long ago in which the mediæval law was upheld.

As a suggestion for those who will apply it as far as they find it applicable, we may refer to Aristotle's "Ethics" (V., 7), where he distinguished rights into natural and institutional or positive. Having made the division, he signifies that it has not absolute rigidity "except perhaps among the gods; among ourselves there is indeed that which is right by nature; nevertheless, always with some mutability."

The Sertart version—and that of the immoderate Scotist Ockham—is that while the commandments of the first table, ordering man to keep a religious attitude to God without a shadow of irreverence, is yet beyond any dispensing power, the second table prescribing men's relations *inter se* is not so unexceptional, but needs admixture or determination of this positive law, with some variation in the matter as circumstances change. Such is the loaning of money; such also is the control of the temporal power by the spiritual. If, then, we say that these two last concerns rest on immutable principles, that is true, yet not with the rigidity of "Thou shalt not have false gods," "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." God could not so dispense with His rights as to allow a man to blaspheme, but He may, as Supreme Lord, give leave to spoil the Egyptians or to sacrifice Isaac; for He holds eminent dominion over property and life.

So much of prefatory remark will, it is hoped, move the reader to accept what follows as only a confined outlook upon a much wider question which can be examined only in its long and complex history. It is left for other pages to discuss whether money has changed its nature or the Church her law, or both one and the other, between the Council of Vienne, which reaffirmed the old order, and our own times, when religious houses that are commercially unproductive have often to live on interest from capital. Those who keep to the notion that there is nothing new under the sun deny that money has assumed simply a new character since classical and mediæval days, when commerce was fairly developed; they are content to assert simply an immense growth of a previously living use.

Others prefer the aspect that money to-day has a new application warranting a new law.

Among the mediæval scholastics there was recognized a form of gratuitous contract in which the lender of money imposed on the borrower no other obligation than that of returning the equivalent of the sum, often at a fixed date. This was called *contractus mutui*, which was counted gratuitous in contrast to the *contractus fenebris*, or the loan upon interest. It is not so much that to-day the former has developed into the latter as that the latter has sprung up into admitted existence out of germs that were visible long ago and found at least some recognition on the permitted practice of *locatio* and *clusus*.

No one will deny that in the relation between man and man there is occasion for the charity of a disinterested loan, and that for it there sometimes arises a distinct obligation, though this is not technically one of justice. Before rendering such a service the benefactor is supposed by St. Thomas fairly to weigh the urgency of the call by the side of his own ability to meet its demands at the cost of a self-renunciation. Such contract if called onerous is especially so on the side of the lender, who as a benefactor is generally burdened by his act,¹ being deprived for a time of the uses of his money and exposed perhaps to some risk of losing it in part or in the whole. But these inconveniences do not enter into the *contractus mutui* as such; if there is any bargain about them, it is on another score, as we shall see later. To the hard man of business the *contractus mutui* when duly explained is simply a reminder how far away it lies from his sphere of operations. It is a mode of almsgiving, which like all such charities, should be judicious and should not be done with results which are rather mischievous than beneficial to the community at large. One consideration that is apt to dry up the sources of almsgiving is the unfortunate fact that it does so easily miscarry in its general results.

Money once lent becomes, as St. Thomas says, the property of the new possessor, and therefore for him it fructifies—*res fructificat domino*. But the normal end of the *contractus mutui* is not that it should bring large profits, or even any profit at all. Its natural purpose is to tide a man over a difficulty, to help a lame dog over a stile and, furthermore, if possible, to cure his lameness. The typical speculator is not the person for whom the free loan is designed, and when he applies, one may with a calm conscience send him about his business, often without any commendation of this same business of his.

¹ Here we do not deal with the technical meaning of *contractus onerosus*; the borrower is under the burden to repay the loan.

It will now be evident that the *contractus mutui* allows of no interest so far as concerns its intrinsic nature. And the mention of the word intrinsic is very important. Always when we talk of intrinsic or extrinsic we should have a definite term of reference, for it is idle to speak about inside and outside in relation to nothing in particular. Let us then see some possible claims to interest which lie *outside* the *contractus mutui* considered in its own nature of a free loan made by a charitable man who helps a neighbor with a sum of money on the sole condition of equal repayment of the original quantity at a fixed date.

1. There is the *legal title* on which the law is conceived to give a right otherwise non-existent to demand interest. Some of the Schoolmen admit this right, but with a special understanding which will at once appear necessary. St. Thomas rejects it, yet not from every point of view. In self-consistency he maintains that if free loan is to remain free loan it must not be paid for, even by order of the law. An extrinsic price must not expose an intrinsic principle of charity.

2. While such a law would obviously be extrinsic, a less obvious case under the same category is the *Damnum energens*, or loss arising out of lending the money. This loss the gratuitous *mutuator* is supposed to accept after duly considering his own position. In English law we have for sales the enactment *Caveat Emptor*—let a purchaser look to his own concern in a bargain; so in free loans there is an implied *caveat mutuator*. "He who lends money," says St. Thomas, "De Malo," Q. XIII., A. 4 ad 4, "ought to have a care how he suffers thereby." At the same time St. Thomas allows that foreseen losses may be made matter of a special contract outside the *mutuum*, and herein he supports a part of the modern theory about lawful interest. "He who furnishes the *mutuum* may justly bargain for compensation to cover loss of his rights, for this is not to sell the use of money, but to avoid loss. But the mere foregoing of gain should not be introduced into the bargain, since no man should sell what he does not yet possess" (2 da 2 dd, A. 2 ad 1).²

The last words here are excessive and St. Thomas does not quite abide by them elsewhere.

3. A third extrinsic title is *lucrum cessans*, which, as we have just seen, St. Thomas will not allow to enter into the gratuitous contract, but he might have allowed by the side of this contract another, especially if the borrower were likely to see better days and would consent to add an agreement to compensate for lost gains if ever he should be in a position easily to do so. So far as the free

² St. Thomas also allows a charge for the delay of repayment beyond the stipulated time.

loan is concerned, that of itself admits no such obligation within its own proper purview.

4. The fourth of the extrinsic grounds is the *periculum torts*, or risk of losing the capital through the misfortune or through the fault of the borrower. The allowance and the disallowance of it may be settled on principles already stated.

If we return now to interest, taken on whatever plea, no doubt in regard to it there was before the mind of the mediævalists the fact that the Jew was forbidden to take interest from the Jew, and therefore Christians, with their wide brotherhood, seemed bound not to fall below their Jewish predecessors. Moreover, there were the strong words of Christ which appeared to sacrifice even the capital; and if these are in part of counsel, they are also in part of precept: "Lend, hoping for nothing in return:" *mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes* (Luke vi., 35). From the Fathers might be gathered by mediæval theologians at least detached sentences seeming to condemn all interest on money as guiltily usurious. In his uncompromising way St. Chrysostom lays it down that as for the Jews it was forbidden to take interest from Jews, so for Christians from Christians.³ What these preachers specially denounced was the actual state of things at their own time, when they saw carried out in practice an immoderately high demand of interest; and on complaining of facts they did not stop nicely to define theories. As to the mediæval Church, it must be admitted that its legislation was restrictive of practices now tolerated. The fact that there had occurred a relaxation of the old rule is apparent, for instance, in the answer sent by the Congregation of the Inquisition to a French Bishop August 15, 1830, admitting that persons taking a moderate rate of interest on their money were not to be interfered with—*non esse inquietandos*. The sender of the question, who wanted to stop the perplexing results from different confessors within his diocese giving different solutions to their penitents, was less accurate in his wording when he spoke of the loans on interest as *mutuum*, a term which in strictness belongs to the gratuitous contract. However, the history of the gradually diminishing rigor of the Church in this matter under the much older character of money transactions is quite beyond the scope of the present paper.

But we are here concerned with a special lesson to be learned from the freely made loan as an act of charity, which St. Thomas distinguished from the investments which he called *locatio*,⁴ for in-

³ "Hom. XLI. in Gen.," Migne, tom. 53, col. 376-379. As summing up previous patristic doctrine, may be quoted St. Ambrose "de Tobia," Migne, tom. 14, col. 756. St. Jerome, as usual, is severe in his utterances, tom. 15, col. 176. See St. Augustine, tom. 36, col. 356.

⁴ St. Thomas "De Malo," Q. XIII. a 4 ad 15. The Scholastics allowed interest to be taken under the names of census and societas, rent and partnership—even sleeping partnership.

stance, lending gold coin for show, like gold plate, or putting it into a business managed by another person. What he protested against was the enforced payment for an act of charity, after a gratuitous contract to that effect had been or ought to have been made. Likewise, with Aristotle, he was intolerant of avarice, of seeking to gain more than one's share of wealth against the law of a proportionate equality among men. He tolerated no monetary monsters, for they came under the idea so hateful to the Greeks. In his "Ethics" he follows up what he has to say on justice by insisting on friendship as the corrector of an overstrict justice and as standing for equity. Aristotle, with his Greek disdain for trade, did not frame doctrines for the highest development of commerce. Some of his views may be set aside as being on the whole detrimental to social progress in material well-being. A certain amount of hard business, so long as it is not unjust, adds to the general comfort of a people by promoting trade on the whole. Nevertheless, what works most profitably for the kingdom of earth may at times be laudably foregone for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven. A country may consent to be less rich in gold if thereby it becomes richer in charity.⁵ If business is business, charity is charity; and in this world, while we necessarily make room for both, a preference for the lower good must not be allowed to render us unchristian and liable to the fate that befell Dives when confronted with Lazarus.

Mr. Lecky falls into an instinctive mistake when he says that "theologians, believing money to be sterile, held that he who has returned what he borrowed has canceled all the benefit he has received from the transaction." The *contractus mutui* never aimed at such a canceling; it deliberately renounced not all gain, but even a certain possessed advantage; it was meant to be an act of self-sacrifice, except in the rare case when not only was repayment in due season certain, but the money lent was lying absolutely idle and could be parted with for a time at no inconvenience whatever. But usually the lender charitably puts himself at a disadvantage. In the Church's doctrine no countenance is shown to the bad borrowers described by Ecclesiasticus xxix., 4-13: "Many look upon what they have borrowed as what they have found. They are obsequious while borrowing, and when the time for repayment comes they crave delays, plead the hardness of the times and blame exaction. They declare creditors their enemies and call them by evil names. Many

⁵ St. Thomas, following Aristotle on the barrenness of money and the absurdity of *tokos*, a fruit from the barren, had an obviously right sense and an easy way to a fallacy. The barrenness appears in the scholastic definition, *Mutuatio est contractus quo res infructuosa et primo usu consumptibiles alteri traditus at hic rem similia postea redat.*—Aristotle, *Politics*, I., 4, 2.

persons are deterred from lending, not because they are hard of heart, but because they fear to be cheated. Nevertheless, be thou full of forbearance towards the destitute and do not keep them waiting for thy alms. Because of the commandment and for the sake of the poor man in distress leave him not without help. Lose thy money in the cause of thy brother and thy friend; hide it not under a stone to thy own undoing."

A contrivance for easy loans during the Middle Ages is described by Abbot Gasquet in an account of our English practice: "The parish wardens had their duties towards the poorer members of the district. In more than one instance they were guardians of the common chest, out of which temporary loans could be obtained by needy parishioners to tide over persons in difficulties. These loans were secured by pledges and the additional security of other parishioners. No interest was charged for the use of the money, and in case the pledge had to be sold, everything over and above the sum lent was returned to the borrower." Answering to such an institution the *Montes Pietatis* in modern times have provided loans for the poor.

After all, we must allow for the existence of those who are called by Hermos "those who have got an unequally large store of the world's goods," honestly, as we will suppose, and who are constantly increasing it by interest. For them holds the principle laid down by the Fathers that if the possession is private the use must be public, that is, the very rich must be very bountiful to private and public benefactions. How large their donations must be cannot exactly be said.

Like many more matters, it must in the end be left to the individual conscience. Furthermore, the desire needs checking to become one of these. The supreme contention of life should not be to swell into a millionaire or a multi-millionaire. Aristotle tells us that we may strive as hard as we like to excel in spiritual possessions, but not in material. Here we must not "go with the multitude to do evil." Salvation is an affair of aiming at the select in life. It is a bad policy to do as most people do and go where most people go at the end of all.

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THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL ON MODERNISM.

IT MAY be safely said that few, if any, documents issued by the Holy See in our days have so deeply moved the minds and hearts of men as the recent Encyclical on Modernism. The sound of it has gone forth over the whole earth, and it has been spoken of and written about by all manner of men. The widespread world of naturalist letters and religion has received it in a spirit which displays partly sheer ignorance of its meaning and purport, partly a spiteful hostility, not unlike that of the spirits of old who cried out: "What have we to do with thee? Art thou come hither to torment us before our time?" Many thoughtful men, however, outside the Church have, to the certain knowledge of the writer, hailed the Encyclical as an effective blow struck for right reasoning and dogmatic Christianity. Within the Church the followers of the school of thought whose tenets it condemns have received it in various fashions. Some of them have nobly submitted, thereby proving their good faith; others are still, apparently, holding back, whilst others have gone into open revolt and caused themselves to be severed from the Church. Among these latter, one, the best known in the English-speaking world, has had the arrogance to say in a well-known journal that he disdains to criticize the document, for that would be "to fell the fallen;" and he proceeds to say that he and others have been called down because they mounted the walls and looked out and descried the storm rushing on the building, and gave notice to the sleepy ones inside, with the result that they have been censured and the walls raised, so that those within may sleep on in fancied security. The figure used by this writer may be aptly turned against himself and those who think with him. They have been blamed, not because they saw the storms that have been seen for the past nineteen centuries, but because the false steps they wished to take in order to attain what they considered a vantage ground threatened to make breaches in the wall, whereby the flood would gradually force its way and swamp the whole edifice. Moreover, it is simply ludicrous for any man, and especially for one who has no traditional knowledge of the Church, to pose as a heaven-sent watchman appointed at the dawn of the twentieth century to point out dangers and suggest means of safety to the rock of ages. The overwhelming majority of the members of the Church in all lands have received the Encyclical not only with the deep respect which Catholics are wont to show towards all Papal utterances, but with an unreserved assent of mind and thankfulness of heart. For this Encyclical is especially remarkable for its close reasoning and logical conclusions. It takes its stand on the solid basis of true

philosophy, and thence surveys the sources and the ramifications of the errors of Modernism. The Encyclical discloses and unravels step by step what it rightly describes as a "synthesis of all heresies," and by implication it restates the entire theory of the Catholic religion and sets up a lucid synthesis of doctrine. It is addressed primarily to the *ecclesia docens*, that is, to those charged to instruct and guide souls; but it appeals to the "whole Church," before which it denounces the errors in question. A document of the kind necessarily bristles with technicalities of expression and modes of reasoning which are in vogue in the schools of philosophy and theology; yet its main arguments and conclusions are well within the comprehension of every intelligent Catholic. We hope, therefore, to be of some use to our readers by putting before them briefly some general views on the occasion that has called forth the Encyclical, the nature and purport of its teachings and the grave injunctions which it proclaims.

The causes which have led to the publication of the Encyclical are known to everybody. For the past ten years a certain number of Catholic writers in several countries, men of remarkable but one-sided ability, have been coquetting with the naturalist and rationalist critical methods of the day; and they have fancied that it would be feasible and advantageous to apply them to the Church's teaching, discipline and organization, so as to revise her lines of defense, modify the expression of her mind and reform her very inner life.

The chief centre of this mischievous movement has been in France, and its most brilliant exponents have been found among the younger French clergy. There is something very pathetic in this fact, when considered side by side with the dread ordeal that the Church in France has been going through these same years at the hands of her hereditary and implacable foes. But it has always been thus; the worst scandals have arisen in the midst of the darkest persecutions. It was so for the Church of the Catacombs; it was so in the time of the Penal Laws in England and Ireland; it was so during the *Kulturkampf* in Germany, and it has been so for the Church of France in this her day of bitter conflict and mourning. Rightly, indeed, the foremost of French Catholic laymen, the Comte de Mun, has written of this Modernist movement in France that it has done more harm to the Church than all the brutal persecutions of Combes and Clemenceau. His Catholic instinct has enabled him to perceive what many professional theologians seem to have failed to grasp at once—the fatal drift of the Modernist movement—just as the lay Catholic mind of the Blessed Thomas More saw through the meaning and consequences of Henry VIII.'s Act of Supremacy, whilst many Bishops and priests ignored it, or just as O'Connell saw

through the evil effects of the proposed right of veto which, though favored by many ecclesiastics, would have enslaved the Irish Church. When the noted French book, "L'Evangile et L'Eglise," was published some six years ago many failed to see its pernicious import. The present writer was assured at the time by a friend of his who holds a very high position in one of the most learned orders of the Church, and who is uncommonly conversant with such subjects, that he had not noticed at a first reading any positive errors in the book. Nor is this to be wondered at, because the many erroneous statements it contained were set forth in an ambiguous manner. Thus there are, here and there through the book, beautiful expressions about the "something divine in Christ," at the same time that we are told that Christ was not conscious of His Divinity, nor did He manifest it in His teachings, nor is it provable from the Synoptic Gospels. The author maintained that the doctrine of the Divinity was read into the early Gospels by the faith and piety of the infant Church, and that these sentiments, grown stronger and stronger by time, led to the compilation of imaginary events and discourses in what is known to critics as the Fourth Gospel—that of St. John. When texts from the Synoptic Gospels embarrass him he does not hesitate to brush them aside as having been interpolated, or, even worse, positively untrue. Thus he argues against Harnack that the text of St. Matthew iii., 17, reproduced by St. Mark ix., 6, does witness to the natural Divine Sonship of Christ; but he proceeds to say that this text is "a product of the Christian tradition of the early times." In other words, the two evangelists have falsified the thought of their Divine Master. In the same way he treats the words of our Lord foretelling the Passion and Redemption, recorded by St. Mark x., 45, as "very probably influenced by the theology of St. Paul," inferring, of course, that the evangelist is unreliable. Of these and numerous other similar assertions in flat contradiction of all orthodox, traditionary beliefs, not an iota of evidence is given; the *ipse dixit* of the writer is held to be all-sufficient. He seems to be utterly unscrupulous in building up his main contention that the Christ of faith is not the Christ of history, and that it would be hopeless to construct or defend the dogma of the Divinity of Christ from the Gospel narrative. How such a writer could claim to possess the faith is one of those psychological problems which the Pope treats of in the Encyclical, and to which we shall have to return.

There is no need to direct detailed attention to the abettors of Modernism in other countries. They are not very numerous, but they have shown themselves wonderfully active. In Italy there has been the pseudo-mysticism embodied in the romance of "Il Santo," a book which would probably have passed unnoticed were it not for

the known school of thought of which it was in part the exponent. The seat of that school was chiefly in Milan, where its activities seem to have been fanned into a flame by the discovery of the now famous letter written by an English member of a great order. In that letter the writer maintained practically that the dogmas of the Church were but forms of expression, with no unchangeable reality behind them, and subject to varying interpretations, according to the subjective views of the individual and the current modes of thought. In England itself there were not many adherents of these untenable views. Rumor had it for some years past that there was much internal dissension among the author's immediate brethren; that some of them were chafing under the disciplinary control of their utterances and were threatening secession. This was no matter for surprise in the case of Englishmen, especially converts, who had been brought up under the influence of the free thought and private judgment engendered by the so-called Reformation and taught to think and speak for themselves unrestrainedly. Germany is the fountain-head and historic home of rationalism and diluted Christianity. It is, therefore, not surprising that there should be found there, especially among State professors, a certain number of nominal Catholics infected by the prevailing *virus* of naturalist critical and historical methods, which are utterly subversive of supernatural truth. The noble and loyal address recently drawn up by the German Bishops assembled at Cologne and sent to the Holy Father to thank him for his Encyclical has expressed the sentiments of the vast body of German Catholics who are so unreservedly devoted to the Holy See. It has been said that in other countries, too, including our own, there have been and are certain upholders of the Modernist's methods and errors. We know not to what extent this statement is correct; if it be well founded, the Encyclical "*Pascendi*" will effectively stop the emanations and squelch the very germs of the disease.

To come now to the Encyclical itself, its nature and purport. We have already observed that it is remarkable for its close reasoning and logical conclusions. It is also a lengthy document, containing over twenty thousand words; yet there is scarcely a sentence in it which could be discarded without weakening the chain of the argument or marring the serried completeness of the exposition. The introduction is comparatively brief, setting forth the duty of the Apostolic Office "to guard with the greatest vigilance the deposit of the faith delivered to the saints;" the special need of this watchfulness at the present day, when there are found in the very bosom of the Church men feigning love of her, yet so lacking in right philosophy and theology, so imbued with poisonous errors and so lost to

all sense of modesty as to vaunt themselves as reformers of the Church and assail all that is most sacred, even the Divinity of Christ; such men put the axe to the very root of divine faith, and must be regarded as the Church's worst enemies, notwithstanding the personal good qualities of many of their number. Fatherly attempts have been made to correct them, but in vain, and now silence must be broken in order to expose them before the whole Church in their true colors. The introduction closes by indicating a three-fold division of the Encyclical into an analysis of Modernists' teaching, an examination of the source of their errors and a prescribing of remedies against them.

The determined, authoritative character of this exordium cannot be well understood by those outside the Church who have little or no knowledge of the vital importance she attaches to divine faith and to her own mission to watch and guard it. Much less can the analysis of errors which forms the first part of the Encyclical be grasped by any one who has not a clear idea of the nature of divine faith, the grounds on which it rests, its relation to reason on the one hand and to revelation on the other. Even Catholics will do well to refresh their minds on these points so as to follow more readily the argument of the Encyclical. But there is one difficulty which has to be cleared up before entering on this wider field, and that is the meaning of Modernism; and an explanation of it will serve as an introduction to our argument.

Modernism, as interpreted by its votaries and adopted in the Encyclical, may be defined as "the subordination of Catholicism to the progress of modern, naturalist science." This definition will raise up in the minds of many non-Catholics visions of obscurantism, of the Inquisition and of numerous other fancied enormities; and even certain Catholics will blush at the possibility of the Church being opposed to modern progress. The one and the other may be assured at once that the Church, being a living social organism, cannot, dare not be opposed to any true progress of humanity; and it would be her death-knell to anathematize any acquired fact or truth of science. The Church walks with science as far as the deepest science goes; but she knows by revelation from God many things which human philosophy has never dreamt of. Hence the Church can never regard as true progress that which is material to the neglect of the spiritual; that which is natural to the denial of the supernatural; and, whilst she claims that there can never be any conflict between true science and herself, yet she can never subordinate to any human science her higher life and knowledge, which are guaranteed to her by the First, Essential Truth, God. The Church thus rests on two pillars of science—reason and revelation—

twin sisters, not of equal age and strength, but mutually helpful; she needs them both, and she regards herself bound to safeguard the one and the other. In the long course of her history she has had to watch over the workings of reason as well as of revelation, and she has drawn many a sword to save the one from aberration and the other from being misapplied. But reason must always be the Church's first care, since it is the foundation on which her sublime edifice is built. A false philosophy would be more fatal to the Church than a hundred heresies. Hence the first ground of complaint set forth in the Encyclical against the Modernists is their hankering after and adoption of the unsound philosophy of the day. It is well known that in most non-Catholic seats of learning all over the world at the present time there are two fundamental philosophical errors in vogue, the one affecting the will and destructive of all moral consciousness and responsibility, the other affecting the intellect and destructive of natural certitude as well as of supernatural faith. Neither of these errors is precisely modern; they are to be found in the oldest philosophies and will be found to the end. Determinism must always be the philosophy of the natural, animal man left to himself without grace to resist and overcome his passions; and agnosticism is the only refuge for those who deny the supernatural illumination of the intellect, for whom the motto of the ancient University of Oxford, "*Dominus Illuminatio Mea*," has lost all meaning. To the impartial thinker these errors nullify man's noblest faculties—his intellect and will—and to the Catholic they nullify divine faith. We are not aware that even the extremest Modernist among professing Catholics has adopted Determinism or the negation of the freedom of the will; so we may confine ourselves to the consideration of Agnosticism and its offshoot, Immanence, which have been, unfortunately, flaunted before the world by the Modernists, and which have been so justly arraigned in the Encyclical.

Agnosticism claims that whatever is beyond the field of phenomena as perceived by the senses is unknown and unknowable. Now, this theory denies, in the face of common sense and of the oldest philosophies from Aristotle down, the power of the intellect to abstract from and generalize on the images presented to it by the senses. It thus sweeps away the reasonableness of belief in the existence of God, in the possibility and fact of revelation. Yet the human mind, though a *tabula rasa* at its creation, as Aristotle has taught in his treatise on the soul, has the innate power to occupy itself with questions outside the range of phenomena, such as the question of cause and effect. In revolving the whys and the wherefores of things seen by the senses, the mind naturally discovers a First Cause, who must be a Spirit, since He has created the spiritual soul of man, and who

must be a Person for a similar reason. All true philosophy must agree with St. Paul when he says: "For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal power also and Divinity, so that they (philosophers) are inexcusable." The father of modern experimental science, Nicholas Bacon, has said that there is no *bona fide* atheist; and a far higher Authority tells us that it is the fool who hath said in his heart there is no God.

How any one could adopt Agnosticism, with all its logical consequences, and still pretend to be a Catholic is a knotty psychological problem which we have already mentioned and which has called forth the main argument of the Encyclical. The Modernists, finding themselves in the *impasse*, the dark cave of the unknown and unknowable, where Agnosticism has placed them, grope about for an explanation and foundation of religion, and they fancy they discover it within man himself in a certain sentiment which originates from a need of the Divine which lies hidden in man's subconsciousness. This sentimental need of the Divine they call faith and the foundation of religion as well as the depository of revelation. It can be easily reckoned to what extremes this twofold theory of the natural and supernatural leads its followers. On the side of nature, of history, science and criticism every fact and inference must be subject to the principles of Agnosticism; nothing of the miraculous must be admitted; and on the side of the supernatural all religion, faith, revelation, the Church's magisterium, sacraments, dogmas—all must be subjected, first, to the radical sifting of Agnostic criticism, and then, what is left of them is to be interpreted and received according to the inner sentiments of each one. The Encyclical treats in considerable detail the pernicious consequences that flow from the Modernist combination of Agnosticism and Vital Immanence over the whole field of religion. These consequences are pointed out not as inferences drawn theoretically from Modernists' principles, but are extracted from actual writings of theirs.

It is hard for any Catholic to realize that such perverse errors should have been uttered by men professing loyalty to Christ and His Church. The Encyclical touches on the causes of this extraordinary movement. It does not ascribe it to bad faith, but to a certain perversion of the mind fostered by curiosity and pride. There is nothing so insidious as pride of intellect. To feel one's power in certain lines of thought, to be patted on the back by men of renown, to have one's visions of progress and emancipation blocked by an impassable wall of conservatism—all of this is hard for brilliant minds to bear in the proper spirit. A deeper and more fatal cause of Modernists' errors pointed out by the Holy Father

is their ignorance of scholastic philosophy and their attempted alliance between faith and false modern philosophy. It is the glory of the Church of God to preserve intact the deep-reasoned philosophy bequeathed to mankind by Aristotle, *Il maestro di color che sanno*, and adopted by the genius of St. Thomas for the service of Divine Revelation. Beside it and compared with it, the Agnosticism and Idealism begotten of Descartes and Kant, Berkeley and Hume, Mill and Spencer are but the ravings of partially sane men. The Church will have none of their philosophy; she will never exchange her own solid foundation of certitude and objective truth for those shifting sands of subjective sentiments. It is the privilege of Catholics to-day, as in the past, to know and realize that their faith can face without a blush the scrutiny of true and the onslaughts of false philosophy; that the service demanded of them is what St. Paul calls it, a "reasonable service;" that faith and reason are twin sisters; that faith is no merely subjective, sentimental acquiescence in certain truths that it does not comprehend. "Faith," says St. Thomas, "presupposes reason, as grace presupposes nature, as the perfect presupposes the perfectible." Grace needs nature for its operations; it needs the intellect to illumine the will to strengthen, and these in turn need the bodily organs for their manifestation and activity. So, too, faith needs reason; it is necessary for understanding the terms of revelation; it judges the credibility of what is proposed by faith. There can never be any conflict between them. For, as St. Thomas again says, "the principles engrafted in human reason by Almighty God must be true; so, too, God's word must be true. Therefore there can be no contradiction between them. God is the author of both reason and revelation. His wisdom embraces both; therefore there can be no contradiction, for contradiction would in such case paralyze all reasoning." What is theologically true cannot be philosophically false, and *vice versa*. The enemies of faith will always be found to be the enemies of reason also. They are represented to-day by the Agnosticism, the Rationalism, the Naturalism, which have made such an insidious attempt to get a foothold in the Church under the guise of Modernism. The Encyclical "*Pascendi Gregis Dominici*" has given them a backset, from which they will not recover for many a day. All Catholics thank God and the Holy Father for it; they give their hearty assent to all its teachings, their hearty allegiance to all its injunctions, and they fervently pray that the misguided ones may listen to the fatherly voice of Pius X. and take their proper place in the one true fold under his supreme pastoral guidance.

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THE CHURCH AND THE EXPERIMENTAL METHOD.

IN THE midst of the discussion that has been aroused over the recent Papal Encyclical on Modernism and the publication of the Papal document called a Syllabus, one of the most prominent notes that has been sounded by those outside of the Church is the supposed opposition of the Church to science and scientific methods and scientific investigations. There is apt to be an attitude of complacent pity toward believers on the part of students of science, as if faith somehow prevented those who accepted it from having a properly open mind for scientific advances. As a consequence of this it is supposed to be almost impossible for the devout believer to put himself in such a state of mind as will enable him to doubt sufficiently about the things he knows to enable him to make progress in science. There is no question at all that doubt is the mother of progress. It is the man who refuses to accept what most of the world at least have believed up to his time and tries to find another reason for it different from previous explanations, who discovers new truths. The experimental method is really a series of questionings of previous knowledge.

There is a very generally accepted false impression with regard to the attitude maintained by the Church during the Middle Ages, especially towards what is known as the experimental method, in the gaining of knowledge, or, as we would now say, in the study of science. It is commonly supposed that at least before the sixteenth century, though of course in modern times it has had to change its attitude to accord with the advances of modern science, the Church was decidedly opposed to the experimental method, and that the great ecclesiastical scholars of the wonderful period of the rise of the universities were all absolute in their confidence in authority and their dependence on the deductive method as the only means of arriving at truth. This widespread false impression owes its existence and persistence to many causes.

It is supposed by many of those outside the Church that there is a distinct incompatibility between the state of mind which accepts things on faith and that other intellectual attitude which leads many to doubt about his knowledge and consequently to inquire. This doubting frame of mind, which is readily recognized to be absolutely necessary for the proper pursuit of experimental science, is supposed quite to preclude the idea of the peaceful settlement of the doubts that assail men's minds as to the significance of life, of the relation of man to man and to his Creator and the hereafter, which comes with the acceptance of what revelation has to say on these subjects. Somehow it is assumed by many people, and there is something

mutually and essentially repellent in these two forms of assent. If a man is ready to accept certain propositions on authority and without being able to understand them, and, still more, if he accept them, realizing that he cannot understand them, it is considered for him to be impossible to be able to assume such a mental attitude towards science as would make him an original investigator.

It is almost needless to say to any one who knows anything about the history of modern science—even nineteenth century science—that there is absolutely no foundation for this prejudice. Most of our great investigators even in nineteenth century science have been faithful believers not only in the ordinary religious truths, in a Providence, in a hereafter and in this life as a preparation for another, but also in the great mysteries of revelation. I have shown this amply even with regard to what is usually considered so unorthodox a science as medicine in my volume on "*The Makers of Modern Medicine*." Most of the men who did the great original work in the last century medicine were Catholics. The same thing is true for electricity. For example, all the men after whom modes and units of electricity are named—Galvani, Volta, Ampère, Coulomb, Ohm—were not only members of the Church, but what would be even called devout Catholics.

A second and almost as important a reason for the superstition—for it is a supposed truth accepted without good reasons therefor—that somehow the Church was opposed to the inductive or experimental method, is the persistent belief which, in spite of frequent contradictions, remains in the minds of so many scientists that the inductive or experimental method was introduced to the world by Francis Bacon, the English philosopher, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Bacon himself was a Protestant; he did not do his writing until the Reformation (so-called) had been at work in Europe for nearly a century, and somehow it is supposed that these facts are linked together as causes and effects. The reason why such a formulation of the inductive method had not come before was because this was forbidden ground! Nothing could be less true than that Lord Bacon had any serious influence in bringing about the introduction of the inductive method into science. At most he was a chronicler of tendencies that he saw in the science of his day. It is true that his writings served to give a certain popular vogue to the inductive method, or rather a certain exaggerated notion of the import of experiment to those who were not themselves scientists. Bacon was a popular writer on science, not an original thinker or worker in the experimental sciences. Popularizers in science, alas! have from Amerigo Vespucci down reaped the rewards due to the real discoverers.

Induction in the genuine significance of the word had been recognized in the world long before his time and had been used to much better effect than he was able to apply it. Personally, I have always felt that he has almost less right to all the praise that has been bestowed on him for what he is supposed to have done for science than he has for any addition to his reputation because of the attribution to him by so many fanatics of the authorship of Shakespeare's plays. It is rather difficult to understand how his reputation ever came about. Lord Macaulay is much more responsible for it than is usually thought; his brilliancy often overreached itself or went far beyond truth; his favorite geese were nearly always swans.

De Maistre, in his review of Bacon's "*Novum Organum*," points out that this work is replete with prejudices; that Bacon makes glaring blunders in astronomy, in logic, in metaphysics, in physics, in natural history, and fills the pages of his work with childish observations, trifling experiments and ridiculous explanations. Our own Professor Draper, in his "*Intellectual Development of Europe*," has been even more severe, and has especially pointed out that Bacon never received the Copernican System, but "with the audacity of ignorance he presumed to criticize what he did not understand, and with a superb conceit disparaged the great Copernicus." "The more closely we examine the writings of Lord Bacon," he says farther on, "the more unworthy does he seem to have been of the great reputation which has been awarded to him. . . . The popular delusion, to which he owes so much, originated at a time when the history of science was unknown. This boasted founder of a new philosophy could not comprehend and would not accept the greatest of all scientific discoveries when it was plainly set before his eyes."

As a student of the history of medicine, it has always been especially irritating to me to hear Francis Bacon's name heralded as the Father of Experimental Science. Literally hundreds of physicians had applied the experimental method in its perfect form to many problems in medicine and surgery during at least three centuries or more before Bacon's time. They did not need to have the principles of it set forth for them by this publicist, who knew how to write about scientific method, but did not know how to apply it so far as we know anything about him, and who was utterly unable to see the great discoveries that had been made by the experimental method in the century before his time, and refused to accept such great advances in science as were made by Copernicus and others. Some two score of years before Bacon wrote, in England itself the great Gilbert, of Colchester, who was elected the president of the Royal College of Physicians for the year 1600, and who was physician-in-ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, had applied the experimental

method to such good purpose that he well deserves the title that has been conferred upon him of Father of Electricity.

There was never a more purely experimental scientist than Gilbert. His work, "*De Magnete*," is one of the great contributions to experimental science. Any one who thinks that experiments came only after Lord Bacon's time should read this wonderful work, which is at the foundation of modern electricity. For twenty years, from 1580 to 1600, Gilbert spent all the leisure that he could snatch from his professional duties in his laboratory. He notes down his experiments—his failures as well as his successes—discusses them very thoroughly, suggests explanations of success and failure, hits upon methods of control, but pursues the solution of the problems he has in hand ever further and further. As a biographer said of him, "we find him toiling in his workshop at Colchester quite as Faraday toiled, more than two hundred years later, in the low, dark rooms of the Royal Institution of Great Britain." Faraday was actuated by no more calm, persevering, inquiring spirit than was Gilbert. To say that any Englishman invented or taught the world the application of the experimental method in science after Gilbert's time is to talk nonsense.

Yet it was of this great scientific observer that Lord Bacon, carried away by ill-feeling and jealousy of a contemporary, went so far as to say in his "*De Augmentis Scientiarum*" that Gilbert "had attempted to found a general system upon the magnet, and endeavored to build a ship out of materials not sufficient to make the rowing-pins of a boat." When Bacon refused to accept Copernicus' teachings, he did not commit a greater error, nor do a greater wrong to mankind than when he made little of Gilbert of Colchester's work. Poggendorf called Gilbert "the Galileo of Magnetism" and Priestley hailed him as "the founder of modern electricity." When Gilbert did the work on which these titles are founded, however, he was only following out the methods which had been introduced into England long before and which had been exemplified so thoroughly all during the life of Friar Bacon and of Friar Bacon's great teacher, Albertus Magnus. One would expect that at least in science credit would be given properly, and that the false notions introduced by litterateurs and historians of politics should not be allowed to dominate the situation.

The position popularly assigned to Bacon in the history of science is indeed one of those history lies, as the Germans so bluntly but frankly call them, which, though very generally accepted, is entirely due to a lack of knowledge of the state of education and of the progress of scientific investigation long before his time. The reason for this ignorance is the unfortunate tradition which has been so long

fostered in educational circles, that nothing worth while ever came out of the Nazareth of the Middle Ages, or the centuries before the so-called Reformation and the Renaissance. The ridiculously utter falsity of this impression we shall be able properly to characterize at the end of the next chapter.

As a matter of fact, it would have been much truer to have attributed the paternity of physical science to his great namesake, Roger Bacon, the Franciscan friar, whose work was done at Paris and at Oxford during the latter half of that wonderful thirteenth century that saw the rise and the development of the universities to that condition in which they have practically remained ever since. Even Bacon, however, is not the real originator of the inductive method, since, as we shall see, the writings of his great teacher, the profoundest scholar of this great century, whose years are almost coincident with it, Albertus Magnus, the Dominican, who afterwards became Bishop of Ratisbon, contained many distinct and definite anticipations of Bacon as regards the inductive method.

The earlier Bacon, the Franciscan, laid down very distinctly the principle that only by careful observation and experimental demonstration could any real knowledge with regard to natural phenomena be obtained. He not only laid down the principle, however, but in this, quite a contrast to his later namesake, he followed the route himself very wonderfully. It is for this reason that his name is deservedly attached to many important beginnings in modern science, which we shall have occasion to mention during the course of this and the next chapter. His general attitude of mind toward natural science can be best appreciated from the famous passage with regard to his friend, Petrus Peregrinus, who did such excellent work in magnetism in the thirteenth century, and sent to Friar Bacon the details of it with the loving solicitude of a pupil to a master.

In his "Opus Tertium" Bacon thus appraises the merits of Peregrinus: "I know of only one person who deserves praise for his work in experimental philosophy, for he does not care for the discourses of men and their wordy warfare, but quietly and diligently pursues the works of wisdom. Therefore, what others grope after blindly, as bats in the evening twilight, this man contemplates in all their brilliancy *because he is a master of experiment*. Hence he knows all of natural science, whether pertaining to medicine and alchemy, or to matters celestial or terrestrial. He has worked diligently in the smelting of ores, as also in the working of minerals; he is thoroughly acquainted with all sorts of arms and implements used in military service and in hunting, besides which he is skilled in agriculture and in the measurement of lands. It is impossible to write a useful or correct treatise in experimental philosophy without

mentioning this man's name. Moreover, he pursues knowledge for its own sake; for if he wished to obtain royal favor, he could easily find sovereigns who would honor and enrich him."

Brother Potamian's reflections on this unexpected passage of Bacon are the best interpretation of it for the modern student of science:

"This last statement is worthy of the best utterances of the twentieth century. Say what they will, the most ardent pleaders of our day for original work and laboratory methods cannot surpass the Franciscan monk of the thirteenth century in his denunciation of mere book learning or in his advocacy of experiment and research, while in Peregrinus, the mediævalist, they have Bacon's impersonation of what a student of science ought to be. Peregrinus was a hard worker, not a mere theorizer, preferring, Procrusteanlike, to make theory fit the facts rather than facts fit the theory; he was a brilliant discoverer, who knew at the same time how to use his discoveries for the benefit of mankind; he was a pioneer of science and a leader in the progress of the world."¹

This letter of Roger Bacon contains every idea that the modern scientists contend for as significant in education. It counsels observation, not theory, and says very plainly what it thinks of much talk without a basis of observation. It commends a mastery in experiment as the most important thing for science. It suggests, of course, by implication at least, that a man should know all sciences and all applications of them; but surely no one will object to this mediæval friar commending as great a breadth of mental development as possible, as the ideal of an educated man, and especially with regard to the experimental sciences. Finally, it has the surprising phrase that Peregrinus pursues knowledge for its own sake. Friar Bacon evidently would have sympathized very heartily with Faraday, who at the beginning of the nineteenth century wanted to get out of trade and into science, because he thought it unworthy of man to spend all his life accumulating money and considered that the only proper aim in life is to add to knowledge. He would have been in cordial accord with Pasteur at the end of the century, who told the Empress Eugenie, when she asked him if he would not exploit his discoveries in fermentation for the purpose of building up a great brewing industry in France, that he thought it unworthy of a French scientist to devote himself to a mere money-making industry.

For a man of the modern time, perhaps the most interesting expression that ever fell from Roger Bacon's lips is his famous

¹ The letter of Petrus Peregrinus on the Magnet, A. D. 1269, translated by Brother Arnold, M. Sc., with an Introductory Note by Brother Potamian, New York, 1904.

proclamation of the reasons why men do not obtain genuine knowledge more rapidly than would seem ought to be the case from the care and time and amount of work which they have devoted to its cultivation. This expression occurs in Bacon's "*Opus Tertium*," which, it may be recalled, the Franciscan friar wrote at the command of Pope Clement, because the Pope had heard many interesting accounts of all that the great thirteenth century teacher and experimenter was doing at the University of Oxford, and wished to learn for himself the details of his work. Friar Bacon starts out with the principle that there are four grounds of human ignorance.

"These are: First, trust in adequate authority; second, that force of custom which leads men to accept too unquestioningly what has been accepted before their time; third, the placing of confidence in the opinion of the inexperienced, and fourth, the hiding of one's own ignorance with the parade of superficial knowledge." These reasons contain the very essence of the experimental method and continue to be as important in the twentieth century as they were in the thirteenth. They could only have emanated from an eminently practical mind, accustomed to test by observation and by careful searching of authorities every proposition that came to him.

It is very evident that modern scientists would have more of kinship and intellectual sympathy with Friar Bacon than most of them are apt to think possible. A faithful student of his writings, who was at the same time in many ways a cordial admirer of mediævalism, the late Professor Henry Morley, who held the chair of English literature at University College, London, whose contributions to the *History of English Literature* are probably the most important of the nineteenth century, has a striking paragraph with regard to this attitude of Bacon toward knowledge and science—two words that have the same meaning etymologically, though they have come to have quite different connotations. In the third volume of his "*English Writers*," page 321, Professor Morley, after quoting Bacon's four grounds of human ignorance, said:

"No part of that ground has yet been cut away from beneath the feet of students, although six centuries ago the Oxford Friar clearly pointed out its character. We still make sheep walks of second, third and fourth and fiftieth-hand references to authority; still we are the slaves of habit; still we are found following too frequently the untaught crowd; still we flinch from the righteous and wholesome phrase, 'I do not know,' and acquiesce actively in the opinion of others, that we know what we appear to know. Substitute honest research, original and independent thought, strict truth in the comparison of only what we really know with what is really known by others, and the strong redoubt of ignorance is fallen."

This attitude of mind of Friar Bacon toward the reasons for ignorance is so different from what is usually predicated of the Middle Ages and of mediæval scholars, that it seems worth while insisting on it. Authority is supposed to have meant everything for the scholastics, and experiment is usually said to have counted for nothing. They are supposed to have been accustomed to swear to the words of the master—"jurare in verbis magistri"—yet here is a great leader of mediæval thought insisting on just the opposite. As clearly as ever it was proclaimed, Bacon announces that an authority is worth only the reasons that he advances. These thirteenth century teachers are supposed, above all, to have fairly bowed down and worshiped at the shrine of Aristotle. Many of them doubtless did. In every generation the great mass of mankind must find some one to follow. As often as not their leaders are much more fallible than Aristotle. Bacon, however, had no undue reverence for Aristotle or any one else, and he realized that the blind following of Aristotle had done much harm. In his sketch of Gilbert of Colchester, which was published in the *Popular Science Monthly* for August, 1901, Brother Potamian calls attention to this quality of Roger Bacon in a striking passage:

"Roger Bacon, after absorbing the learning of Oxford and Paris, wrote to the reigning Pontiff, Clement IV., urging him to have the works of the Stagirite burnt in order to stop the propagation of error in the schools. The Franciscan monk of Ilchester has left us, in his 'Opus Majus,' a lasting memorial of his practical genius. In the section entitled 'Scientia Experimentalis' he affirms that 'without experiment nothing can be adequately known. An argument proves theoretically, but does not give the certitude necessary to remove all doubt; nor will the mind repose in the clear view of truth, unless it finds it by way of experiment.' And in his 'Opus Tertium:' 'The strongest arguments prove nothing so long as the conclusions are not verified by experience. Experimental science is the queen of sciences and the goal of all speculation.'"

Lest it should be thought that these expressions of laudatory appreciation of the great thirteenth century scientist are dictated more by the design to magnify his work and to bring out the influence in science of the churchmen of the period, it seems well to quote an expression of opinion from the modern historian of the inductive sciences whose praise is scarcely if any less outspoken than that of others whom we have quoted and who might be supposed to be somewhat partial in their judgment. This opinion will fortify the doubters who must have authority and at the same time sums up very excellently the position which Roger Bacon occupies in the history of science.

Dr. Whewell says that Roger Bacon's "Opus Majus" is "the encyclopedia and Novan Organon of the thirteenth century, a work equally wonderful with regard to its general scheme and to the special treatises with which the outlines of the plans are filled up. The professed object of the work is to urge the necessity of a reform in the mode of philosophizing to set forth the reason why knowledge had not made a greater progress to draw back attention to the sources of knowledge which had been unwisely neglected, to discover other sources which were yet almost untouched, and to animate men in the undertaking by a prospect of the vast advantages which it offered. In the development of this plan all the leading portions of science are expended in the most complete shape which they had at that time assumed; and improvements of a very wide and striking kind are proposed in some of the principal branches of study. Even if the work had no leading purposes it would have been highly valuable as a treasure of the most solid knowledge and soundest speculations of the time; even if it had contained no such details, it would have been a work most remarkable for its general views and scope."

The open and inquiring attitude of mind toward the truths of nature is supposed usually to be utterly at variance with the intellectual temper of the Middle Ages. We have heard so much about the submission to authority and the cultivation of tradition on the part of mediæval scholars that we forget entirely how much they accomplished in adding to human knowledge, and though they had their limitations of conservatism, they were no more old fogies clinging to old-fashioned ruts than are the older men of each successive generation down even to our own time, in the minds of their younger colleagues. It might seem to be difficult to substantiate such a declaration. It may appear to be a paradox to talk thus. It is not hard to show good reasons for it, and far from being a far-fetched attempt to bolster up an opinion more favorable to the Middle Ages, it is really a very simple expression of what the history of these generations shows that they actually tried to accomplish. Roger Bacon must not be thought to be alone in this. On the contrary, he was only a leader with many followers. Even before his time, however, these ideas as to the necessity for observation had been very forcibly expressed by many, and by no one more than Roger's distinguished teacher, Albertus Magnus, whose name is now becoming familiar to scholars as Albert the Great.

Albert's great pupil, Roger Bacon, is rightly looked up to as the true father of inductive science, an honor that history has unfortunately taken from him to confer it undeservedly on his namesake of four centuries later; but the teaching out of which Roger Bacon

was to develop the principles of experimental science can be found in many places in the master's writings. In Albert's tenth, wherein he catalogues and describes all the trees, plants and herbs known in his time, he observes: "All that is here set down is the result of our own experience, or has been borrowed from authors whom we know what to have written their personal experience has confirmed; for in these matters experience alone can give certainty" (*experimentum solum certificat in talibus*). "Such an expression," says his biographer, "which might have proceeded from the pen of (Francis) Bacon, argues in itself a prodigious scientific progress, and shows that the mediæval friar was on the track so successfully pursued by modern natural philosophy. He had fairly shaken off the shackles which had hitherto tied up discovery, and was the slave neither of Pliny nor of Aristotle."

Albert was a theologian rather than a scientist, and yet, deeply versed as he was in theology, he declared in a treatise concerning Heaven and Earth,² that "in studying nature we have not to enquire how God the Creator may, as He freely wills, use His creatures to work miracles and thereby show forth His power; we have rather to enquire what nature with its immanent causes can naturally bring to pass." This can scarcely fail to seem a surprising declaration to those who have been accustomed to think of mediæval philosophers as turning by preference to miraculous explanations of things, but such a notion is founded partly on false tradition, with regard to the real teaching of the mediæval scholars, and even more on the partisan declarations of those who thought it the proper thing to make as little as possible of the intelligence of the people of the Middle Ages, in order to account for their adhesion to the Catholic Church.

As a matter of fact, Albert's declaration, far from being an innovation, was only in pursuance of the truly philosophic method which had characterized the writings of the great Christian thinkers from the earlier time. Unfortunately, the declarations of lesser minds are sometimes accepted as having represented the thoughts of men and the policy of the Church. It is not these lesser men, however, who have been in special honor. No one, for instance, can possibly be looked upon as representing Church teaching better than Augustine, who because of the depth of his teaching, yet its wonderful fidelity to Christian dogma, received the formal title of Father of the Church, which carried with it the approval of everything that he had written. There is a well-known quotation from St. Augustine which shows how much he deprecated the attempt to make Scriptures an authority in science, and how much he valued observation as com-

² De Cælo et Mundo, I. tr. iv., x.

pared with authority in such matters as are really within the domain of investigation, by experiment and observaton. He says:

"It very often happens that there is some question as to the earth or the sky, or the other elements of this world, respecting which one who is not a Christian has knowledge derived from most certain reasoning or observation" (that is, from the ordinary means at the command of an investigator in natural science), "and it is very disgraceful and mischievous, and of all things to be carefully avoided, that a Christian speaking of such matters as being according to the Christian Scriptures, should be heard by an unbeliever talking such nonsense that the unbeliever, perceiving him to be as wide from the mark as east from west, can hardly restrain himself from laughing."

It is the opinions of such men as Augustine and Albert that must be taken as representing the real attitude of theologians and churchmen towards science, and not those of lesser men, whose zeal, as is ever true of the men or adherents of any cause, always is prone to carry them into unfortunate excesses.

Albert the Great was indeed a thoroughgoing experimentalist in the best modern sense of the term. He says in the second book of his treatise "*On Minerals*" ("*De Mineralibus*"): "The aim of natural science is not simply to accept the statements of others, that is, what is narrated by people, but to investigate the causes that are at work in nature for themselves." When we take this expression in connection with the other, that "we must endeavor to find out what nature can naturally bring to pass," the complete foundation of experimentalism is laid. Albert held this principle not only in theory, but applied it in practice, for he says in his "*Treatise on Plants*"³ experiment is the only safe guide in such investigations, with regard to the forms and origins of plants. His exact words are: "*Experimentum solum certificat in taligus.*"

It is often said that the scholastic philosophers, and notably Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, almost idolatrously worshiped at the shrine of Aristotle, and were ready to accept anything that this great Greek philosopher had taught. We have already quoted Roger Bacon's request to the Pope to forbid the study of the Stagirite. It is interesting to find in this regard that while Albert declared that in questions of natural science he would prefer to follow Aristotle to St. Augustine—a declaration which may seem surprising to many people who have been prone to think that what the Fathers of the Church said mediæval scholars followed slavishly—he does not hesitate to point out errors made by the Greek philosopher, nor to criticize his conclusions very freely. In his "*Treatise on Physics*:"⁴ "Whoever believes that Aristotle was a god must

³ *De Vegetalibus* VI., tr. II., 1.

also believe that he never erred. But if he believe that Aristotle was a man, then doubtless he was liable to err just as we are." In fact, as is pointed out by the Catholic Encyclopædia in its article on Albertus Magnus, to which we are indebted for the exact references of the quotations that we have made, Albert devotes a lengthy chapter in his "Summa Theologiæ" to what he calls the errors of Aristotle. His appreciation of Aristotle is always critical. He deserves great credit not only for bringing the scientific teaching of the Stagirite to the attention of mediæval scholars, but also for indicating the method and the spirit in which that teaching was to be received.

With regard to Albert's devotion to the experimental method and to observation as the source of knowledge with regard to natural phenomena, Julius Pagel, in his "History of Medicine in the Middle Ages," which forms one of the parts of Puschmann's "Handbook of the History of Medicine," has some very interesting remarks that are worth while quoting here. "Albert," he says, "shared with the naturalists of the scholastic period the quality of entering deeply and thoroughly into the objects of nature, and was not content with bare superficial details concerning them, which many of the writers of the period penetrated no further than to provide a nomenclature. While Albert was a churchman and an ardent devotee of Aristotle in matters of natural phenomena, he was relatively unprejudiced and presented an open mind. He thought that he must follow Hippocrates and Galen rather than Aristotle and Augustine in medicine and in the natural sciences. We must concede it as a special subject of praise for Albert that he distinguished very strictly between natural and supernatural phenomena. The former he considered as entirely the object of the investigation of nature. The latter he handed over to the realm of metaphysics."

"Albert's efforts," Pagel says, "to set down the limits of natural science shows already the seeds of a more scientific treatment of natural phenomena and a recognition of the necessity to know things in their causes—*rerum cognoscere causas*—and not to consider that everything must simply be attributed to the action of Providence. He must be considered as one of the more rational thinkers of his time, though the fetters of scholasticism still bound him quite enough and his mastery of dialectics, which he had learned from the strenuous Dominican standpoint, still made him subordinate the laws of nature to the Church, teaching in ways that suggested the possibility of his being less free than might otherwise have been the case. His thoroughgoing piety, his profound scholarship, his boundless indus-

⁴ *Physica* lib. VIII., tr. i., xiv.

⁵ *Summa Theologiæ*, Pars II., tr. i., Quæst iv.

try, the almost uncontrollable impulse of his mind after universality of knowledge, his many-sidedness in literary productivity and, finally, the universal recognition which he received from his contemporaries and succeeding generations, stamp him as one of the most imposing characters and one of the most wonderful phenomena of the Middle Ages."

Perhaps in no department of the history of science has more nonsense been talked than with regard to the neglect of experiment and observation in the Middle Ages. The men who made a series of experiments necessary to enable them to raise the magnificent Gothic cathedrals; who built the fine old municipal buildings and abbeys and castles; who spanned wide rivers with bridges, and yet had the intelligence and the skill to decorate all of these buildings as effectively as they did, cannot be considered either impractical or lacking in powers of observation. As I have shown in the chapter on the University Man and Science, Dante, the poet and literary man of the thirteenth century, had his mind stored with quite as much material information with regard to physical science and nature study as any modern educated man. It is true that the men of the Middle Ages did not make observations on exactly the same things that we do, but to say either that they lacked powers of observation, or did not use their powers, or failed to appreciate the value of such powers, is simply a display of ignorance of what they actually did.

On the other hand, when it comes to the question of the principles of experimental science and the value they placed on them, these men of the mediæval universities, when sympathetically studied, proved to have been quite as sensible as the scientists of our time. The idea that Francis Bacon in any way laid the foundation of the experimental sciences, or indeed did anything more than give a literary statement of the philosophy of the experimental science, though he himself proved utterly unable to apply the principles that he discussed to the scientific discoveries of his own time, is one of the inexplicable absurdities of history that somehow get in and cannot be got out. The great thinkers of the mediæval period had not only reached the same conclusions as he did, but actually applied them three centuries before; and the great mediæval universities were occupied with problems, even in physical science, not very different from those which have given food for thought for subsequent generations, and their success in solving them was quite as ample as our own.

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New York City.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI

PII

DIVINA PROVIDENTIA

PAPAE X.

...

DE SENTENTIIS PONTIFICALIS CONSILII REI BIBLICAE PROVEHENDAE
PRAEPOSITI AC DE CENSURIS ET POENIS IN EOS QVI PRAESCRIPTA
ADVERSUS MODERNISTARVM ERRORES NEGLEXERINT.

MOTV PROPRIO.

PRAESTANTIA Scripturae Sacrae enarrata, eiusque commendato studio, Litteris Encyclicis *Providentissimus Deus*, datis xiv Calendas decembres a. MDCCCLXXXIII., Leo XIII., Noster immortalis memoriae Decessor, leges descripsit quibus Sacrorum Bibliorum studia ratione proba regerentur; Librisque divinis contra errores calumniasque Rationalistarum assertis, simul et ab opinionibus vindicavit falsae doctrinae, quae *critica sublimior* audit; quas quidem opiniones nihil esse aliud palam est, nisi *Rationalismi commenta*, quemadmodum sapientissime scribebat Pontifex, *e philologia et finitimis disciplinis detorta*.

Ingravescenti autem in dies periculo prospecturus, quod inconsultarum deviarumque sententiarum propagatione parabatur, Litteris Apostolicis *Vigilantiae studiique memores*, tertio calendas novembres a. MDCCCII. datis, Decessor idem Noster Pontificale Consilium seu *Commissionem* de re Biblica condidit, aliquot doctrina et prudentia claros S. R. E. Cardinales complexam, quibus, Consultorum nomine, complures e sacro ordine adiecti sunt viri, e doctis scientia theologiae Bibliorumque Sacrorum delecti, natione varii, studiorum exegeticorum methodo atque opinamenti dissimiles. Scilicet id commodum Pontifex, aptissimum studiis et aetati, animo spectabat, fieri in Consilio locum sententiis quibusvis libertate omnimoda proponendis, expendendis disceptandisque; neque ante, secundum eas Litteras, certa aliqua in sententia debere Purpuratos Patres consistere quam quum cognita prius et in utramque partem examinata rerum argumenta forent, nihilque esset posthabitu, quod posset clarissimo collocare in lumine verum sincerumque propositarum de re Biblica quaestionum statum: hoc demum emenso cursu, debere sententias Pontifici Summo subiici probandas, ac deinde pervulgari.

Post diuturna rerum iudicia consultationesque diligentissimas, quaedam feliciter a Pontificio de re Biblica Consilio emissae sententiae sunt, provehendis germane biblicis studiis, iisdemque certa

norma dirigendis perutiles. At vero minime deesse conspicimus qui, plus nimio ad opiniones methodosque proni perniciosis novitatibus affectas, studioque praeter modum abrepti falsae libertatis, quae sane est licentia intemperans, probatque se in doctrinis sacris equidem insidiosissimam maximorumque malorum contra fidei puritatem fecundam, non eo, quo par est, obsequio sententias eiusmodi, quamquam a Pontifice probatas, exceperint aut excipiant.

Quapropter declarandum illud praecipendumque videmus, quemadmodum declaramus in praesens expresseque praecipimus, universos omnes conscientiae obstringi officio sententiis Pontificalis Consilii de re Biblica, sive quae adhuc sunt emissae sive quae posthac edentur, perinde ac Decretis Sacrarum Congregationum pertinentibus ad doctrinam probatisque a Pontifice probatis, se subiiciendi; nec posse notam tum detrectatae oboedientiae tum temeritatis devitare aut culpa propterea vacare gravi quotquot verbis scriptisve sententias has tales impugnent; idque praeter scandalum, quo offendant, ceteraque quibus in causa esse coram Deo possint, aliis, ut plurimum, temere in his errateque pronunciatis.

Ad haec, audentiores quotidie spiritus complurium modernistarum repressuri, qui sophismatis artificiisque omne genus vim efficacitatemque nituntur adimere non Decreto solum *Lamentabili sane exitu*, quod v nonas Iulias anni vertentis S. R. et U. Inquisitio, Nobis iubentibus, edidit, verum etiam Litteris Encyclicis Nostris *Pascendi Dominici gregis*, datis die viii mensis Septembris istius eiusdem anni, Auctoritate Nostra Apostolica iteramus confirmamusque tum *Decretum* illud Congregationis Sacrae Supremae, tum *Litteras* eas Nostras *Encyclicas*, addita *excommunicationis* poena adversus contradictores; illudque declaramus ac decernimus, si quis, quod Deus avertat, eo audaciae progrediatur ut quamlibet e propositionibus, opinionibus doctrinisque in alterutro documento, quod supra diximus, improbatis tueatur, censura ipso facto plecti Capite *Docentes* Constitutionis *Apostolica Sedis* irrogata, quae prima est in excommunicationibus latae sententiae Romano Pontifici simpliciter reservatis. Haec autem excommunicatio salvis poenis est intelligenda, in quas, qui contra memorata documenta quidpiam commiserint, possint, uti propagatores defensorosque haeresum, incurrere, si quando eorum propositiones, opiniones doctrinaeve haereticae sint, quod quidem de utriusque illius documenti adversariis plus semel usuvenit, tum vero maxime quum modernistarum errores, id est *omnium haereseon collectum*, propugnant.

His constitutis, Ordinariis diocesum et Moderatoribus Religiosarum Consociationum denuo vehementerque commendamus, velint pervigiles in magistros esse, Seminariorum in primis; repertosque erroribus modernistarum imbutos, novarum nocentiumque rerum

studiosos, aut minus ad praescripta Sedis Apostolicae, utcumque edita, dociles, magisterio prorsus interdican: a sacris item ordinibus adolescentes excludant, qui vel minimum dubitationis iniiciant doctrinas se consecrari damnatas novitatesque maleficas. Simul hortamur, observare studiose ne cessent libros aliaque scripta, nimium quidem percrebrescentia, quae opiniones proclivitatesque gerant tales, ut improbatis per Encyclicas Litteras Decretumque supra dicta consentiant: ea summovenda curent et officinis librariis catholicis multoque magis e studiosae iuventutis Clerique manibus. Id si solleter accuraverint, verae etiam solidaeque faverint institutioni mentium, in qua maxime debet sacrorum Praesulum sollicitudo versari.

Haec Nos universa rata et firma consistere auctoritate Nostra volumus et iubemus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die xviii mensis Novembris a. MDCCCXVII., Pontificatus Nostri quinto.

PIVS PP. X.

MOTU PROPRIO.

PIUS X. P. P.

THE DECISION OF THE PONTIFICAL COMMISSION ON THE BIBLE.

PIUS X. PP.

MOTU PROPRIO of Our Most Holy Lord Pius X., by Divine Providence Pope, on the decisions of the Pontifical Commission on the Bible and on the censures and penalties against those who neglect to observe the prescriptions against the errors of the modernists:

In his encyclical letter "Providentissimus Deus," given on November 18, 1893, our predecessor, Leo XIII. of immortal memory, after describing the dignity of Sacred Scripture and commending the study of it, set forth the laws which govern the proper study of the Holy Bible; and having proclaimed the divinity of these books against the errors and calumnies of the rationalists, he at the same time defended them against the false teachings of what is known as the higher criticism, which, as the Pontiff most wisely wrote, are clearly nothing but the commentaries of rationalism derived from a misuse of philology and kindred studies. Our predecessor, too, seeing that the danger was constantly on the increase and wishing to prevent the propagation of rash and erroneous views, by his apostolic letters "Vigilantes studiiq; memores," given on October 30, 1902, established a Pontifical Council or Commission on Biblical matters, composed of several Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church distinguished for their learning and wisdom, to which Commission were added as consulters a number of men in sacred orders chosen from among the learned in theology and in the Holy Bible, of various nationalities and differing in their methods and views concerning exegetical studies. In so doing the Pontiff had in mind as an advantage most adapted for the promotion of study and for the time in which we live that in this Commission there should be the fullest freedom for proposing, examining and judging all opinions whatsoever, and that the Cardinals of the Commission were not to reach any definite decision, as described in the said apostolic letters, before they had examined the arguments in favor and against the question to be decided, omitting nothing which might serve to show in the clearest light the true and genuine state of the Biblical questions under discussion. Only after all this had been done were the decisions reached to be submitted for the approval of the Supreme Pontiff and then promulgated.

After mature examination and the most diligent deliberations the Pontifical Biblical Commission has happily given certain decisions of a very useful kind for the proper promotion and direction on safe lines of Biblical studies. But we observe that some persons, unduly prone to opinions and methods tainted by pernicious novelties and excessively devoted to the principle of false liberty, which is really immoderate license and in sacred studies proves itself to be a most insidious and a fruitful source of the worst evils against the purity of the faith, have not received and do not receive these decisions with the proper obedience.

Wherefore we find it necessary to declare and to expressly prescribe, and by this our act we do declare and decree that all are bound in conscience to submit to the decisions of the Biblical Commission relating to doctrine, which have been given in the past and which shall be given in the future, in the same way as to the decrees of the Roman congregations approved by the Pontiff; nor can all those escape the note of disobedience or temerity, and consequently of grave sin, who in speech or writing contradict such decisions, and this besides the scandal they give and the other reasons for which they may be responsible before God for other temerities and errors which generally go with such contradictions.

Moreover, in order to check the daily increasing audacity of many modernists who are endeavoring by all kinds of sophistry and devices to detract from the force and efficacy not only of the decree "*Lamentabili sane exitu*" (the so-called Syllabus), issued by our order by the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition on July 3 of the present year, but also of our encyclical letters "*Pascendi dominici gregis*" given on September 8 of this same year, we do by our apostolic authority repeat and confirm both that decree of the Supreme Sacred Congregation and those encyclical letters of ours, adding the penalty of excommunication against their contradictors, and this we declare and decree that should anybody, which may God forbid, be so rash as to defend any one of the propositions, opinions or teachings condemned in these documents he falls, ipso facto, under the censure contained under the chapter "*Docentes*" of the constitution "*Apostolicae Sedis*," which is the first among the excommunications *latae sententiae*, simply reserved to the Roman Pontiff. This excommunication is to be understood as *salvis poenis*, which may be incurred by those who have violated in any way the said documents, as propagators and defenders of heresies, when their propositions, opinions and teachings are heretical, as has happened more than once in the case of the adversaries of both these documents, especially when they advocate the errors of the modernists; that is, the synthesis of all heresies.

Wherefore we again and most earnestly exhort the ordinaries of the dioceses and the heads of religious congregations to use the utmost vigilance over teachers, and first of all in the seminaries; and should they find any of them imbued with the errors of the modernists and eager for what is new and noxious, or lacking in docility to the prescriptions of the Apostolic See, in whatsoever way published, let them absolutely forbid the teaching office to such; so, too, let them exclude from sacred orders those young men who give the very faintest reason for doubt that they favor condemned doctrines and pernicious novelties. We exhort them also to take diligent care to put an end to those books and other writings, now growing exceedingly numerous, which contain opinions or tendencies of the kind condemned in the encyclical letters and decree above mentioned; let them see to it that these publications are removed from Catholic publishing houses, and especially from the hands of students and the clergy. By doing this they will at the same time be promoting real and solid education, which should always be a subject of the greatest solicitude for those who exercise sacred authority.

All these things we will and order to be sanctioned and established by our apostolic authority, aught to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Rome in Saint Peter's, the 18th November, 1907, the fifth year of our Pontificate.

PIUS PP. X.

Book Reviews

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Johannes Janssen*. Volumes XI. and XII. Art and Popular Literature to the Beginning of the Thirty Years' War. Translated by A. M. Christie. 1907, Kegan Paul, Trench, London, and B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo. Price of Vols. XI. and XII., \$6.25, net.

After tracing the political and religious history of the German nation from the close of the Middle Ages to the opening of the Thirty Years' War (1618), in his first five volumes, each divided into two tomes in the English translation, Janssen returns to consider the inner life of the people in his three concluding volumes. The present Volumes XI. and XII. are a translation of the original sixth volume, and we must compliment both the publishers and the talented translator upon the admirable way in which they have presented the great work to the English-speaking public. Miss Christie's task was a very difficult one, for the work bristles with quotations of authors who wrote in an archaic style hard to understand even by native Germans of modern times. We have read the two volumes very carefully and have scarcely detected an error. The only one worth mentioning occurs on page 259 in Volume XII., where Martinmas day is changed into an Italian astronomer called Martini. On the whole, the translation is as nearly perfect as it well could be made.

A melancholy interest attaches to this sixth (German) volume of Janssen, for it was the last he was destined to see in print. Although he left the materials for the two succeeding volumes and had gathered copious matter for prosecuting the work to 1806, the date when "the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" passed away, yet he died on Christmas Day, 1891, bequeathing the task of editing the rest of the history to Dr. Pastor, his literary heir. It is an advantage to the present translation that it has been made from the later edition made under Pastor's supervision and bringing it to date by valuable notes, always kept separate from the original text. Janssen had thought that he could despatch the "culture conditions" of the German people during the century following the Reformation in two volumes; but Dr. Pastor found it advisable to devote a third volume to the subject. As an illustration of Janssen's method in laying out his work, we give the subject-matter of the three volumes. Volume VI., the present one, deals with "Art and Popular Literature Until the Beginning of the Thirty Years' War;" Volume VII. deals with the important subject of "Schools and Universities, Science and

Education" during the same period; Volume VIII. treats of the "Social-Economical and Moral and Religious Conditions, Witchcraft and Its Persecution." Thus no phase of social life escapes the keen glance of the German historian. The erudition of Janssen is immense, and he never loses his temper. Seldom interrupting his narrative to make remarks of his own, he lets the sixteenth century speak for itself. When he has finished a subject there is little more to be said about it. The reader feels that it is not Janssen who is speaking, but that the facts themselves demonstrate the utter corruption of German life in all its aspects consequent upon Luther's violent rupture with the past. The civilization and prosperity which the Catholic Church had implanted in Germany with centuries of hard toil were swept away as in a night, and barbarism and misery took their place. In every department of human energy these same phenomena of degeneracy and corruption invariably recur. This is what makes these volumes anything but pleasant reading. But the fault is not of the faithful historian, but of the times with which he is dealing. The fanaticism, ignorance and superstitions fostered in the populace by their Lutheran preachers surpass belief, and was only equaled by their dread of the devil and their hatred of the Pope. When Pope Gregory XIII. reformed the Calendar, the astronomer Pleninger gravely reported that "on March 23, 1582, between eight and nine before midnight, trustworthy people at Morthingen in Lorraine had seen the moon come down close to the earth in the form of a veiled woman, and heard it cry out distinctly: 'Woe, woe!' six or seven times one after another, after which it returned to its accustomed place and orbit. By this exclamation of woe the moon meant to warn the Protestants against the acceptance of the new Gregorian Calendar, just as before, when the Roman wehr-wolf and Antichrist Gregory was publishing his wicked Calendar work to the ruin of the poor evangelical Christians, the moon had come down to earth in a village in the Voigtland and with an angry, almost ferocious aspect, had said several times quite plainly: 'Woe, woe, blood, blood, Pope and Jesuits.!' " (XII., 246.) Equally edifying is the account (page 259) of the Saxon preacher, Caspar Fueger, who "taught the peasants that the Pope feared Christ's coming too soon, and therefore made the new calendar 'in order that Christ might be puzzled and not know when would be the time for Him to set up His tribunal, and that the Pope might thus have less cause for fear and longer time to pursue unpunished his rascality, blasphemy and iniquity. May God punish this villain!'" These are fair specimens of enlightened Protestant polemics and might easily be duplicated at any time since the Reformation in any part of the Protestant world. In the interests of fair play, the American Catholics should

see to it that a copy of Janssen's "History of the German People" be placed in every one of the public libraries throughout the country.

INSTITUTIONES PHILOSOPHICAE auctore *C. Willems, D. D., Ph. D.* Vol I., pp. 605, price 9 marks; Vol. II., pp. 680, price 10 marks. Treviris ex Officina ad Stm. Paulinum (Paulinus Duruckerei), 1906.

CURSUS BREVIS PHILOSOPHIAE auctore *Gustavo Pécsi, D. D., Ph. D.* Vol I. (Log. et Metaph.), pp. 327. Esztergour (Hungaria). Typis Gustavi Buzarovits, 1906.

There seems to be a prevailing opinion that in view of the many Latin text-books of philosophy already in the field, every newcomer should be challenged for the grounds of its claim on the student's consideration. Those who are more interested in the development of philosophy specifically and in the abstract pay little or no attention to this opinion, realizing as they do that it is precisely by the multiplication of such works that the science as such progresses, the process of a natural selection favoring the individual organisms that are fittest to survive, just because they bring their embodied systems in the aptest correspondence with the reasonable demands of the present intellectual environment. On the other hand, those whose interest is less on the side of philosophy itself than on the value of the individual work to promote their own mastery of philosophy want to know wherein the latest philosophical text-book has a claim on their consideration beyond that of its predecessors. The utilitarian standard thus set up is obviously variable and consequently difficult, not to say delicate, of application. Accepting it, however, as it stands, the first of the two recent text-books here under notice (Dr. Willems' "Institutiones") easily justifies its claim to consideration. There is no other work of its class quite as abreast with the actual status of physical science. It brings the principles and general teachings of Catholic philosophy to bear upon the most recent theories and hypotheses of physics. Thus, for instance, it is the only book of its kind that offers anything like a satisfactory philosophical discussion of the hypothesis of the electronic constitution of bodies and the possible ultimate homogeneity of their ultimate elements. Again, without neglecting the philosophical errors of an earlier day, the false teachings of the present are abundantly shown up. Thus, for instance again, when dealing with idealism the polemic does not end with Hegel, but brings under fire such actual thinkers as Herbert, Schopenhauer, Fechner, Lotze, Wundt, Paulsen and the Neo-Kantians. And so in other respects. The work is therefore not simply one more addition to the already goodly list of didactic expositions of traditional philosophy—though to occupy such a position

creditably were of itself no slight honor—it is an embodiment of Catholic philosophy presented in contact with the general intellectual environment of the present day. It is a solid, learned, vigorous contribution to our philosophical literature.

Regarding the second book whose title appears above (Dr. Pécsi's "Cursus Brevis"), the reviewer is not warranted to speak with the same assurance, as only the first volume of the entire work, which will comprise two more volumes still in preparation. Estimated, however, by the portion at hand and by the author's avowed aim and method, the work is destined to take a leading place amongst its fellows and to be quite up to date. What impresses one most in perusing the present volume is the singular clarity of the style, the precision of the terminology and logical consecutiveness of the whole exposition. Both in matter and form it is a model text-book—not too brief nor too extended for a two-year course—and, what is not to be lightly deemed, it is almost perfect in its typographical construction. Though it is likely to be less in compass than Dr. Willem's "Institutiones," it will contain "Ethics," a portion of the entire philosophical system which we trust the latter author will also determine to add to his work.

THE MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST. By *Jesse S. Hildrup*. With thirty-five illustrations from photographs. Oblong octavo, pp. 100. Chicago: A. C. McClure & Co.

The missions of California possess a distinctive charm which shall never die. Every one who comes within their magic circle feels the enchantment which clings to them. As many persons cannot visit them, because of the many difficulties in the way, everything which brings them nearer to us is sure to be warmly welcomed. The book under review does this in a delightful manner by placing before us excellent photographic pictures of the old missions, accompanied by brief but clear and interesting sketches of their history. The author is in warm sympathy with his subject, and therefore makes it more real and lifelike.

THE SPIRITUAL CONFERENCES. Translated from the Annecy Text of 1895, under the supervision of Abbot Gasquet and the late Canon Mackey, O. S. B. 12mo., pp. 406. Burns & Oates, London; Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

It is not surprising that a new edition of the "Spiritual Conferences" of St. Francis de Sales should be called for. Indeed, it would be more surprising if the book did not continue to come from the

press indefinitely. The wisdom of so great a master of the spiritual life is golden and should be scattered broadcast to counteract the effect of the worthless trash which is called literature at the present day. We say this with the full knowledge that the conferences were delivered within the walls of a single convent, and were not written by their author, but from memory by his devout hearers, and therefore might be thought to possess little usefulness beyond the order to which that house belonged, or beyond the sphere of the religious life. We hold, however, with Cardinal Wiseman that they should be read with pleasure and profit by devout persons living in the world, by clergy and laity. The former should find in them invaluable principles and advice for the guidance of consciences, while the latter cannot fail to derive from their study consolation, encouragement and direction.

ON GREGORIAN RHYTHM. I. The Old Manuscripts and the Two Gregorian Schools. By *Alexandre Fleury, S. J.* (Translation by Ludwig Bonvin, S. J.) II. Rhythm as Taught by the Gregorian Masters Up to the Twelfth Century and in Accordance With the Oriental Usage. By *Ludwig Bonvin, S. J.* New York: Reprint from *The Messenger*. Pp. 46. 8vo.

The Vatican Commission established for the purpose of editing an authoritative collection of the "traditional melodies" of Gregorian chant confines its attention to the mere questions surrounding the selection and editing of the musical texts, and is not taking into consideration the further question as to the method proper for the actual rendition of the chants in church. Concerning this matter there are various schools of opinion, which may be resolved generally into two—those, namely, who think they can see in some manuscripts of the chant and in some of the theoretical treatises written in the Middle Ages sufficiently clear indications that the notation used should be interpreted in that mathematical manner in which modern notation is interpreted, the notes having time-values of a mathematical kind; and, opposed to this school, those who believe in the method of "oratorical rhythm," in which the notes are all of equal value, save for the occurrence of certain *morae vocis* or lengthenings due to the occurrence of rhetorical divisions of the text or phrasal sections of the melody. The former school is in the great minority, and in order to obtain an adequate hearing with the student public the Rev. Father Dechevrens, S. J., for very many years a student of ancient and mediæval music, has recently established a magazine entitled *Les Voix de St. Gall* for the purpose of spreading and maintaining the views of this school. The present brochure will be welcomed by all the English-speaking students of the chant

as a brief but sufficiently comprehensive summary of the arguments put forth in defense of the idea of mathematical rhythm. Father Bonvin is recognized as a prominent student of the question of Gregorian rhythm, as well as a composer who has contributed very extensively to the repertoire of correct liturgical music. He has, in translating Part II. of the pamphlet, given to the original a "new form and doctrinal modifications," based most largely on the musical works of Father Dechevrens; while Part I. remains purely a translation, but one enriched by "a number of corrections and amplifications by the author of the French original." The whole pamphlet is abundantly provided with quotations from mediæval authors, both in the original Latin and in English translation (a highly commendable feature, as the original Latin is at times not clear in its implications), and Part II. is rendered especially interesting and valuable by its musical illustrations of the theory as practically applied.

SHORT SERMONS. By *Rev. F. P. Hickey, O. S. B.* With introduction by the Right Rev. J. C. Hedley, O. S. B., Bishop of Newport. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

On more than one occasion we have expressed the opinion that too many sermon books are being published, and that preachers should prepare and use their own sermons, no matter how short and simple they may be. Indeed, we cannot understand how any one can use the missal, the breviary, the ritual, the Bible and the imitation of Christ regularly and rightly without being compelled to preach in spite of himself. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh;" but he who drinks from these founts will have a mind and heart overflowing with thoughts and affections.

The volume before us does not move us to change our mind in regard to sermon books, but in all fairness to the author, we subjoin what Bishop Hedley says about it:

"To me it appears that the sermons in this volume are fair specimens of what would really catch the attention and do good. Each sermon has unity and the leading idea is steadily worked out. They contain a good deal of instruction of a clear and definite kind—and many preachers fail to give sufficient instruction. The language, though homely, is terse and pointed, avoiding weak and hackneyed phrases. There is no lack of warmth and piety."

CONTEMPLATIVE PRAYER. Venerable Father Augustine Baker's Teachings Thereon, from "Sancta Sophia." By *Dom. B. Weld-Blundell*, monk of the order of St. Benedict. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1907.

So much has been written on this subject and so many methods

have been recommended that one is tempted to think sometimes that it might be best to desert treatises altogether and try to think on the eternal truths without any aid. It would be a mistake to give way to this temptation, because the fault is not with the *master*, but with the *masters*. The old spiritual writers seemed to live nearer to heaven than the young one, and to have a clearer vision. Let them be our guides.

It would almost seem an impertinence to commend in these pages "Sancta Sophia," that famous compendium of Father Baker's treatises on prayer and interior life. The writings of this venerable servant of God have been in the hands of the public for nearly three hundred years, and have proved an invaluable aid to those who would seriously aspire to the practice of contemplation. The fruits of his labors are to be seen in the lives of the many souls his teaching has led through the difficult paths by which the heights of contemplation are reached.

FOLIA FUGITIVA. Leaves from the Log-Book of St. Erconwald's Deanery, Essex. Edited by the Rev. W. H. Cologan, honorary secretary of the Catholic Truth Society. 12mo., pp. 420. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1907.

"In the year of 1897 the members of St. Erconwald's Deanery, moved by the utility and pleasantness of the diocesan conferences, and feeling that such reunions were a great comfort and help to priests living singly and in scattered missions, resolved for the future to carry them on throughout the year. For this purpose they organized a plan by which, when the obligatory conferences had come to an end, they might still meet once a month and at these meetings discuss not merely cases in moral theology, but also many other subjects of great practical utility and interest to priests engaged in pastoral work. The subject for discussion was at first merely notified beforehand by the Rural Dean; the members had the opportunity of preparing their views upon it, and a full discussion of it took place at the conference. After a time, however, it was found that such discussion was sometimes apt to become discursive, and even occasionally irrelevant, simply for want of previous indication of a definite line of treatment. It was, therefore, determined that for the future a paper should always be read on the subject proposed, so that subsequent discussion might be confined within certain lines, and thus lead to greater profit as well as pleasure. Originally the matter chosen was usually some point of pastoral theology selected by the Dean, who also appointed the member who was to treat it. Eventually, however, it was thought advisable to allow rather more latitude in the selection, and the appointed writer was left free

within certain practical limits to choose his own subject. This plan has now worked well for nearly ten years, and the papers that form the matter of this volume are some that at different times have been read before the conference."

If the origin of this book were not given, one might be led to think that it is a collection of essays by different authors on detached subjects. There are eighteen altogether, one by the Right Rev. James Bellord, late Bishop of Mileras, who urged the publication of the collection, and whose urging was most potent in putting it into print. The other papers are principally by the Right Rev. Mgr. Canon Crook and Rev. W. H. Cologan, honorary secretary of the Catholic Truth Society. The subjects vary from "The Number of the Saved" to "Americanism," and invade the fields of theology, moral, pastoral and ascetic, history, canon law and discipline. They are all well written and instructive.

STIMULUS DIVINI AMORIS. That is, The Goad of Divine Love. Very proper and profitable for all devout persons to read. Written in Latin by the Seraphical doctor, *S. Bonaventure*, of the Seraphical order of St. Francis. Englished by B. Lewis A., of the same order. At Doway by the widow of Mary Wyon, Permission Superiorem 1642. Revised and edited by W. A. Phillipson, priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster. R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd., London and Glasgow; Benziger Brothers, New York. (All rights reserved.)

A classic on the subject of Divine Love needs no recommendation. The name of St. Bonaventure is sufficient guarantee that the book is worthy of preservation and perpetuation. It is a matter of surprise that so great a treasure could remain hidden so long as the following declaration from the editor indicates:

"A few years ago an old copy of 'The Goad of Divine Love' came into my possession. As it was imperfect (a number of leaves wanting), I made repeated endeavors to find one that was complete. But so rare, apparently, had the book become that only from the British Museum could I obtain the text of the missing pages. The edition now offered agrees almost entirely with that published at Douai in 1642. The quaint rendering is reproduced, but the spelling has been modernized and a few unimportant and mostly verbal changes have been made. The translation is in English of the seventeenth century. At that epoch our language had words and expressions in common use which nowadays would hardly be permissible. Of these some few I have eliminated altogether and the rest I have toned down that there might remain nothing offensive to pious ears. The title of the book seems to have been a favorite one with ascetical writers, for several 'Stimuli Amoris' were written or compiled between the declining years of the thirteenth and the middle of the

sixteenth centuries. This is, however, by far the most famous of them all and is found in many MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."

The book is divided into three parts. The first part treats of the Passion of Christ; the second treats of those things which dispose a man to contemplation and fit him for it; the third treats of the quietness of contemplation.

Each chapter is begun with a summary under headings of the contents of the chapter. Sometimes they are closed with prayer which is afire with the love that is begotten of the contemplation through which the devout soul has passed. The book possesses an intrinsic value which makes it current throughout the world, as gold coin in the material order.

HISTORY OF IRELAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Rev. E. A. d'Alton, M. R. I. A.* In three volumes. 8vo. Vol. II. From 1547 to 1782. PP. xv.+576. New York: Benziger Brothers.

It must be a gratification to all students to note that Rev. E. A. d'Alton's "History of Ireland," which was begun a short time ago, is already two-thirds done. The work is to be in three volumes and is to include the history of the country from the earliest times to the present day. The first volume brought it down to 1547; the second, which has just come from the press, brings it down to 1782. In our notice of the first volume we dwelt especially on the opinion of it expressed by the Most Rev. Archbishop of Tuam. In accounting for the appearance of the new history of Ireland His Grace said:

"It is difficult, if not impossible, to find a fully good history of our country which might be described as a good all around history, full and accurate, well written and impartial."

His Grace adds that the Rev. Father d'Alton has made a praiseworthy beginning of such a work, and continues: "The style is easy and limpid and in description as well as narration he is vivid and frequently picturesque; he possesses the critical faculty in a high degree, and holds the scales of historical justice with an even hand. Moreover, he is a painstaking writer in verifying his authorities. He had the great advantage of a good knowledge of the Gaelic tongue, which enables him to consult for himself the original sources of our early history, and he has not failed to utilize all the state papers and other official documents which the nineteenth century had produced in such profusion."

Even a glance through Father d'Alton's work will convince any one that the author and his work are worthy of all that the Archbishop of Tuam has said about them. The two volumes make a

splendid appearance and they will appeal strongly to the young Irishmen and Irishwomen who are anxiously seeking authoritative information on the history, the literature, the language and the antiquities of their country.

Father d'Alton's work is the more commendable because he is doing it in the midst of his hard labors as a missionary priest. We hope that he will be able to bring the work to completion in the near future, and that he will receive the encouragement from an appreciative reading public which he so richly deserves.

SERMONS. By the *Rev. Dr. Moriarty*, late Bishop of Kerry. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, printers to the Holy Apostolic See. 1907.

These sermons appeared originally in two volumes and attracted attention at once by their soundness as to doctrine, clearness as to style and rigor as to form. They have lost none of these good qualities with the passage of time, and have more than held their own in competition.

The present volume is a careful selection of the best sermons of the Most Rev. Dr. Moriarty as they appeared in the two volumes edited by Most Rev. Dr. Coffey, one of his successors. This edition was received so favorably that it rapidly went out of print, and it is in response to a continuous demand that this new edition is now issued. September, 1906.

THE DECREES OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL. Edited, with an introduction, by the Rev. Vincent McNabb, O. P. 12mo., pp. 47. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Benziger Brothers.

It is surprising that we have not had the decrees of the Vatican Council in English long ago. If it is well to study the text of the Sacred Scriptures, besides reading commentaries on it, so it should be profitable to read the text of the decrees of the General Councils. Those of the Vatican Council are particularly attractive because our recollection goes back to their origin. They are worthy of close study. Witness Father McNabb:

"In presenting to the English reading public 'The Decrees of the Vatican Council' we make no apology for calling it the 'best book' and the most valuable religious relic left to the twentieth century by the nineteenth. It is somewhat surprising that collections of the 'hundred best books,' which usually begin with the Bible and generally include Marcus Aurelius, should give no place to the Acts of the General Councils, though mere literary works have done

little beyond filling vacant hours, and these Acts have renewed the face of the earth.

"Perhaps no General Council has been more naturally fitted than the Vatican Council to produce a masterpiece of religious thought and literature. No assembly of men since the time of Christ has ever been so representative of Christian and national thought. It is literally true to say that the Whitsun tongues of fire fell not on so many nations as were gathered together in Rome July 18, 1870. Hardly one civilized or barbaric nation was unrepresented in the hierarchy. For the first time in the history of the Church every continent of the world sent its representative to bear witness to the truth. When we contrast the 537 Bishops that voted in the last session with the 318 that voted at Nicea for the divinity of the Son of God, and with the 274 that voted at Ephesus for the humanity of Jesus Christ, we begin to see the religious importance of the Vatican Council. We have to remember, moreover, that there was but five Western Bishops at Nicea, and probably less at Ephesus, so that (numerically speaking) Nicea and Ephesus were representative merely of the East, and not wholly representative even of that, whereas the Old World and the New were fully represented at the Vatican.

"Moreover, though the Acta of Nicea are almost wholly lost, it is not improbable that they, like the Acta of Ephesus, were quite as voluminous as those of the Vatican. Yet Nicea lasted only sixty-eight, Ephesus seventy, the Vatican 222 days. It is no exaggeration then to say that as compared with the two earlier Councils, the Vatican was made up of twice as many Bishops, representing ten times as many nations and spending thrice as much time over its decrees. Yet it is to Nicea and Ephesus that we owe the two fundamental doctrines of the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ. And men who rightly find no difficulty in accepting the two earlier Councils scruple to accept the last."

HERDER'S KONVERSATIONS-LEXIKON Dritte Auflage reich illustriert durch Textabbildungen, Tafeln und Karten. Achter (Schluss-) Band Spinnerel bis Zz. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1907. Price, \$3.50, net.

We congratulate Mr. B. Herder upon the successful completion of the eight volumes of his valuable "Konversations-Lexikon," a welcome complement to his world-renowned "Kircken-Lexikon." He gives expression to his own feeling of relief in terms akin to those of the escaped seafarer who from the shore looks out upon the angry waves. "It was," he says, "a bold venture when, some six years ago, we undertook the heavy task of placing alongside of the already

existing great German books of reference one which should be equally perfect and should contain everything which the modern reader could reasonably expect from a great Lexicon. We were fully aware what an immense expenditure of labor and money was involved in the effort to bring such an undertaking to an honorable issue. Individual voices were heard throwing doubt on the possible success of the venture; but these voices were silent when volume after volume appeared with increasing rapidity, until we are now in the happy position to announce that our labors are completed." This hymn of triumph of the most enterprising Catholic publisher in Christendom is in every sense justified. Such a storehouse of varied information on every subject of interest cannot be found in any eight volumes ever given to the public. We have been using the Lexicon for some time, and have gained knowledge which we had sought elsewhere in vain. It is a model of precision and accuracy of which the German Catholics may justly be proud. We are particularly pleased that it furnishes short biographical notices of prominent persons still living, information usually so difficult to find.

PSALLITE SAPIENTER. Psallieret weise! Erklärung der Psalmen im Geiste des betrachtenden Gebets und der Liturgie. Dem Klerus und Volk gewidmet von *Dr. Maurus Wolter, O. S. B.*, welland Erzabt von St. Martin zu Beuron. Dritte Auflage. Fünfter (Schluss-) Band. Psalm 121-150. Mit einem Generalregister über alle fünf Bände. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, \$2.45, net.

The demand for a third edition of Wolter's commentary on the Psalms is a sufficient proof of its intrinsic worth. It has been extremely popular among the Catholics of Germany since its first appearance in 1871. The author, Dom Maurus Wolter (born at Bonn 1825, died 1890), was the founder of the Benedictine Congregation of Beuron and archabbot of that monastery, which under his able direction has become a prominent factor in the religious life of Germany. The author's method of treating his subject is simple, methodical and comprehensive. He places first in parallel columns the Latin text and a German translation, always beautiful and at times truly poetical. He next gives a literal explanation of the psalm in which, without ostentation, is found a wonderful amount of historical and linguistic erudition. Finally he views the psalm through the medium of the Church's liturgy and ritual, showing how appropriately Holy Mother has applied the text to the needs of her worship. The commentary, as might have been expected from the work of a great Benedictine, is replete with spiritual unction and might serve as an excellent book for meditation and spiritual

retreats. To the end of the fifth volume is appended a general register, greatly facilitating the use of the work.

BIBLIOTHECA ASCETICA MYSTICA. Series operum selectorum quæ consilio atque auctoritate eminentissimi et reverendissimi domini Antonii Cardinalis Fischer, archiepiscopi Coloniensis, denuo edenda curavit *Augustinus Lehmkuhl, S. J.*

MEMORIALE VITAE SACERDOTALIS. Auctore Claudio Arvisenet, olim canonico et vicario generali Trecensi in Gallia. "De Sacrificio Missæ." Tractatus asceticus continens praxim attente, devote et reverenter celebrandi. Auctore Ioanne Cardinali Bona Ord. Cist. (XVI. u. 426.) Friburgi, 1906, sumptibus Herder; geb. in Leinwand mit Lederrücken. Price, net, \$1.10.

MANUALE VITAE SPIRITUALIS continens Ludovici Blosii Opera Spirituاليا Selecta. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, net, \$1.10.

It is a happy thought of Cardinal Fischer, Archbishop of Cologne, to inspire the reprint in handy little volumes of the best treatises of such masters of the spiritual life as St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Francis de Sales, Blosius, Cardinal Bona and other renowned writers, many of which had slumbered for centuries in ponderous folios and known to the general public, even to the clergy, only by name. Being intended chiefly for the clergy, religious and diocesan, they are given in Latin, some of them translated from the vernacular in which they were originally written. No words of ours are needed to convince the reverend clergy of the importance and opportuneness of this Bibliotheca, which, owing to the abundance of material at hand, may be increased from the projected ten or twelve little volumes to any extent.

A COMMENTARY ON THE PRESENT INDEX LEGISLATION. By *Rev. Timothy Hurley, D. D.*, priest of the Diocese of Elphin, past student of Maynooth College and of the Propaganda Schools, Rome. With a preface by the Most Rev. Dr. Clancy, Bishop of Elphin. Browne & Nolan, Dublin.

By his Apostolic Constitution "*Officiorum et Munerum*," dated 25 January, 1897, Pope Leo XIII. issued a revision of the legislation concerning the prohibition and censure of books. This action of the Supreme Pontiff, "though intended primarily," says the Bishop of Elphin, "for the direction of Bishops and other ecclesiastical functionaries occupying positions of responsibility, yet its import affects the public at large to so great an extent that its contents deserve to be placed within the reach of all." This has been done with admirable precision by Dr. Hurley's little treatise. After giving the text of the Pope's letter, the general decrees on the prohibition and censure of books and Benedict XIV.'s constitution on the same subject, which is still in force, he writes his commentary on these three docu-

ments with sufficient fullness and remarkable lucidity. Those who are of opinion that English-speaking countries are exempt from obeying the legislation of the Church on the subject of the prohibition and censure of books ought to ponder well the following decision of the Congregation of the Index (page 50):

"Utrum dicta Constitutio (Officiorum ac Munerum) vim obligatoriam habeat, etiam pro regionibus britannici idiomatis, quas frui tacita dispensatione quidam arbitrantur? Resp.: Affirmative.

"Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Cong. Indices die 23 Maii, 1898.

"A. CARD. STEINHUBER, Praef.

"FR. M. A. CIOGNANI, O. P., Sec."

We extend to this valuable and timely little book a hearty welcome and recommend it to the reverend clergy.

A HEBREW AND ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramæic based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius, as translated by Edward Robinson, late professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Edited with a constant reference to the Thesaurus of Gesenius as completed by E. Rodiger, and with authorized use of the latest German editions of Gesenius' Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, by Francis Brown, D. D., D. Litt., Davenport professor of Hebrew and the cognate languages in the Union Theological Seminary, with the coöperation of S. R. Driver, D. D., Litt. D., Regius professor of Hebrew and canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and Charles A. Briggs, D. D., D. Litt., Edward Robinson, professor of Biblical theology in the Union Theological Seminary. Boston, New York and Chicago: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., and The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1906. Price, net, \$7.50.

Although William Gesenius died in 1842, and a large host of competent scholars have since then gone on developing in every direction the study of the Semitic languages, nevertheless, to the present day, the name of "the father of modern Hebrew Lexicography" is as closely identified with the Hebrew Dictionary as that of Euclid with geometry. His Dictionary was made known to the English-speaking students of Hebrew by Dr. Robinson, of New York, who was assisted in his translation by the author himself. Robinson's translation, often edited and revised until his death in 1863, has remained until now almost the sole fount of Hebrew accessible to ordinary students. In the meantime Semitic studies have been pursued on all hands with energy and success. The language and text of the Old Testament have been subjected to a minute and searching inquiry before unknown. The languages cognate with Hebrew have claimed the attention of specialists in nearly all civilized countries. Wide fields of research have been opened, the very existence of which was a surprise, and have invited explorers. Arabic, ancient and modern, Ethiopic, with its allied

dialects, Aramaic, in its various literatures and localities, have all yielded new treasures; while the discovery and decipherment of inscriptions from Babylonia and Assyria, Phœnicia, Northern Africa, Southern Arabia, and other old abodes of Semitic peoples, have contributed to a far more comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the Hebrew vocabulary in its sources and its usage than was possible forty or fifty years ago. In Germany an attempt has been made to keep pace with advancing knowledge by frequent editions of the "Handwörterbuch," as well as by the brilliant and suggestive, though unequal, "Wörterbuch" of Siegfried and Stade (in 1892-93), but in England and America there has not been heretofore even so much as a serious attempt.

An up-to-date edition was therefore badly needed, and the editors tell us that this new lexicon "owes its origin to Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., of Boston, Mass., holders of the copyright of 'Robinson's Gesenius,' and long its publishers. The present editors were authorized by them to undertake the work as a revision of that book. The late Mr. Henry O. Houghton, senior member of the firm, gave the project his especial attention, devoting much time to personal conference with the American editors and making a visit to Oxford for a discussion of the matter with Professor Driver, and with the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, whose coöperation he received. It is a matter of deep regret that his life was not spared to see the completion of an enterprise in which he took so sympathetic an interest.

Of prime importance to the Catholic scholar in examining the Lexicon is the attitude adopted by the editors towards the interpretation of the texts of the Messianic prophecies, which have been, for all time, authoritatively expounded by the Holy Spirit in the New Testament. We are pleased to notice a great advance towards orthodoxy in the present Dictionary. We shall content ourselves with noticing two specimens—the benediction of Juda (Gen. xlix., 10) and the prophecy of Isaias (vii., 14). The second of these great texts, "Behold a virgin (Heb. *Almah*) shall conceive" may be pronounced the corner-stone of the Christian faith. Yet in spite of Matthew i., 2-3, "Robinson's Gesenius" has the audacity to say that '*Almah* is incorrectly translated by "virgin," contending that it means "a bride, a youthful spouse," thus rendering the entire text nugatory. The new edition wisely refrains from controversy and renders '*Almah* "a young woman (maid or newly married)." So, in the benediction of Juda, "The sceptre shall not depart," etc., while Gesenius strove hard to demonstrate that "*Shiloh*" was the name of a town, and that there was no reference to the coming Messiah, we are pleased to notice that the present editors concur with the Hebrew

and Christian interpretation that such reference is found in the obscure term.

By a rapid system of abbreviations, which one must first master to understand the book, the learned editors have been able to include a vast amount of materials in comparatively small space. Altogether the publication is one in which American scholarship of the first rank shows to the best advantage. The twenty-three years spent in compiling it were years well spent.

THE FOUNTAIN OF LIVING WATER: or, Thoughts on the Holy Ghost for Every Day in the Year. Collected and arranged by Rev. A. A. Lambing, LL. D., author of the "Sunday School Teachers' Manual," etc. With preface by the Right Rev. Regis Canevin, D. D., Bishop of Pittsburg. Fr. Pustet & Co., publishers and booksellers, Ratisbon, Rome, New York and Cincinnati, 1907.

Those who are familiar with Father Lambing's previous books on the Holy Ghost, and their merits, will welcome this fuller compilation. The many and all approved sources from which these selections are taken, and the accuracy and zeal of the editor in culling them and arranging them is most edifying. He tells of his work thus:

"The selections in this volume are of a devotional and instructive character and are intended to raise the mind and heart of the child of God daily to the Holy Spirit, renewing the recollection of His divine presence and the source and fountain of all true light, love, fortitude and sanctification. There is no connection between the selections, but each is complete in itself, so that it may furnish its own peculiar pious sentiment for the day.

"So much of the little we find in religious works regarding the Third Person of the Adorable Trinity centres around the Incarnation, the feast of Pentecost and the Seven Gifts that care had to be taken not to dwell too much on these, but to give the selections as great a variety as possible, so as the better to adapt them to every disposition of mind. If it should appear to some readers that too many quotations have been taken from certain authors, it is well to bear in mind that some of their publications are composed of several volumes, and that others are the writings not of one, but of a number of authors, as in the case of sermon books.

"Each month begins with an appropriate text from the Sacred Scriptures. A few selections will be met with that do not relate directly to the Holy Spirit, but the reason for their insertion will, it is believed, appear obvious.

"Finally it may be stated that every selection—and they are taken

from more than one hundred writers—is copied from the original work, and none is taken at second hand.”

IRELAND AND ST. PATRICK. By *William Bullen Morris*, of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. 12mo., pp. 307. Fourth edition. London, Burns & Oates, Ltd.; New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Benziger Brothers.

Father Morris' book on Ireland and St. Patrick is a classic. It is not surprising that it has already reached a fourth edition. It will be surprising if it does not in the future reach the fortieth edition. It deserves it, not only because of the meat that is in it, for this alone does not always attract the reading public, but it deserves it especially because of the manner in which the meat is served. The work is brief, being confined to five chapters, or essays, with the following titles: "St. Martin and St. Patrick," "Adrian IV. and Henry Plantagenet," "St. Patrick's Work, Past and Present," "The Saints and the World," "The Future." But the care with which these essays have been written, the extent of the bibliography from which they have been drawn, the variety and strength of quotation, especially from non-Catholic authors, the skillful marshaling of forces, with a keen knowledge of their respective values, the correctness of language and charm of style—all combine to make the book so attractive that it is a pleasure and not a task to read. This is high praise indeed for a book on so ancient and well-worn a subject as Ireland and St. Patrick.

MARY, THE MOTHER OF CHRIST. In Prophecy and Fulfillment. Controversial Letters in Vindication of the Position Assigned by the Catholic Church to the Ever Blessed Mother of the World's Redeemer in the Divine Economy of Man's Salvation. In reply to the Right Rev. Dr. Kingdon, Coadjutor (Anglican) Bishop of Fredericton, New Brunswick, and his vicar, "John M. Davenport, priest of the Mission Church," ritualist minister, St. John, New Brunswick. By *Richard F. Quigley, K. C., LL. B.* (Harvard and Boston Universities), doctor of philosophy (Leo XIII.), doctor of letters (Laval), barrister-at-law, St. John, New Brunswick, Canada. Third edition. Fr. Pustet & Co., publishers and booksellers, Ratisbon, Rome, New York, Cincinnati, 1907.

It is surely a sign of permanent value when a work so expensive as the one before us, and which was originally the result of a controversy, appears in a new and revised edition after twenty years; and the sign is not misleading. It was indeed a matter of surprise that a layman and lawyer should champion the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God against an Anglican Bishop. And the wonder grew as the controversy went on, far beyond the expectations of the contending parties, no doubt, until the case was complete, with a mass of evidence marshaled in true

legal style by the barrister, on which every fair-minded judge has given him the verdict. If it could be done, it might be well some time in the future to condense the book into briefer form. Perhaps it is not possible. All controversies are more or less local, more or less personal and generally rather verbose. If the history of the controversy could be reduced to brief form, and the arguments thrown into concise shape, we should have a really valuable book on the subject under discussion, and one that would be much more extensively and profitably used. This is not said to disparage in any degree the work before us, but rather to enhance its value. The author's motive for entering into the controversy is stated in the following quotation, which is worth reproducing because of its general application:

"What I desiderate in Protestant teachers is a knowledge of the Catholic doctrines they attack. In the conscientious discharge of their duties from their standpoint they may feel themselves obliged to point out errors (so-called) in the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Of this no reasonable man can complain, but for heaven's sake let them first learn exactly what these doctrines are. We will then have less wild figments of hysterical imaginations and pendent caricatures of beliefs, in defense of which the mightiest intellects that ever adorned our race have found their highest sphere, and of which genius allied with sanctity have ever been the most persuasive and enthusiastic exponents.

"Here I appeal for 'more light' on the part of virtuous and high-minded Protestants. I would excite a spirit of inquiry and create a distrust of impressions mechanically imbibed in youth and perpetuated and permanently fixed by more serious studies on the same lines. I would force back the honest mind upon the sources of its knowledge, induce it to reconsider the process by which its religious convictions touching Catholic doctrine were formed, and with a more mature knowledge of the conclusions to reinvestigate the premises on which it is grounded. The Catholic Church, I delight to proclaim, has nothing to fear from the closest and most minute investigation. It is ignorance which is the great Anti-Christ, and sincere inquiry and honest research are the only antidote."

IN THE FOOTPRINTS OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD. New York, 1857-1907. By *Katherine E. Conway*—from the convent annals and from personal study of the work. 12mo., pp. 266. Illustrated. Convent of the Good Shepherd, East Nineteenth street, New York City, 1907.

The Convent of the Good Shepherd in New York city celebrated on the feast of the Holy Angels, October 2, 1907, the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. Of the two hundred and sixty-two con-

vents of the order founded since the institution of the generalate in 1835 there is none whose situation compelled a more rapid local development and none which more promptly responded to its almost unequaled opportunities. This is now evident in the number of its religious, their fidelity to their high calling, the esteem which they have won from the Church and State and the numbers and importance of their foundations.

As a lasting memorial of this celebration this excellent historical sketch of the community in New York has been written by Miss Conway in her best style. There is no more convincing way of proving the just claim of the Church to the distinctive mark of holiness than by writing the history of her religious communities. Here we see not only the Gospel precepts obeyed, but the Gospel counsels followed. Here we witness that striving after the perfect life which Our Divine Lord counselled when He said to the young man who was in the way of salvation by the observance of the commandment: "If thou wilt be perfect, sell what thou hast, give to the poor and follow Me." If those who are surprised and sometimes scandalized by the presence of sinners in the church could only be induced to turn their eyes on the saints, canonized and not canonized, they would be immeasurably edified. Hence the publication of a history like this has a value which extends far beyond the occasion which calls it into being. It is, comparatively speaking, only a chapter in the history of a great diocese, only a page in the history of an immense country, only an incident in the history of the Universal Church, and yet complete history is made up of just such incidents, pages and chapters.

The growth of this community in New York from such small beginnings to its present splendid proportions, the number of vocations which it has fostered, the multitude of souls which it has saved, the group of other houses in adjoining dioceses to which it has given root—all combine to make up a history which should be written in gold for all time.

ST. BRIGID, PATRONESS OF IRELAND. By *Rev. J. A. Knowles, O. S. A.*, St. Augustine's, Cork. 12mo., pp. 292. Illustrated. Dublin: Printed by Browne & Nolan, Ltd., 24 and 25 Nassau street.

In this volume the author has endeavored to place before his readers a concise and popular narration of the life and labors of St. Brigid, the patroness of Ireland. The facts and legends, which abound in its pages, he has carefully selected from the most reliable and authentic sources.

The present time seems to him opportune and propitious for the

publication of the class of literature to which this volume claims to belong. There exists amongst the Irish reading public a marked preference for books that deal with the religious or national history of our country. This sound and desirable condition of our literary tastes is mainly attributable to the untiring zeal and efforts of the Gaelic League and other kindred organizations.

The immediate occasion of this publication was the centenary of the foundation of the Order of St. Brigid. It was wise and commendable to emphasize the importance of the occasion by publishing the life of the patroness. Father Knowles' Bishop says to him:

"You have placed, not alone the Sisters of St. Brigid and the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, but also Irishmen and Irishwomen **wherever they may be**, under a deep debt of gratitude to you by the very interesting life of their great patroness which you have just given them. . . . You have succeeded in producing a very readable, edifying and instructive life of the Irish saint who was second only to St. Patrick himself. . . . The devout clients of St. Brigid at home and abroad will read your work with great pleasure and profit, and will thank you for bringing within their reach the only life of St. Brigid which has any claim to be regarded as complete."

The abundance of legend in the book may not appeal to the historical student, but they are all very beautiful and refreshing. Legend is sometimes so closely related to history as to bear a very strong resemblance to it. It also throws so strong a light on historic facts as to bring them out much more clearly. As long as legend does not masquerade, it is pleasing and valuable.

THE CENSORSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF ROME, and Its Influence Upon the Production and Distribution of Literature. A study of the History of the Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes, Together with Some Considerations of the Effects of Protestant Censorship and of Censorship by the State. By *George Haven Putnam, Litt. D.* In two volumes. 8vo., pp. 375 and 510. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. The Knickerbocker Press, 1906.

In these two handsome volumes the author has gathered together a valuable collection of true historic value. He shows clearly his desire to be historically correct and to be fair in his deductions. He succeeds better in the former than in the latter effort. He thus declares his purpose:

"In these volumes I have undertaken to present a record of the Indexes which have been issued under the authority of the Church of Rome, or which, having been compiled by ecclesiastics, were published under authority of the State between the year of 1546 (the date of the first list of prohibited books which may properly be

described as an Index) and 1900, in which year was issued the second Index of Leo XIII., the latest in the Papal series.

"To this record I have added a selection of the more noteworthy examples of censorship during the earlier centuries of the Church (a list which begins with a curious prohibition in 150, probably the earliest instance of censorship by a Church Council); a schedule of the more important of the decrees, edicts, pastoral briefs, etc., issued under ecclesiastical authority which had to do with the matter of censorship, and a specification of certain censorship regulations which before the publication of the first Index came into force in several States in Europe. Such a schedule of decrees and regulations can, of course, lay no claim to completeness. I attempted simply to present examples of prohibitions and condemnations, from decade to decade, which were typical or characteristic, and from which some impression could be gathered as to the nature and extent of the censorship experiments throughout the centuries in the several communities concerned.

"A brief account has been added of the organization and of the operations of the Roman Inquisition and of the Congregation of the Index, as it was from these bodies that emanated the series of Papal Indexes, and with them rested from the middle of the sixteenth century, the responsibility for the shaping of the general policy of the Church in regard to censorship. The plan of the treatise does not render it practicable to attempt any general survey of political censorship or of censorship of the State, but I have presented a brief selection of examples of State action in censorship, in order to make the necessary comparison between the methods followed by the State and those of the Church, and to make clear that the censorship of the Roman Church was (at least outside of Spain) not so autocratic in its principles nor so exacting and burdensome in its methods, as was the censorship which was from time to time attempted by State governments acting for most part under Protestant influence."

Although the author states that in the composition of his work he received valuable assistance from some American ecclesiastics, and although he evidently tried to treat his subject from the true and proper standpoint, it shows clearly that it is the work of a non-Catholic. It is not an exposition of the present Index legislation. Neither is it an explanation of the theological or ethical reasons why some classes of works ought to be and are forbidden, nor a defense of the Church's attitude in claiming the right of censorship over other classes. The scope of the author is rather to arrange chronologically the various acts of legislation of the Church, and also of a great many of the civil governments, ancient and modern, dealing with literature. In this he has succeeded admirably.

THE FATHERS OF THE DESERT. Translated from the German of the Countess Hahn-Hahn by Emily F. Bowden. With a Chapter on the Spiritual Life of the First Six Centuries, by John Bernard Dalgairns, priest of the Oratory. Two volumes. 12mo., pp. 296 and 310. London: Burns & Oates.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1867. It attracted a great deal of attention at that time, because the authoress, who was a convert to the Catholic faith at an advanced age, was already well known for her writings on travel and fiction. She had traveled much in Europe and in countries which were at that time visited by few persons and seldom by ladies on account of the difficulties in the way. This was especially true of the East, and therefore the Countess first became famous by her "Letters from the East," which attracted great attention by the boldness and originality of her views, the vividness of her descriptions of scenery and the beauty of the style. After her conversion she lived a solitary and devout life in a convent at Mayence.

She has written a series of books on the history of the Church, of which the one before us is not the least important. The knowledge which she gained during her travels in the East fitted her especially for it, and her mode of life afterwards enabled her to use that knowledge to the best advantage. Hence we find in the book not only the fullest and best picture of the primitive monks which had appeared in English up to that time, but we also find it made more interesting by beautiful descriptions of scenes visited by the writer and a great deal of information on heathen as well as ecclesiastical subjects.

A very valuable portion of the book is contributed by Father Dalgairns, of the Oratory, in an introduction of seventy-four pages on "The Spiritual Life of the First Six Centuries." Indeed, this essay is well worthy of separate, distinct and perpetual existence. A peculiar feature of it after more than forty years of existence is its peculiar fitness to the present time. This feature of it makes the following quotation worth while:

"The lives of the Saints of the Desert have ever exercised a wonderful influence over the minds, not only of Catholics, but of all who call themselves Christians; nor is it difficult to comprehend why it should be so now more than ever. The age in which we live distinguishes itself above all others by a restless longing to realize the past. Men are searching bog and marsh, moor and river, the wide expanse of downs, the tops of mountains and the bottom of lakes to find out how our ancestors lived, and to reproduce the men of the age of stone, bronze or iron. The same sort of yearning curiosity exercises itself on the early Christians. If we had only Eusebius and Sozomen, it would be utterly impossible to picture to ourselves what were our ancestors in Christ. The Catacombs tell us much, but they are comparatively dumb. In the lives of the Desert Saints

we have a most strangely authentic insight into the very hearts and thoughts as well as the way of life of men and women who lived hundreds of years ago. They are extraordinarily authentic, for the marvelous facts which they contain are vouched for by writers such as St. Athanasius, who probably knew St. Anthony, and by St. Jerome. In most cases we have the account, almost the journals of men who, like Cassian, Palladius and Moschus, traveled conscientiously to visit the marvelous population of Nitria and the Thebaid. Palgrave and Livingston tell us far less of the tents of the Bedouins and the huts of the Negroes than these writers tell us of the daily life and the very gossip of the monastery. There is a freshness and a bloom, a cheerfulness and a frankness about these monks and hermits which has an inexpressible charm. It seems as if the men who had been trained to silence and contemplation, when they did speak, spoke like children, with their heart on their lips, so good humoredly did they answer the somewhat tiresome questions of inquisitive travelers. Such men as these are too real to be accounted for on any theory of myths, and, wonderful as are the tales told of them, they can hardly be consigned to the class of legendary literature, when vouched for by such men as St. Athanasius. These monks look out upon us from the darkness of the past with a vividness and simplicity which show that they considered that their existence in this busy world needed neither apology nor proof. The strangely beautiful virtues which they practiced serve as their defense even with the most unascetic. Even writers of a school most opposed to mysticism have forgotten its principles and been caught in the net of the charity and sweetness of these solitaires. Their usefulness has found favor for them in the eyes of the most hostile. It is impossible to find fault with a man who, like St. Anthony, presents himself after years of silence, prayer and fasting, at the door of his cave with a bloom on his cheek and a smile on his lip, and who condescends to use something like gentlemanly chaff with the philosopher who came to see him. There is at once a gulf between him and a fakir. He fully vindicates his usefulness who is the consoler and the confidante and spiritual guide of half Egypt. Even St. Simeon Stylites can hardly be said to be lost to the world when he converted Arabs and barbarians of various races. There is evidence enough in the following pages that the cell of the hermit in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries was the refuge of the poor and the suffering and the outcast. The monk of the desert was a Carthusian, a Sister of St. Vincent of Paul and a nun of the Good Shepherd all in one. Never were men less rigorous to others than these who were so rigid to themselves. No man of the world was ever less narrow-minded than those solitaires of the

desert. At the time when the Church was most severe in her discipline they are ever preaching that a repentance of one day is enough, if it be profound, ever singing hymns of joy over sinners, who instantly receive the Holy Communion, ever dwelling on stories like that of St. Pelagia, who bears down all the canons which would delay her reception into the Church by the fervor of her conversion."

In addition to its historical interest and its descriptive interest, the book has an additional value as a link between the ancient and modern true Church, because it shows that there is, strictly speaking, no ancient Church as distinct from the modern Church, because she is ever ancient though ever new, and because she is always one in faith and practice. Father Dalgairns brings out this thought in excellent form when he says:

"I trust that I have said enough to show the bearing of such books as that here presented to the public on the history of the Church, and the use which we can draw from them for our own spiritual good. The more that we study that ancient Church, the more we shall be convinced of what our faith has already told us, that we are absolutely one with it. This is true not only in great dogmas, but also in our life and practice. I hope that I have already elsewhere shown that, if we take into consideration the actual practice of the ancient Church, its conduct in the confessional was by no means so different from ours as the mere study of the canons might lead us to suppose. Something has been done in these few pages to point out the same fact as to our interior life, though volumes might be written upon the subject. The lives of the desert saints may thus be useful in regulating our own life. The insight which is here given into these peaceful solitudes may help us to correct the tendency to overactivity, which penetrates even into our very religion. The railroad pace of the world hurries even good Christians along with it, and they fling themselves into schemes of active benevolence in a way which is often injurious to their interior life. It produces a combined restlessness and languor, a physical exhaustion of nerve and brain which is very perilous. Never did Christians want more prayer than now, for the world is all in confusion and the time is out of joint, and before we attempt to set it right we had better begin with ourselves. All is floating and uncertain. Landmarks, intellectual and political, are torn up and men are drifting, they know not whither. Nothing will save us from danger but an intellect, a heart and a mode of life entirely one, exteriorly and interiorly, with the ever-living Church of Christ. There is no possible Christian life but in the old path of mortification and prayer. Along this path the saints in every age have borne their cross. Throughout all its various forms sanctity is still identical, nor do I see very much

difference between St. Simeon Stylites on his pillar and the Curé d'Ars in his cramped confessional. May they obtain grace for us to follow them, if not in their heroic penance, yet at least in their interior life, in boundless charity for our sinful and suffering brethren and their burning love for Jesus and Mary."

For this reason especially a new edition of the book is appropriate at this time, when so many earnest persons are trying to convince themselves that the Church of the Apostles and the Fathers of the Desert is one with the Church of the present day, which claims them as her children. By this road some of the greatest minds of modern times found their way to the only safe haven of rest in this world of doubt, and by this same road numberless others will finally enter.

INDULGENCES, THEIR ORIGIN, NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT. By the Rev. Father Alexius M. Lepicier, O. S. M., S. Th. M., professor of divinity in the College of Propaganda, Rome; consultor of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences and Holy Relics, etc. New and enlarged edition. 12mo., pp. 500, with Index. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Ten years' trial is a good test of a book. If it is on a standard subject and is not displaced in that time, it has permanent value and should hold its place indefinitely. Father Lepicier produced such a book ten years ago or more, and it appears again. His explanation of his purpose and plan is so lucid that it deserves reproduction rather than paraphrasing:

"The first idea of writing a book on the subject of indulgences presented itself to the author's mind while engaged in giving some lectures on this important subject. The thought gradually impressed him that both enlightened believers might find a confirmation of their faith and inquisitive minds assistance in their search after truth if this point of Catholic dogma were set before them in a concise manner, and yet with all possible clearness. For the doctrine of indulgences is closely connected with the main tenets of our faith, such as the imputableness of sin and good works, the efficacy of atonement and regeneration, the communion of saints and the power of the keys.

"But such a study, he found, could not be satisfactorily complete unless a sketch of the history of the practice of indulgences in the Church were added to the doctrinal exposition of the dogma. Holy Scripture, then, was first to be consulted and asked to put forth its own evidence on the matter in hand. Then history was to be referred to from Apostolic times to the period of persecutions and of subsequent peace, and thence through the pilgrimages, crusades and jubilees of the Middle Ages down to the epoch of the Reformation, and from it to our own days.

"Again, it became evident to the author's mind that a right understanding of the doctrine and practice regarding indulgences is not to be obtained unless a brief account of the penitential discipline as used in the primitive Church is added to the exposition of Catholic truth. On the other hand, those practices of earlier days should not be a dead letter for a son of Holy Church, as they teach him what his forefathers in the faith were able to bear; and so the recollection of that discipline is calculated to act on him as a spur, rousing him from his torpor and urging him to regulate his own conduct by what he knows of the generosity and steadiness of his fathers in the faith. Apart, then, from the close connection which the penitential practices have with our own subject, which they should rouse in a Christian heart, will, we trust, be a sufficient apology for the introduction of several chapters bearing on that matter."

The new edition has the great advantage of being brought out by the original author. He tells us that from the time of the first appearance of the work, in 1895, he has continued his researches on this all-important subject. He submitted the dogmatic teaching to a fresh examination and carefully verified the historical facts connected with it; he embraced every opportunity to consult works, ancient and new, on the subject of indulgences and kindred subjects. As an indication of the thoroughness of the author's closeness of observation, we learn that he has taken Mr. Henry C. Lea's book on indulgences into consideration. His observations on that author and his much lauded production are very interesting. He says:

"About the same time a writer, well known for his systematic attack on Catholic practices, brought out a book on indulgences, their origin and development, which created a certain amount of sensation. This writer was Mr. Henry Charles Lea, LL. D., who, in a bulky volume of 629 pages, concentrated all his arguments to the evident object of justifying the charge brought on indulgences by the Twenty-second Article of the Church of England, which declares 'the Romish doctrine concerning . . . pardons . . . (to be) a fond thing, vainly invented and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.'

"At first sight the endless list of references, generally exact as to title and page, put forth by the author stands out as a mighty army in battle array ready to overthrow the teaching of the Catholic Church on pardons and indulgences. A mere perusal of Mr. Lea's work makes it evident that his purpose was to skillfully direct his forces towards showing Catholic theologians busy in drawing the institution of indulgences out of nothing and vainly endeavoring to conciliate this doctrine with Scripture and tradition. In the meantime, the author loses no opportunity of representing the prelates of

the Church as eagerly laying hold of the system in which they believed only as a financial device to satiate their greed of money by artfully drawing on the wealth of the Christian people through the granting of untimely and unwarranted pardons.

"Though presented as a bold defiance to Catholic doctrine, Mr. Lea's colossal statue is easily found on examination to stand on feet of clay. The work bears such evident marks of the mould which it was forcibly made to fit that it must be pronounced to be a presentation of subjective views rather than an exposition of historical truth. For, notwithstanding the exactness of a good many statements, the lines on which the work has been drawn are mapped out by such ill-disguised prepossessions as to leave no doubt about the intention that guided its author. We all know how often false inferences may follow from true premises. Hence we may say of this volume what a writer has said of the same author's previous work on 'Auricular Confession'—that 'it may be read as a curiosity, but not as a history—not even as a history that one might think it worth his while to refute.' (Rev. H. Casey, S. J.)

"However this may be, the fact is that many readers not having the means to study the questions of indulgences for themselves, may probably have been dazzled by the show of erudition which Mr. Lea's book presents. Hence, in further examining this subject, in view of a new French edition, the present writer thought it his duty to carefully read Mr. Lea's work, and to select here and there such points as seemed to him to be deserving of special consideration, confronting them with what true history teaches and the Catholic Church really holds.

"The result of this inquiry was then embodied in the French translation of the Italian edition on indulgences which appeared in 1901, containing besides many remarks on Mr. Lea's works, considerable additions both on the practice and the objective value of indulgences, the author having previously had the opportunity of reconsidering his subject, particularly in an essay published on the occasion of the great jubilee granted by Leo XIII. to the whole world in 1900."

It can be seen at a glance that such a book is invaluable because complete and trustworthy on a subject which will always be one of misrepresentation, misunderstanding and controversy. Here the teacher and student may stand without fear of being moved or

THOMAS WILLIAM ALLIES. By *Mary H. Allies*. 12mo., pp. 208. Illustrated. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Benziger Brothers.

This glimpse into the inner life and early history of one who has done so much for the perpetuation of the true faith is interesting,

pathetic, informing and stimulating. A man who began life almost with the beginning of the nineteenth century and ended it almost with its close, having been born in 1813 and having died in 1903, would be an interesting personage in any station of life; but an intellectual, educated Oxford clergyman, who came in contact with the prominent men in Church and State of the epoch in which he lived, and who found his way, as so many others did, and as a still larger number failed to do, "*per crucem ad lucem*," is worthy of our highest admiration.

The quotations from his diary in regard to his early struggles and ambitions, as well as the entries concerning his efforts to advance himself spiritually, show his candor and honesty. His early decision as to his vocation to the married state and his deliberate search for a wife is edifying and might well be recommended to the young men of the present time. He soon made his choice, and he followed it persistently. Some of the details of his courtship might have been omitted, but they serve a good purpose.

He entered the ministry (Anglican) in 1838, was married in 1840, being at that time examining chaplain to the Bishop of London, which office he continued to hold until 1842, when he was made rector of Launton, in Oxfordshire. He remained there until he left it to enter the Catholic Church in 1850. He hated to leave London and take up residence in the country. He was even at that time a ripe scholar, longing for intercourse with intellectual minds, and also to win souls, and he found himself in the midst of a simple, untutored farming community who must have tried him sorely. After a two years' experience he says: "The state of the people here is frightful." He very soon discovered that he could not reach his farmers' souls. One day when he was trying to set before a dying parishioner the delights of heaven, the old man said to him: "It may all be very well, sir, but old England for me." On another occasion when he was preaching about Joseph, the husband of Mary, a personage his parishioners had never heard of, for they knew only one Joseph, and he was the son of Jacob, one of his hearers said: "He must have been very old, sir."

Fortunately Mr. Allies came under the influence of John Henry Newman about the time that he began to turn his eyes on the true Church, and he chose him for confessor and director. He did not follow Newman blindly, however, as we learn from himself. At the time of Newman's conversion, in 1845, Allies said: "Much as I revered him, greatly as I felt I had gained from him, and though I loved him as much after he had left us as before, I did not blindly follow him. I waited for his book on Development, and when it came I fixed upon a page and a half describing the primacy of St.

Peter and the Popes, as it was exhibited in the first three centuries. I said: 'I will test these statements. The question of the primacy includes the whole question between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. I will follow this subject faithfully to its issue, and wherever it leads I will go.' That was in October, 1845, and it cost me five years of prayer and study before the question which I had chosen to determine the controversy landed me safely on the Rock of Peter."

In speaking of the doubts and anxieties of those five years, he says afterwards: "I feel like the man who rode his horse over a bridge of boats one night, and when he saw what he had done the next day he died of fright." Visits to France and Italy and contact with the Catholic body, both lay and cleric, helped him very much. A striking proof of the earnestness and fearlessness of Mr. Allies and his wife is found in her conversion before him. In the spring of 1850 she said: "If Tom does not make haste, I shall go first." She could not understand his hesitation, and in May, 1850, she crossed the threshold. The immediate occasion was the famous Gorham decision. After her baptism she said to her husband: "Now you are a heretic and I am not." He followed her in six months. Then began for them a life of struggle, but also a blessed life. But the subsequent history is well. Mr. Allies' staunch devotion to the Church, and especially to the Apostolic See, was noble. His writings are his greatest and most fitting monument. His labors for Catholic education were continuous, unflagging and fruitful in the highest degree. His example is invaluable, especially at this time, when God is knocking so loudly at the hearts of so many who, like Mr. Allies, are outside the true fold and yet are trying to persuade themselves that they are in it.

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA. An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., L. L. D., Edward A. Pace, Ph. D., D. D., Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., L. L. D., John J. Wynne, S. J., assisted by numerous collaborators. In fifteen volumes. Vol. II., pp. 804, with illustrations, maps and colored reproductions. New York: Robert Appleton Company.

The prompt appearance of the second volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia must have given genuine pleasure to every lover of truth who knows the work and who examined the first volume. No one acquainted with the learned staff of editors doubted for a moment their eminent ability to plan the work and carry it on in a manner unexcelled by any similar work in any language. It was also universally acknowledged that they would fulfill every promise they made in regard to it, giving rather more than less, as far as lay

in their power. But in so extensive an undertaking, requiring the coöperation of so many persons, scattered so widely and speaking different tongues, who first had to be found and then consulted and finally engaged with the necessary limitations as to time and space and treatment, the danger of delay and even failure in some directions was quite imminent. Add to this the necessity of filling up gaps made by death or other unforeseen causes, and one could not rid himself of some doubt as each successive step was taken in the process of making. And then there was the question of funds. Would the subscriptions increase as they should after the appearance of the first volume? Would the advance payments come up to the standard of expectation? Would the public show that confidence in the editors and publishers which their success called for and which they could justly claim?

The appearance of the second volume seems to settle all these doubts and to answer yes to all these questions. It proves that the first volume was not a show piece to catch the public, but the beginning of an indispensable unexcelled work of reference which will remain the standard for many years. Indeed, one may well question if it will ever be supplanted. There will be new editions in the distant future, with the addenda which time and development will demand, but the foundation now laid will serve for an indefinite time.

The new volume extends from Assize to Bro. It contains 930 articles by about 265 contributors. Nearly one-half of these appear for the first time. They represent every nation on the face of the earth and every great interest. They write on every important subject within the scope of the volume.

As a rule the articles are written by specialists, but not in a technical manner. On the contrary, the writers have universally followed the popular form, as far as it is consistent with truth.

We hardly think it wise or altogether fair to pick out particular articles and criticize them. The writers are invariably persons of the highest standing who have been chosen because of their peculiar fitness to handle the subjects assigned to them. Within a few general rules their work must be to a very great extent subjective. There is a wide latitude for difference of opinion as to the relative merits of subjects and as to the point of view from which they are to be approached. For these and other reasons the detailed treatment of each subject hardly has a place in a review of the book as a whole. We do not wish to be understood as apologizing for mistakes or failures. If any exist, and we are frank to admit that we have not found any, nor have we searched for them, they are so few and insignificant as to be hardly worthy of notice in comparison with so much that is excellent.

The editors should be congratulated again on their eminent success. They should be encouraged in word and deed. Catholics should subscribe for the book at once as a testimony of their appreciation, as an encouragement to the editors and publishers, as a mark of confidence and to help to bring the work to completion. There is a still stronger reason founded on a higher motive. They should subscribe as Catholics to the completion and perfecting of this organ of Catholic truth, whose value and importance cannot be exaggerated. Finally, there is a motive which is not unworthy, but rather less worthy, namely, that each volume, irrespective of the others, has a distinctive value, because each is a complete collection of well written, trustworthy articles by the best authors on the subjects within its scope.

THE SECRETS OF THE VATICAN. By *Douglas Sladen*. With sixty illustrations and plans, including reproductions of the most interesting engravings in Pistoletti's great work on the Vatican. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company; London: Hurst & Blacklett, Ltd., 1907. 8vo., pp. 505.

This is a beautiful book from every point of view. It is also very instructive. As we are going to let the author tell of his plan and purpose in his own words, we shall not touch on them. We think his title unfortunate, because we fear many persons will expect revelations in the moral order. He tells us that he is a Protestant gentleman. We might not have guessed it.

"The revolt of the French Government with regard to the constitution of the Church, which has made the word Vatican a household word for months past, can best be compared to the revolt of Henry VIII. of England in the sixteenth century.

"But the Vatican, *i. e.*, the Papal Government of to-day, is as different from the Vatican of that day as the ship of to-day is from the obsolete vessel of the sixteenth century, with its clumsy castles at bow and stern and primitive rigging. The Vatican hierarchy, with its elaborate machinery of Pope and Cardinals, Princes in attendance on the Throne, its Privy and Honorary Chamberlains, lay and clerical, of a dozen different orders; its Cancelleria, its Dataria, its Rota, its Sacred Congregations and Pontifical Commissions, its Cardinal Secretary of State and its Maggiordomo, is a piece of machinery as elaborate as the great ocean liner of to-day. The Propaganda Fide, the Holy Office (of the Inquisition), the Index Expurgatorius of Books, are by no means of the past.

"Yet, as fortune would have it, this prolonged and strenuous crisis between the Vatican and France finds us without any recent English work explaining this half of the secrets of the Vatican.

"To meet this deficiency I have written chapters on the ceremonies

which accompany the Death and Election of a Pope and the Creation of Cardinals, the Duties of the Papal Secretary of State and his predecessor, Audiences with the Pope, the Papal Court and the High Officials of whom it is composed and the Sacred Congregations and Pontifical Commissions, which are the every-day business of the Cardinals who live in Rome.

"As the word *Porte* is used to imply the Sultan in his official relations, so the word *Vatican* is used to imply the Pope in his official relations, *e. g.*, in the title which I have given to the chapter from the pen of His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster on the crisis between the Vatican and France, which concludes Part I.

"But the word *Vatican* is familiar to travelers in another signification—that of a place with museums of matchless sculpture, and a gallery of paintings and a chapel whose paintings are yet more famous. This does not help them to understand the first signification. The number of English people who have visited the Vatican collections without giving any thought beyond them is very great. This is excusable because there is no guide book in English and no adequate guide in any language to the Vatican as a palace.

"The reason is not hard to discover. In the days before the cataclysm of 1870, when Pius IX. was on the Papal Throne reigning like an Augustus, the insatiable curiosity which characterizes readers pampered by gossip-loving periodicals had not demanded what we call books of travel, meaning books of sightseeing, which are so popular now; and since 1870 the Vatican has been in mourning.

"I have taken advantage of the title '*Secrets of the Vatican*' to exclude those parts of the palace with which the visitor is familiar, viz., the Sculpture Galleries, the Sistine Chapel, the Stanze and Loggi of Raffaele and the Pinavoteca. They are merely catalogued in the opening chapter, in which I give the category of the various chapels, chambers, courtyards and gardens which make up the Vatican. I take it for granted that every one is familiar with them, and devote my space to introducing the British and American publics to the neglected or usually closed parts of the palace, with the necessary historical illusions."

THE INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC LIBRARY. Edited by Rev. J. Wilhelm, D. D., Ph. D. Vol. IX.—*The Churches Separated From Rome*. By Mgr. L. Duchesne, director of the *Ecole Française* at Rome. Authorized translation from the French by Arnold Harris Mathew (De Jure Earl of Landaff, of Thomastown, County Tipperary). 8vo., pp. 230. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The International Catholic Library is growing fast. Already twelve volumes have appeared, and all on important subjects. The present volume has a timely interest which adds to its intrinsic merits

and permanent value. By way of introduction the translator says:

"Mgr. Duchesne is too well known and his erudition as an ecclesiastical historian is too universally recognized among scholars to make it necessary for any one to introduce him to the readers of this volume. It is offered to the public as a contribution towards the literature dealing with reunion of separated Christendom, especially to that portion of it which is nearest in its constitution and liturgy to 'the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches.'

"A wider and more accurate knowledge of the causes and results of the principal existing and the dying or already defunct schisms cannot fail to prove helpful to all who are anxious that the Divine prayer for ecclesiastical unity (St. John xxii.) may ere long find an echo in the heart of every one claiming the honored title of Christian."

The subject is extensive and cannot be treated fully and exhaustively in one volume. The author uses the title in a somewhat restricted sense, and explains it in his preface by saying:

"Various circumstances have lately led me to study the position of those Churches which are actually separated from the communion of the See of Rome. Some of my works have already appeared before the public, recalling attention to events concerning old problems. Others, of a more serious character, have been written for special classes of readers. These works I am now amalgamating, hoping they may prove to be of interest at a time when the Holy See, faithful to its old traditions, is reminding the Christian world that schism has ever been a misfortune and unity ever a duty.

"None need seek in this little book answers to the numerous questions raised by the admirable writings of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. But in it some light may perhaps be thrown upon the causes of certain separations, as well as upon the origin and titles of certain ecclesiastical self-governing bodies.

"'Self-government' and 'separation' are not synonymous terms. Although individualism has sometimes hindered the preservation of Christian unity, it would be a mistake to think that this unity is incompatible with legitimate diversity and exclusive of all local organized life. Ecclesiastical centralization, it cannot be repeated too emphatically, is not an ideal condition, but a means to an end. Under the stress of circumstances the Roman Church, the one centre of Christian unity, has been obliged to tighten and strengthen the bonds between herself and the churches confided to her care. But in less straitened times she formed, as her history abundantly proves, a different system of relationship between herself and them. Though in this volume I have only spoken of such autonomous systems as have degenerated into schism, it may be possible for me,

later on, to study, in their turn, those which continue to exist without detriment to the unity of the Church.

"It is upon the past that my searchlights flash, for in the Church no thought of the future can detach itself from her tradition. But I am not old-fashioned enough to believe that the future of Christianity depends upon the restoration of any former state of affairs, whatever such a restoration might have to recommend it. Neither am I conservative enough to believe that whatever is must continue to be indefinitely. St. Peter has no intention of casting anchor, nor of making his ship retrace her former course on the waters. *Duc in Altum!* He steers with holy liberty, faithful the while to the word of Christ. Neither fear nor unexplored waters will stop him, nor will the protestations of archæologists bring him back to the shores whence he set forth as the fisher as well as the shepherd of men."

The subject is always interesting and important. The author handles it in a masterly manner and makes the historical student his debtor.

HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN NORTH AMERICA, COLONIAL AND FEDERAL. By *Thomas Hughes*, of the same society. Documents. Vol. I., Part I., Nos. 1-140 (1605-1638). 8vo., pp. 600. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company.

The second volume in order of issue of this valuable historical work has followed promptly on the first. It emphasizes the importance of the undertaking by showing the abundance of original material available. True history must depend most of all on original documents, and the availability of these in any quantity approaching fullness and in anything like consecutive order gladdens the heart of the historian and brings joy to all lovers of truth. Given a scholar, learned, fair, truthful, enthusiastic and zealous, and we have a combination most desirable but rare. We find this combination in the work before us, and the result is admirable.

Some idea of the extent and importance of the work may be gathered from the fact that it has so much outgrown its original form. At first intended to be confined within two volumes, it already demands four, and may call for even a larger number. The author and the publishers might have so abbreviated the matter by synopsis and exclusion as to keep it within the bounds first set for it, but they understand the value of history too well to pursue such a course.

The first volume, consisting of text, was very interesting, but its value is greatly enhanced by the documents contained in the volume before us, which is the first of at least two volumes of documents

bearing on it. These will be followed by a second volume of text, and this again by one or more volumes of documents.

As the edition is necessarily limited, because the work is very expensive and does not belong to the popular class, librarians generally and librarians of all ecclesiastical institutions in particular, should place it on their lists at once. Private buyers should also act promptly, because a second edition is practically out of the question. This work belongs to the class of books which does not create excitement in the reading world, but which is appreciated by a select few who buy it because of its intrinsic value. When it has gone out of print its value is more widely recognized and the demand for it increases. The wise will anticipate that time.

PROCEDURE OF THE ROMAN CURIA. A Concise and Practical Handbook. By *Very Rev. Nicholas Hüling, D. D.*, professor at the University of Bonn. Translated with the author's consent. 8vo., pp. 355. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

The Roman Curia is interesting to every Catholic, because it brings him in contact with the supreme governing power of the Church. Even those outside of the Church must yield admiration to this grand organization, which is so comprehensive and proficient and which accomplishes so much in an administrative and executive way. The origin and development of this body and of its various parts is very interesting, and ought to be known very generally, at least in outline.

The book before us begins with a history of the Roman Curia. Part II. treats of the "Constitution of the Curia," giving the definition of the term, the officials and the departments. Part III. brings us to the "Procedure of the Roman Curia." In this department we find forms for all kinds of petitions. In an appendix important Roman decrees and rescripts promulgated since the Pontificate of Pius X. are given.

The author is very clear and practical, the information is valuable, the book is useful. It is excellently well made.

PERRY'S SERMONS FOR ALL THE SUNDAYS AND HOLY DAYS OF THE YEAR. On the plan of the "Full Course of Instructions." By the *Rev. John Perry*. Two series. 12mo., pp. 260 and 210. New York: Benziger Brothers.

These two small volumes contain two complete sets of sermons for the Sundays and holy days. They are standards, having been in the hands of preachers for many years. They are models of

their kind—short, plain, clear, uninvolved and practical. Any preacher can preach them and any hearer can understand them. We are unable to give them higher praise.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL. Philosophically Explained by *George Fell, S. J.* Translated by Lawrence Villing, O. S. B. London and Edinburgh, Sands & Co., and St. Louis, Mo., B. Herder, 1906. Price, \$1.35, net.
- THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY. By *Rev. A. B. Sharpe, M. A.* London and Edinburgh, Sands & Co., and St. Louis, Mo., B. Herder, 1906. Price, \$1.00, net.
- HANDBOOK OF CEREMONIES for Priests and Seminarians. By *John Baptist Müller, S. J.* Translated from the second German edition by Andrew P. Ganss, S. J. Edited by W. H. W. Fanning, S. J., professor of canon law and liturgy, St. Louis University. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., and Freiburg (Baden), 1907. Price, \$1.00, net.
- HISTORICAL NOTES ON ENGLISH CATHOLIC MISSIONS. By *Bernard W. Kelly.* Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London, and B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1907. Price, \$2.00, net.
- A MEDITATION ON THE INCARNATION OF CHRIST. Sermons on the Life and Passion of Our Lord and of Hearing and Speaking Good Words. By *Thomas a' Kempis.* Authorized translation from the text of the edition of Michael Joseph Pohl, Ph. D., by Dom Vincent Scully, C. R. L. London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., and St. Louis, Mo., B. Herder, 1907. Price, \$1.35, net.
- SERMONS TO THE NOVICES REGULAR. By *Thomas a' Kempis.* Authorized translation from the text of the edition of Michael Joseph Pohl, Ph. D., by Dom Vincent Scully, C. R. L. London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., and St. Louis, Mo., B. Herder, 1907. Price, \$1.35, net.
- SOCIETY, SIN AND THE SAVIOUR. Addresses on the Passion of Our Lord. By *Father Bernard Vaughan, S. J.* Given in the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Mayfair, 1907. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, and B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1907. Price, \$1.35, net.
- DIE BUCHERVERBOTE IN PAPSTBRIEFEN. Kanonistisch-Bibliographische Studie von *Joseph Hilgers, S. J.* B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, 95 cents, net.
- DER BIBLISCHE SCHÖPFUNGSBERICHT (Gen. I., 1 bis 2, 3). Erklärt von *Dr. Franz Kaulen*, Hausprälaten Sr. Heiligkeit des Papstes, Professor der Theologie zu Bonn. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1902. Price, 50 cents, net.
- DIE HEILSNOTWENDIGKEIT DER KIRCHE nach der altchristlichen Literatur bis zur Zeit des hl. Augustinus. Dargestellt von *Dr. theol. et phil. Anton Seitz*, Assistent im Klerikalseminar und Privatdozent an der Universität Würzburg. Mit Approbation des hochw. Herrn Erzbischofs von Freiburg. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1903.
- DISTINGUISHED CONVERTS TO ROME IN AMERICA. By *D. J. Scannell-O'Neill.* B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., and Freiburg (Baden), 1907. Price, \$1.00, net.
- THE GOD OF PHILOSOPHY. By *Rev. Francis Aveling, D. D.* London and Edinburgh, Sands & Co., and B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1906. Price, \$1.00, net.
- APHORISMEN ÜBER PREDIGT UND PREDIGER. Von *Dr. Franz Hettinger.* Zweite Auflage, herausgegeben von *Dr. Peter Huls*, Domkapitular und Professor an der Universität zu Münster i. w. Mit Approbation des hochw. Herrn Erzbischofs von Freiburg. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, \$1.85, net.
- ANSPRACHEN FÜR CHRISTLICHE MUTTERVEREINE. Von *Dr. Anton Leinz*, Militär-Oberpfarrer. Mit Approbation des hochw. Herrn Erzbischofs von Freiburg. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, \$1.00, net.
- KURZGEFASSTES HANDBUCH DER KATHOLISCHEN RELIGION. Von *W. Wilmers.* Vierte, durchgesehene Auflage. Mit bischöflicher Approbation. Regensburg, Rome, New York and Cincinnati. Druck und Verlag von Fr. Pustet, 1905. Price, \$1.00, net.
- MODERNSTES CHRISTENTUM UND MODERNE RELIGIONSPSYCHOLOGIE. Zwei Akademische Arbeiten von *Karl Braig*, Doktor der Philosophie und der Theologie, Professor der Dogmatik an der Universität Freiburg i. Br. Zweite Ausgabe. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, \$1.50,

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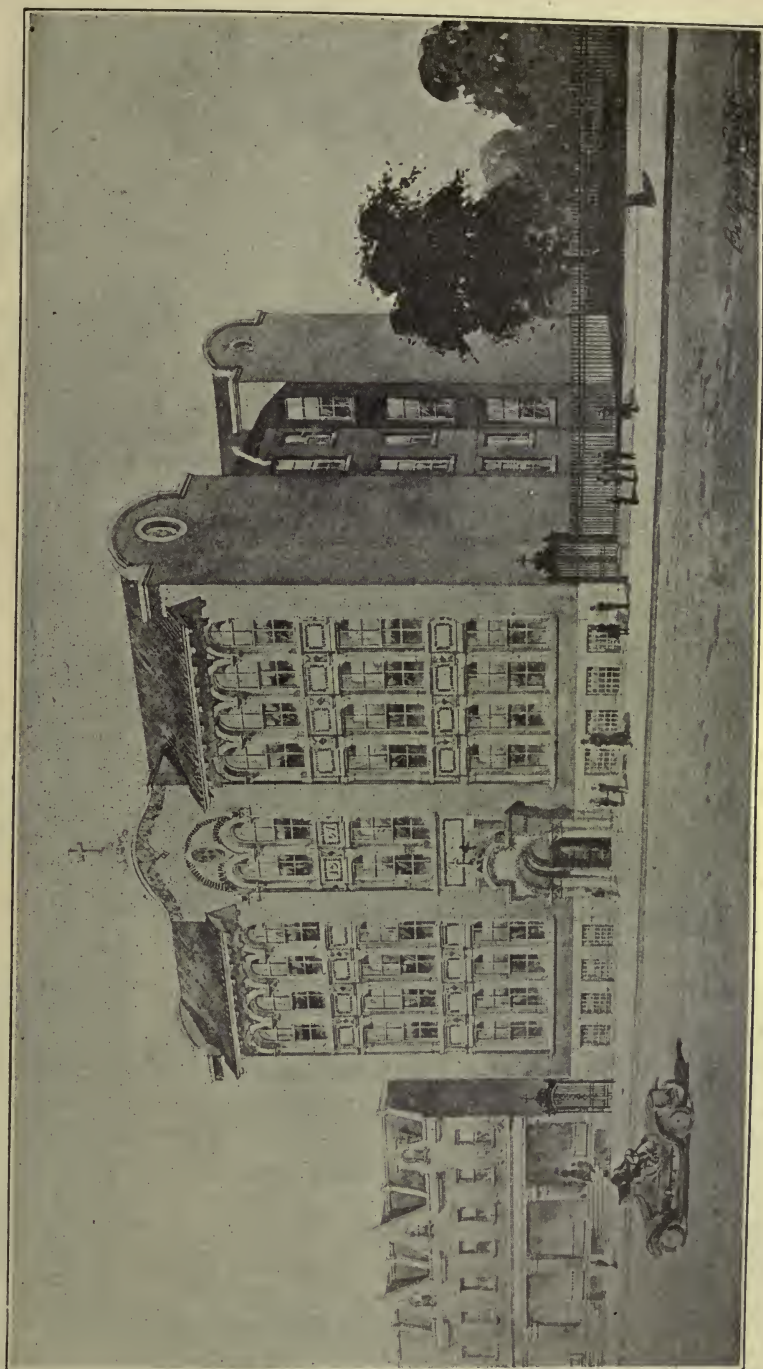
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THE SITUATION IN IRELAND: THE LANDLORDS AND THE CATTLE DRIVERS.

IF PARTIES in England could even for a short time rise to the conception of a generous and just policy towards Ireland, an era of stability to the empire would be opened. The first step for such a policy would be, to use Mr. Gladstone's dictum, to act on the idea that the Irish people are not born with a double dose of original sin. Enjoying in some respects the law of England and in theory entitled to the benefits of the constitution, they are practically regarded as outlaws in a state of refractory submission. Language, which if spoken in England or Scotland would very properly be judged as criticisms on public affairs within the rights of freemen, is treated as sedition. Public meetings, unless when held on the part of a small minority, are stamped with the impress of illegality by the attendance of masses of policemen armed like soldiers in the presence of the enemy. Official reporters selected from the police are stationed on the platforms. Collisions between the people and the police have repeatedly taken place, and under circumstances to justify the belief that the police not alone broke the peace, but had been instructed to break the peace. On one occasion the police were resisted so successfully that they fled for refuge to their barracks, and in vindictive panic fired so recklessly that boys in no way connected with the meeting and, of course, at a distance from it were shot dead. In consequence, Mr. Gladstone gave as a watchword and a party cry to the workingmen of England,

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the Democracy of England: "Remember Mitchelstown!" It was one experiment in the exercise of "resolute government" to be lamented by every man who has a reverence for ordered liberty. It brought with it a retribution as remarkable as unexpected. The government, which had taken as the preamble of its policy that no redress for grievances should be entertained until every vestige of dissatisfaction had disappeared, embarked on a course of redress while filling prisons with editors, members of Parliament, public speakers. A land act was passed, a county council's act was passed, additional land acts were passed and the people were charged with ingratitude because they had not received the concessions with transports of thankfulness and adulation.

When the late government was in power the policy of repression was suddenly abandoned. A profound tranquillity was discovered to have settled on Ireland from the centre to the sea. The country was crimeless. Judges of assize congratulated grand juries on the new millennium, county court judges echoed them, the police handed in reports of rose color; Mr. Wyndham had in hand all the stage accessories for the melodrama of the land purchase bill. It became an act of Parliament amid reciprocal plaudits from hostile elements in the House of Commons. There was comedy in the piece with latent tragic possibilities; the comedy has died out, the possibilities have become the reality.

Irish landlords found themselves enriched if land purchase should go on. The first vendors parted with their tenants' holdings under conditions which must have made company promoters sick with envy. The cosmopolitan plutocrats of South Africa must have thought that diamond mines were as rayless carbon in comparison with reclaimed bog in Ireland. The philosopher's stone in the dream of an alchemist was a fettered agent by the side of Mr. Wyndham's purchase act. It was a spell above all antecedent magic; it was an incantation that made Plutus, the gnomes, the spirits of the mines the slaves of the Irish landlord. Money fell upon his demesnes, and his home farms and his pasture lands from the air, was wafted to him over the waters, ascended to him from the caverns of the earth. Commerce made its exchanges for him, factories wrought for him, all the industries, all the resources of civilization were at his service. To pay his encumbrances the Chancellor of the Exchequer framed his budget; to give him back his demesnes his home farms and his pasture lands, the operative in the mill, the laborer in the field paid tithes and annates from his wages. Fortunate Irish landlord! The impossible was accomplished for him; he spent his money and he had it. The tenant purchaser, however poor, had a property in his holding, wherefore the phrase "dual ownership."

He transferred this to his landlord on the purchase as a free gift, and he accompanied the gift by a price for the landlord's interest, which paid the landlord's instalments on the demesnes, the home farms and the pasture farms. The truth is that the history of the land purchase act as we have it now is one of the most discreditable episodes in the relations of the Tory party to Ireland. We must divest our minds, in looking at what is called the present unrest in that country, of impressions produced by correspondents in Ireland of the English newspapers and the declarations at Primrose habitations and on public platforms made on the authority of mere hirelings from Ireland or by Irish people so insensate that they take their alarms and their prejudices for demonstrated incidents. The purchase act was passed to repair the ruined fortunes of the men who had been always the curse of Ireland and the difficulty of England—to repair their fortunes because their interests were identified with those of English landlords and the Church Establishment. It was an easy thing to say, and the statement was taken for proof, that the landlords and their hangers-on, like the Orangemen, were the objects of hatred as well as of fear, simply because they were devoted to England. There was a condition in the treaty out of which the purchase act was to issue that the "slums" of agriculture on the fringes of the great pasture reaches would be acquired by the Purchase Commissioners for the purpose of improvement, to which would be added a few acres of the pasture land, the whole farm, thus improved and enlarged, then placed in the tenant's hands in fee simple, subject to annual instalments, which were to pay in the course of sixty-eight years and a half principal and interest on the purchase money, the expenditure on improvements and other adjuncts of outlay. In his speech introducing the measure Mr. Wyndham disclosed to an attentive house this part of its policy in ample detail, coupled with a philosophic candor which seems to have enraptured some cultivated Devolutionists and some intellectual tenants' representatives. He spoke of the holdings to which we refer as of no earthly value to the occupiers; the term he employed was "uneconomic;" he proposed by his method that they would become possessions in which the owner and his family could live and thrive and acquire that degree of social elevation without which morality and self-respect are impossible. Pursuing his philosophic vein, he discussed with scientific precision the characteristics of communities which had continued from ancient times—fossils of strange social structures, as one might understand him, which, to use his own words, "had become rotten and rigid." The holdings had become curiously intermingled, that is to say, they were possessed in rundale; in other words, five parts of Lacy's holdings and

Brown's were scattered through the other holdings, and in like manner each of the other tenants possessed a bit about Brown's house and Lacy's house and a bit in the other holdings. There was nothing very recondite about this; it came from the manner of using the common land of the township among the Teutonic nations, or the part of the tribe land of the Celtic races conditionally vested in the poorer members for tillage and limited grazing. It was intended that the Commissioners should on acquiring estates let in rundale consolidate into one holding the farm to be obtained by each tenant purchaser, drained and fenced and defined by carefully ascertained boundaries, and on the adjustment of interests finally compensation would be awarded out of the grazing lands to be acquired when it appeared that some tenant had sustained a loss by the resettlement.¹

This scheme was statesmanlike and convincing. Pleasant prospects were opened to the members of "the rigid and rotten communities." They were to be in the forefront of the centuries instead of living as serfs lived under Chilperic, or on the banks of the Elbe in the sixth century, or as the Saxons when forming settlements or tithings in the South and East as they pushed the Britons westward, or as Irish laborers lived under some Cromwellian squire in the seventeenth century—the squire a fierce and grasping and businesslike man who thought the perpetuation of a system of commonage was a guarantee for reciprocal antipathies among his dependents. At any rate uneconomic holdings all over Ireland were to be made economic by the distribution of the pasture lands; the untenanted lands first as far as they would go round,² and then the grass farms in the hands of graziers or in the owners' own hands. It is hard to say Mr. Wyndham was only pronouncing a socioeconomic essay in the House of Commons. There was statesmanship in every detail of the conception, and the sum he asked for (£100,000,000) to effect it as between tenants and landlords the House granted with good will, particularly on the Liberal side, under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and voted £12,000,000 as an inducement to the landlords to sell what at the very moment was *damnosa hereditas*. Not one shred, one particle of this promise has been redeemed. Disappointed men, looking over the walls and high banks skirting the road at the broad stretches of pasture spreading to right and left and extending to the horizon, then turning to look at the sour land, the reclaimed bog

¹ Roads were to be made or old roads improved in these regions and charged to the occupiers, unless we mistake. In such cases the existing roads were made and maintained by the occupiers.

² We employ the right honorable gentleman's own words. The untenanted lands were the grazing lands merely let on hiring, as it were. Legally, they were only the same as agistment.

going back to heather, the poor patch of oats, the poor patch of potatoes, looking up the face of the inaccessible mountain, where, under the eagles' wing and the wild falcons, their ancestors built homes and made land amid the savage rocks—disappointed men, we say, may have thought that the huge bullocks and heifers were occupying the place in which they themselves should be rearing families, earning taxes, even extra police rates, and at least living in thankfulness to God and friendliness to man.

"Ajax in his madness," wrote Swift as with a cry of pain, "regarded a flock of sheep as his enemies. We shall not be sane until, like Ajax, we look upon the sheep as our enemies." The fierce agony, the *saeva indignatio* of Swift was burning in the hearts of men whose expectations had been raised to the highest pitch by Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Balfour and their Cabinet and then killed with a cynical indifference which could not be outdone by an Italian statesman of the fifteenth century. This Chief Secretary, this Prime Minister, this Cabinet had secured fortunes for their friends, their allies, their flatterers, their bravoos, their spies, their hirelings of defamation paid to traduce their own countrymen. For two centuries and a quarter the landlords of Ireland have stood out in the civilization of Europe as a monstrous anachronism. One of them in the eighteenth century, Gardiner Lord Mountjoy, declared in the Irish Parliament that he had been all over Europe; nowhere had he found, outside of Turkey, men so bigoted, so tyrannical, so unjust as his countrymen, the very class he was addressing.

The cattle drivers, from the very nature of the thing, violated the law. They were guilty of trespass *vi et armis*, but in driving the cattle out of the farms they appear to have taken time, to have done no injury to the animals. In some instances they drove them along the highroads for some miles; in some instances only a short distance. The Attorney General did one part of his duty (he prosecuted them), but he neglected another part of his duty. He should have asked of the House of Commons liberty to frame articles of impeachment against the late Ministry, and particularly Mr. Wyndham. We say this seriously and not as a rhetorical flourish. When we consider that cattle driving is only a phase, and a rather feeble one, appearing in the wheel of Irish revolutionary passion from 1692 to the present hour, only a paltry incident in a war which has surpassed all wars of Central and Western Europe in havoc and duration, and that the politicians we name seem deliberately to have taken a course to prolong the war, we insist that the dignity of Parliament demanded satisfaction from the Ministers who dishonored and degraded it. No article in the impeachment of Strafford would show greater contempt for the authority and dignity of Parliament

than the whole conduct of the bill through the House by Mr. Wyndham.³

Why should these peasants, deceived, cajoled and then driven to despair, be punished and Mr. Wyndham allowed to congratulate his noble relative, the Duke of Leinster, on walking off out of his tenants' farms with £2,000,000 while retaining his mansion, his magnificent demesne, his girdle of home farms? It is a fair question: Which has contrived to rob the British taxpayers to the purpose, the cattle drivers in the misery of "a congested district,"⁴ or the Minister who obtained £100,000,000 to divide among the bankrupt owners of an intangible interest and £12,000,000 in largesse to coax them into being enriched?

We thoroughly recognize that a strange change has come over the spirit of the people of England, the leaders in the cause of liberty and justice, and the relations of both to the legislature when we think of the condonation of one great crime. An immense sum has been wasted in South Africa amid the acclamations of all except a few, merely to change a government of Dutchmen into a government of Dutchmen and men from the United Kingdom. At least this is the practical result. If there be more Dutchmen than others in the administration of the Transvaal and Natal, the British Outlanders from Jewry and Germany, from France and Italy, Russia and the United States are hardly very different in status from what they had been when Kruger and his Ministers ruled with Deutoronomy as their code and the diamond mines as the means of enforcing it. We do not mean that Mr. Chamberlain should be impeached; we are only speaking of an extravagance parallel to the enrichment of Irish landlords. We are not saying he should be impeached for urging this war, in which forty thousand lives were lost. We cannot understand his ignorance concerning the situation there, unless that the renegade always makes the mistake of being carried by his zeal beyond honest and convinced prejudice or judgment; but it may have been honest ignorance. But this is what we require to know: Why was Mr. Balfour at that time allowed to break up public meetings of Liberals as though they were Irish Home Rulers listening to Mr. Dillon speaking on the land question? And why, having done this and been swept away at the general election, he is so secure in himself, confident in his resources from the

³ We say that the faction of Irish Orangemen and their abettors in the Government conspired to deceive the House of Commons and defraud the Treasury. The extreme Irish Unionists are as irreconcilable as Orangemen.

⁴ The new legal and parliamentary phrase for those regions in Ireland where tenants pay rent for holdings made out of the bogs into which their ancestors were driven when the good lands were about to be converted into sheep-walks.

wealth of English landlords, and the wealth of the Established Church and the wealth of the plutocrats of Mayfair, with their greasy accent and their extraordinary verbal transmutations, that he can turn the House of Commons into a theatre of an academical riot on the education question and convert Primrose habitations into platforms for inciting to civil war in Ireland? It seems as though no sense of responsibility is to be found in him or his supporters.

We must repeat that we regret the cattle driving. We regret it on the ground of its being a breach of the peace, a trespass wilfully committed and an unwarrantable interference with other men's chattels; but this proceeding was only intended as a protest against the terrible policy which from the time of the transplantation to Connaught, the West Indies and the colonies of North America under the Protector and his son, Henry, desolated the best parts of Ireland and is still emptying parts of Ireland of inhabitants despite of statutory tenant right, statutory peasant proprietorship, statutory payment of English encumbrances of Irish property,⁵ statutory grants of demesnes, home farms, pasture land to Irish landlords.

However, the latest accounts say (we are writing in the last week of March) that for the present cattle driving is at an end. If so, why should extra police be kept in the six proclaimed counties? The season has been a bad one, and the charge for extra police and possibly for malicious injuries like Lord Ashton's case and Dove's case will lead to a condition of stress such as was felt in the later seventies. At that time self-respect had been so annihilated that families took outdoor relief, that families allowed some of their children to be taken provisionally into the workhouses under the pretense of illness. Rate payers valued above the £4 line—the line at which they are liable to rates—were actually paying for the support of others, when they had hardly a meal of the poorest kind themselves. It was a time when assisted emigration was flourishing and government employes were at the same time the agents of private committees and quasi commissioners, occasionally visiting from England or sending their instructions from England. It is not too late, we hope, to prevent a repetition of this impudent and ruthless farce of English benevolence into the hands of Connaught landlords and landlords in the parts of Ulster bordering on Connaught. At the time we speak of there was an English gentleman named Duke who had an office in London and agents all over the west of Ireland, and the idea was held out to the clergy that the

⁵ We might ask whether this fact had anything to do with the genesis and the growth of this Purchase Act. The Tory war chest was filled with the prices of titles. The fact is notorious. The English mortgages of Irish estates could give a nice commission to a parliamentary agent of Cabinet rank for securing payment of their speculative securities.

government was supplying part of the funds to enable the people ejected from their holdings, or those in abject destitution, to reach the United States. It was checked by the municipal authorities in New York.⁶

The entire subject of Ireland, whether in the social or political aspect—indeed, they closely run into each other—is painful to the degree of inducing physical illness or working as the thought of it worked in the heart of Swift and almost turned to gall the sweetness of Berkeley's nature. It stirred to indignant scorn Englishman after Englishman who visited the country, say, from Arthur Young, about 1770, to Sir Redvers Buller, a sort of military dictator in Munster when the Land League was fighting for the existence of the people. The Land League boycotted the man whom the ruin of bad harvests would not cause to abate a few shillings in his rent; boycotted the workman, the agricultural laborer who had no bowels of compassion for their fellows starving while waiting for the Sheriff, the crowbar brigade, the incendiary torch, while waiting for that excommunicated of the honest poor—the emergency man—transformed from the status of the thief, the drunkard, the unconvinced assassin into an upholder of property and law, transformed into a vindicator of the morality of paying impossible rent, transformed into the representative of peace when war was demanded by the right to live, imperiously called for by necessity itself. In this way the Land League was fighting a despotic government without one particle of the ability which sometimes makes tyranny respectable and a truculent faction of wild Orangemen behind it, fighting with the only weapon which nature leaves to unarmed men—the inactivity and gloom of non-intercourse.

Another subject to be borne in mind in considering the falsification of Mr. Wyndham's promises was the restoration of the evicted tenants. We venture to say that the Dunraven treaty would never have been concluded between that gentleman, with his fellow-landlords representing their class at the conference and Mr. Redmond and some of his Parliamentary colleagues representing the tenants, unless this article were agreed to. There is a very remarkable enthusiasm among the Irish people about martyrs for their cause. It does not always follow that they think the martyrs were wise, or that the course taken by them was altogether the one sensible men would recommend in the particular crisis. To neglect those, however, who had submitted to the loss of all they possessed—well circumstanced farms, together with considerable interest in them of solvent tenants—would be a baseness of which no people could be

⁶ At an earlier time the agent of Lord Enniskillen's estates won the name of "Emigration Smith" in Enniskillen.

guilty, least of all the Irish people. We are prepared to hear that the proposal to restore the evicted tenants was by no means a welcome one to some landlords as they sat at the Round Table. We have it on information that a settlement would have been arrived at long before the conference if the evicted tenants were thrown to the wolves. We think that the land act of Mr. Balfour, pledging the State to advance £40,000,000 for the purchase of holdings, coupled with an improved administration of the rent fixing clauses of the act of 1881 and the appointment of men not prejudiced against the policy of the act, would have virtually closed the land question as an ulcer of peculiar malignity between the two classes concerned. We think it is important to consider this matter with some attention in order to bestow blame or praise as either may be deserved.

The first thing we say is that the whole Tory party—not the wretched crowd of Irish squireens merely, but the great Irish proprietors who were owners of estates in England or Scotland, or, if not, had such large estates as made them in Ireland big squires like their friends and allies in England—all hated the act of 1881 as the degradation of their class. The mob of squireens, of course, hated the act just mentioned as they hated anything that loosened their hold on the courage and conscience of the masses. They hated the act of 1870, an act generally, if not universally, approved of by the great landlords. They attacked it with virulence and persistence in the county courts, and they hunted down their tenants by appeals whenever a point of law might be urged against them. The tenant was always under ejectionment⁷ and fighting for a losing cause. It was a case of the longer purse added to the advantages with which the landlord started. So the petty squabbles during the two or three years that followed the passing of that act forced upon the impoverished and overrented tenants lawsuits as numerous, and which for a time were as important to lawyers as the big cases in the railway reports for five times as many years, though these are a library in themselves. As for the act of 1881, it was spoken of as confiscation. It was said that the tenant was planted on his holding in such a way that the landlord was converted into a mere rent charger. The tenants' interest was described as a lease for fifteen years, with a condition somewhat like a *toties quoties* covenant for renewal every fifteen years forever. In an article in the *North American Review* some years ago (we have not the number at hand) Mr. John Morley, as an ex-Chief Secretary, wrote authoritatively on the Irish land question, at least so the editor assumed. At any rate, Mr. Morley

⁷ This act gave no fixity of tenure: it entitled the tenants to compensation for improvements under restrictions and for disturbance on a scale diminishing proportionately with the increase of the valuation—a case of inverse ratio.

expressed his legal conclusions in a very oracular manner, possibly in consultation with some English barrister who knew as much about the complications of the law of letting land in Ireland as Mr. Arthur Balfour's familiar, the man in the street. Mr. Morley, who in certain limits is an accomplished and well informed man, is very far from knowing everything. He wrote somewhat like the following and very much as Sir Oracle would if his pen were a good "*Socratic daemon*," able to spell correctly: "Until 1860 the relation of landlord and tenant was one of tenure; then it became one of contract. In 1870, owing to the hardships arising out of the new relation, it was again made a relation of tenure; it is now under the act of 1881 one of dual ownership." So Mr. Morley. Englishmen one admits are very superior persons. They know more about Ireland than Irishmen; understand their needs better than these can understand them, but Mr. Morley in his summary of the contents of a law library and a library of legal relations shrouded in remote origins and affected by the subsequent changes in social aspects during the eight hundred years from the Norman Conquest until his own time was rather less than accurate. Moreover, he vastly overrated the legal significance of the act of 1881.⁸ It was a noble conception of land reform at the same time that it was no wild departure from old-time usages, did no violence to familiar modes of thought, had respect for the traditional sense of the social hierarchy. It may be that the complex character of the measure, its harnessing of so many conflicting elements revolted minds like Mr. Parnell's and his lieutenants, or that a certain narrowness and lack of knowledge prevented them from seeing the resultant issuing from the harnessing of the various contending forces. At any rate, the marvelous display of the highest statesmanship was never allowed a chance of proving itself the reconciliation of hostile ideas and influences.

Mr. Parnell attacked it, and the people followed him with a disorderly devotion which showed something akin to the imbecility of Oriental or feminine hero worship. There was to be a selection of cases called test cases, along which the landlords were to be fought under the new act. Why, every case was a test case—that is to say, the substantial legal incidents were the same and the language to express them identical. The only difference in the result, we take it, would arise from the personnel of the various sub-commissions.⁹ Ulstermen would give the tenants a sympathetic hearing; the assist-

⁸ The legal status of the tenant was that of a tenant from year to year, and not that of a partner with the landlord. When this "fair" rent was fixed, he was a tenant from year to year, protected by fixity of tenure, but under statutory conditions.

⁹ This was the name given to leases of church lands for terms of years, renewal forever. The lawyers who devised this method of robbing the church without breaking the law against alienation were clever fellows.

ant commissioners from the south of the Boyne were landlords' nominees, and certainly, whether as legal assistant commissioners or lay assistant commissioners, these gentlemen were not exceptionally fitted for office by their prejudices. Now, it was absurd for Mr. Parnell and his lieutenants to suppose that they could have selected the cases to be tried. We know how originating notices fell on the land commissioners like snowflakes. We remember a certain day in November, 1881, that the whole resources of the head commissioners were employed in recording such notices. Barristers were impressed into the service—we mean courteous gentlemen who happened to be in the court at Merion street on certain legal motions—men asked to help as honorary registrars, and they did so; and all worked, worked with a will up to twelve o'clock at night when the last day to obtain a particular advantage closed upon the tenants. There were on that day twelve thousand notices recorded; and the sympathy of the host of gratuitous workers with the tenant, their desire that he should have the chance of the special benefit the new act conferred with regard to the effect of lodging his originating notice before a certain day, afforded evidence of a beautiful disposition, the credit for which has never been given any more than the gratuitous character of the work done and the sacrifice of an entire day in performing it has been acknowledged either by tenants, patriots or politicians or those whose own good works are not hidden from the admiring world.

Anything more infatuated than the idea, under all the circumstances, of selecting what were to be called test cases cannot be conceived. It was an ill-considered piece of adventurous defiance that could only end in antagonism between the two peoples of Ireland and England, and when it was rather late in the day the tenants discovered their mistake in not promptly and frankly seeking the advantages bestowed by the act. Ulster had done so and Ulster's rents were being reduced, while the other provinces were beginning to fear that their leaders had blundered.¹⁰

As we say, a great deal of injustice was done in estimating the inestimable evolutionary impetus of Mr. Gladstone's great act. As we say, Mr. Morley did not grasp the effect on the rent fixing

¹⁰ It is right to say that Mr. Parnell recognized that there would be a long, long delay in dealing with the cases, owing to the machinery. His idea was that certain cases should be selected which would serve as standards on which the other cases should be ruled. He overlooked two things: First, a court has no power without consent to rule B's case by A's, except in a matter of law. Even then the facts must be heard to apply the law to the case. The second matter overlooked was that all the landlords, the great squires of tens of thousands of acres, as well as the petty gentlemen, who drank, gambled and swore like their grandfathers, were determined to smash the act. A series of bad seasons gave them the opportunity and power.

clauses of possible conditions—nay, actual conditions of antagonism. Then his idea of the legal status conferred upon the tenant was a mistake. To understand the legal status one should be a lawyer; but he should be more than that; he should have to ascertain the law that grew out of the transplantation of the feudal system from Normandy to England and the reaction thereon of the Anglo-Saxon customs and laws so far as the latter were intelligible under the formula of the “laws of St. Edward the Confessor.” That this is immediately to the point may be seen from the fact that the Conqueror always deferred to the authority of Edward the Confessor and his time as exponents of rights to be maintained by the Conquest. In a moment of anger, when he had to proceed hastily to the West to suppress what he called a rebellion of the Saxons in alliance with the Welsh, he declared he won England by the sword, and so was uncontrolled master of the situation. But again he fell back into the conciliatory position so ostentatiously put forward that he was devisee under the will of the Confessor, if one may employ the term used in wills of real estate as applying to a gift by will of a kingdom.¹¹ His successors paid the like deference to the Anglo-Saxon customs, at least on the day of announcing their accession, and confirmed the recognition of their validity on the very important day of coronation, which is unquestionably the day in the feudal system when the reciprocal obligation becomes binding on King and subjects.

The principles of Anglo-Norman tenure were carried to Ireland by Pembroke, De Lacy and Montmorisco or Morris, together with their followers, knights and esquires as they were, and their large trains of men at arms and those fatal bowmen, whose fellows in later years rained death in Scotland and in France. The grantees of the enormous cantreds in Ireland, of whom Sir John Davies, Attorney General of James I., had so much to say in dealing with the socio-economic aspects of the land question in his time, brought with them further modifying principles of tenure derived from their birth and their residence along the Welsh marches. They were one and all of Norman and Welsh blood; and Montmorisco, if we mistake not, was of the ancient princely blood of Wales and the royalty of Norman England. These powerful barons were already very much like Irish chieftains on their landing in the relations between them and their tenants, whether old Irish or Welsh, holding by homage and service, or Saxon soldiers occupying as men hired to follow the standard of their leader. The usages of tenure, in a word, were very much those of the counties bordering on Wales. With these char-

¹¹ The probability is that the Confessor only made a promise to William that he would leave him the kingdom. William certainly believed that he had a genuine title to the throne. “Conqueror” here is a word of art, like “purchaser” in a deed.

acteristics became in time intermingled the Celtic conceptions of title independent of tenure and dependent on blood.

The legal declaration of the abolition of the Brehon law early in the reign of James I., though it had the authority on that occasion of a legislative act, only affected the land tenure of the Irish districts, that is to say, those in which there had been no entrance at all for English law and usage, and the general result was the diffusion of the complex feudal tenure we have described moulded in evil directions or just directions, as strength or weakness in the successive lords or in the King's government of the Pale asserted itself. Outside the plantation counties of Ulster tenure remained in the old complicated feudal-Irish-Welsh-Border mould. The outer form of the purely Irish life and addition had passed away. The Great O'Brien was now Earl of Thomond; the Great O'Neil was Earl of Tyrone; Burke was no longer MacWilliam Oughtier; he was now Earl of Clanricarde. But below this change of addition land tenure had simply resolved itself into the Norman-Celtic form in its infinite detail of usages between tenant and tenant, between lord and tenant on the relation of homage and service on the one hand and protection¹² on the other and the relation of kinship, natural and artificial, between tenant and tenant. Even for a long time after the Cromwellian settlement there was no considerable change of ideas. The Cromwellian squire, in steeple hat and boots up to his thighs, rode his stout cob to fair or market attended by his Saxon Johnnies or Celtic Teagues and rather liked the life and was not abnormally unjust to the poor Gabaoonites under him, not unconscientiously harsh if left alone by the "lawless gentlemen" from Connaught returning to their old estates. We say the extinction of all the rights of tenants began at the close of the war between William and James. This was what Mr. Wyndham referred to, doubtless, when he went into high dithyrambs in his speech so often referred to in this article about the landlords who had stood the racket of dynastic wars.¹³

Now, during the contemplated purchase act very interesting articles of antiquarian law appeared in the magazines. One we remember from an English barrister, an Indian official. It was insisted upon, as we are endeavoring to do, that a regard should be had in any legislation to the inherited modes of thought of Irish tenants from the days in which their ancestors under Celt or Norman

¹² This was expressed by the phrase in the fifteenth century, "Spend me and fend me."

¹³ It is just to say that the gallant gentlemen—namely, the ancestors of the Irish landlords of Cromwellian origin—most manfully fled to England from every part of the south and east and west; other English fled from a great part of Ulster. Those who found their way to Derry from the county, from Tyrone and the north of Cavan were not Cromwellians at all. They were the descendants of Scotchmen, the sons or grandsons of those crushed by Owen O'Neil's clans at Benburb.

or Cromwellian were a kind of irregular copyholders in theory, like the tenants of the tenant-right counties in Ulster. As a matter of fact, they were not copyholders, regular or irregular; for in all Ireland there was no manor, no steward of the manor, no duty of doing suit, no holding of land according to the custom of the manor which made the tenure a reflex sub-infeudation, the origin of which had been a tenancy at will. The old Norman-Irish tenancy was of a much more dignified origin; it was a holding in the nature of one by knight service, but without the esquire's title, to be made a knight at the proper time, and unfortunately too indicative of the perpetual wars going on between landlords themselves and the landlords in their wild moods with the forces of the Crown.

As we said, Mr. Morley mistook the legal character of Irish tenancy at the time he was writing. The important point the reformers of Irish land laws now as well as then had to keep in view was that outside the ancient tenures in England the occupying tenants, who constitute all the agricultural tenants of that country practically, had no relation to the land except in so far as it was the subject matter of contract between them and the owner. It is an abuse of language to speak of such owners as landlords at all in connection with occupiers in England.

The word lord means a relation not at all of contract, one of bread-giving to a dependent of the house. Coupled with the word land, the idea becomes more complex, and the landlord then is a person who gives the land that the recipient may win bread from it; but as the giving of the land is the deprivation of something immovable and necessary to himself, the giver is entitled to a return for it. Hence the feudal homage by which the tenant becomes the lord's man, "homagium," doing a man's work for the bread bestower. Such considerations as these should enter into all legislative dealings between Irish landlords and tenants in order to show that these are essentially different from those in England. Of this Mr. Morley was plainly ignorant, and in his ignorance gave away the case of the Irish tenants as one resting primarily and historically on rights back to which remedial acts of Parliament were only a slow and tentative return, and therefore wise and just as steps towards reparation.

The imported equity of the tenants' improvements was a valuable consideration, no doubt, but it was bad political logic to rest the case solely upon it. Why do they effect the improvements? Englishmen and Scotchmen asked ten thousand times. They themselves took land as a man takes a shop or a lodger his rooms.¹⁴ Mr. Morley, arguing from a restricted view of a difficult objection, would

¹⁴ They could not see that a tenancy of land in Ireland had the suggestion of an indefeasible estate.

say that they had no choice, and they were allowed to do so, this last implying some equity against the landlord, the latter consideration would be sound legal equity in circumstances, no doubt, but these wretched Irish tenants, upon whom the returned cowards, when the Williamite war was over, let loose their vials of wrath and hate and shame—self-shame for their cowardice—these wretched tenants had not even a legal equity and could not enforce it even if they had; they could only cling to the memory of dead facts in the hope that some day a light would come and their ancient rights would be respected. Surely there was some idea of the kind among the cattle drivers. We care not how it came. Traditions by the winter fire-side are strange illuminations. In Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria tales were told night after night of deeds of derring-do performed against the Turk. There is one legend of the fall of "twelve tzars" and their countrymen round them, in a fight that went on all day against the ever-coming hosts of fresh Turks and Tartars that must have made youths say that they were the children of their sires, able to face the Turk as they had faced him. Such tales have the property of revelations big with fate, and the land traditions of Ireland brought down messages of light and duty towards themselves and all their own against the usurpers of yesterday who had scourged their predecessors with scorpions and who had no God, no conscience, no law but the blind rule of their own appetites.

As we said, Mr. Morley overrated the effect of the act of 1881 and played into the hands of Irish landlords by doing so and into those of the many hypocrites of English landlordism who used to shake their heads at the marvelous favor shown to Irish tenants. Ireland was the favorite, the godchild of the fairy godmother, the beauty of the house, to please whom was the first and last thought of the family, and so on, through columns of much nauseating twaddle in the newspapers.

We were actually gratified by the impudent, vulgar and ignorant article of a Primrose dame in one of the magazines a few years ago, in which she inveighed against her own party for making a present of £112,000,000 to the Irish swindlers, cattle mutilators and murderers. She was evidently one of those dreadful women who clapped their hands and stamped their feet at the Duchess of St. Albans *ruelle* when an Irish policeman from South Africa told of his knight-errantry against the moonlight mobs of Galway. Her ill-conditioned phrases were a relief after the nauseous flattery and disguised hatred of the *Daily Telegraph* in those days. The air is again vibrating with the artificial terrors from Ireland, and we say that the literary exertions of well-meaning men not sufficiently informed are a strong foundation for the judicial solemnities of English landlord-

ism, for the brutal invectives of the Tories in both houses of Parliament, for those displays of "sweet reasonableness" on the part of the Unionist Irishmen whose patriotism is that of "the black list," who sold their country in the years 1799-1800 for prompt payment.

There was no relation such as Mr. Morley spoke of as "dual ownership." Possibly he was led astray by a very considerable authority on land law in its character, whether law of title or law of tenancy. We mean Mr. Justice Madden. The latter when Solicitor General for Ireland used the phrase and added that the tenant possessed the more valuable interest of the double ownership. He was talking in the House of Commons at the time. There have been always many lawyers in the House of Commons—with the exception of the *Parliamentum Indoctum* in the reign of Edward IV.—the average is a third of the House; yet, we think there is more bad law allowed to pass there than could pass unquestioned in an attorney's apprentices' debating society. There was an instance pointed out in this REVIEW when Mr. Wyndham declared that the act of 1881 would be repealed by his bill *ipso facto*.¹⁵

The reader must understand we hold that the act of 1881, if accompanied by some guarantees, and if the Land Commission in all its judicial ranks were not manned by assistant commissioners pledged to defeat its policy and reported to by official valuers who might be very good in the Lothians when cattle and sheep were at the highest price, but who are rather out of their place among the boulders of the Galtee mountains and the swamps along the Shannon and its tributaries. We cannot quite suppose, though, that a man so well read as Mr. Justice Madden really meant by "dual ownership" anything more than a sort of epigram which could recall to the man in the street, to every other follower of Mr. Balfour, to the men in Park Lane from South Africa who could say, like their countrywoman, the mistress of George II.: "We have come for all your goods,"¹⁶ though with a different meaning, no doubt. We think he meant only an epigram which would recall to the mind of every malignant enemy of Mr. Gladstone and to every old woman who looked like and called herself a man his mania for confiscation, his egregious pandering to disloyalty, his passion for oppressing Protestants and elevating Papists and other enormities.

In point of law the relation between landlord and tenant continued after 1881 to be legally one of contract. In passing we may observe

¹⁵ They were in different planes, so there could be no conflict. Sir Edward Carson and the two Irish law officers sat silently while this was being said.

¹⁶ This lady in a court procession through London was frightened by the shouting of the mob. She put out her head through a carriage window to appease them in her broken English: "We have come for all your goods." "We know that that's what all you Germans have come for," retorted the mob.

that the landlords in the Irish Parliament, the vindictive, ruthless Cromwellians, had done away with every safeguard "tenure" conferred on the tenant. If a judge decided a point in favor of a tenant the legislature enacted a law that met it for the future. Except in the way we present, that is, to justify interference between landlord and tenant on the historic grounds of giving back through the legislature what the legislature had taken from the tenants, we do not think there was much value in Mr. Morley's reference to the relation of tenure at all. It was, in fact, an academical point of view, an academical view without the requisite knowledge.

Into the contract the act of 1881 imported some equitable conditions of great formative value for the economic future of Ireland, but all depended on the payment of the rent on the appointed day. If the tenant failed to pay, that is to say, if he could not pay, he lost every benefit of the act, was liable to ejectment for non-payment of rent (there were innumerable ejectments of tenants within the meaning of the act for this default) and was, as we have implied, at the landlord's mercy. The term dual ownership suggests partnership. The rights of partners are regulated by the instrument of partnership interpreted by the law, but one thing is clear: If the tenant could demand as a partner can demand an account of the profits accruing from the respective shares, the other partner could not eject him. You all suppose, according to Mr. Morley's idea, that the tenant was the working partner; indeed, the other would have been spoken of by Mr. Chamberlain before he became intimate with Duchesses and made war on republics as one who sowed not, neither did he spin. You will suppose that a bad year like this very year came. His cattle and sheep had died, the wild rains and the wild winds had leveled the crops of barley, rye and oats as though a charge of cavalry had passed, the potatoes had melted as they do when that terrible pestilence is hanging in the air and poisoning the earth; all this would be most excellent ground for a settlement of the partnership accounts, and the tenant as a partner would be perfectly safe; but as things are, unless the landlord—the alleged partner—had compassion, the tenant partner went out a beggar. If he refused to leave, he was evicted on judgment, and among the serious personages and things, the Sheriff, the agent, the landlord himself, the bailiff, the emergency men, the ambulance, the police, the dragoons, the infantry, that came—tell it not among gentlemen and scholars—came Balfour's Maiden¹⁷ to the scene of operations.

¹⁷ A battering ram which Mr. Balfour had constructed to break open the doors of the tenants' houses. He is a cultivated man; so was Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Caxton's patron. He was known among the fierce nobles of the time as the Butcher. Surely Mr. Balfour ought to have allowed "felonious landlordism" (so spoken of by the late Earl of Clarendon, himself a big squire) to fight its own battles.

We press the point that this great act was so easily made nugatory that one may wonder why it should have been allowed to go forth in fetters, as we may say. It had within itself all the elements capable of repairing the dark and miserable past and flooding the people's hearts with hope. It held the sunshine and the gentle rain within its bosom to bestow them in blessing; it could send the soft wind with healing on its wings, in the thought of it the dream of the poet would be realized, the days for which broken, wearied souls had struggled and sacrificed and hoped would dawn; but there was a maleficent power to stay the good works of men as the same influence had turned ever and ever the bounties of God into calamity. No power the world had ever known can be adequately compared with this ignorant, pitiless, vulgar Irish oligarchy. You cannot purchase its good offices, for its greed is insatiable as the sea; it will take and take and ever cry for more. You cannot appeal to its humanity, rather "appeal to famine and wind-walking pestilence." A century and a half ago Swift said it had bowels of iron; you cannot awake a sense of shame in it, for the *Times*, even the *Times*, once passionately declared it had renounced its duties with a heart of iron and a forehead of brass.

We wonder could Mr. Gladstone have thought that the leopard had changed his spots, that the Irish landlords could be merciful or just. There was a greatness in the man that lifted him above the sphere where wicked men ply their industry; still he was a student of history and he ought to have known that the title deeds of these men rested on violence and fraud. Pah! Many of them would have smelled of blood like Cosby's, like Coote's, like Hamilton's, like Fitzwilliam's title deeds. All of them would be the sacraments of perjury, spoliation, treachery, cryptographs of undone hosts, guests, friends slain at the banquet.

It is impossible to find any redeeming qualities in this body such as may be discovered in all other ruling castes, even the Turks. We are ready to admit that as individuals these men can make themselves liked, but even as individuals their sense of honor is rather peculiar; and their honesty to creditors is a negligible quantity. Their utter want of conscience with regard to debts and the senseless extravagance which always distinguished them have been potent influences in their oppressions of their tenantry, and, as may have been seen, were a central power in producing the land purchase act.¹⁸

It is with a degree of reluctance we enter on the subject of per-

¹⁸ In 1880 £160,000,000 was due on mortgage, besides simple contract debts wherever they could be contracted. The amount of these cannot be guessed; they were like "royal benevolences."

sonal dishonesty. It is on the surface at least a reflection on the whole body of the Irish people when it must be said that their upper class, or what is called their upper class, will lie with a brilliant volubility which Greeks could not rival, and this for any cause or no cause, and will perjure themselves with circumstantial exactness for a consideration. They have enough of regard for the sanctity of an oath not to swear falsely for nothing; they doubtless possess a sufficient sense of the sanction above and behind an oath to demand that the temptation be one to which a man may profitably yield. These are hardly the examples to which the lower classes can advantageously look up. There is a reason why the humbler people of Ireland are the most moral and truthful in the world—certainly the people south of the Boyne—but it would not be sociological or in touch with the psychological moment, as that most admirable representative of the very class, Sir Horace Plunkett, would express it, if we were to say that they owe this moral elevation to their religion, and that this kept them away in dark and evil days from the servants' hall and kitchen of the "big house," in which life was that of a garrison town filled with idle and reckless officers.

It is not to be supposed we are arguing this question of what the state of Ireland is for the purpose of pressing on the government the duty of stopping the sales to tenants, though the Weirs case, coming on the top of disasters, enables us to say, but with a different meaning, what Lord Londonderry said in the House of Lords—that for thirty or forty years the country never was in so bad a condition.

The tenants are simply robbed by the prices they pay for their wretched holdings, prices that are double, literally double, what can be obtained for the best equipped farms in the most favored counties of England. The apparently easy terms of the instalments are a deception, and no one knows this better than Mr. Balfour, the sponsor of Mr. Wyndham's measure. Agricultural values are falling steadily. Even the assistant commissioners, fixing fair rents, recognize this, for they are making a pretense of reduction on "second term rents." It is certain if things continue, if values continue falling, there must be a reduction on third term rents in less than five years, we shall say. Now, in cases of purchase within the zones like the Weirs estate, which appears to have collected in itself all the mischiefs which Mr. Wyndham proposed to remedy, in converting "uneconomic holdings" into "economic" and drawing the scattered pieces of holdings "in rundale" together, so that the occupier would possess them within the enclosure of a single fence free from reciprocal rights of way, which the different tenants enjoyed over each other's land—now in cases within the zones, we say, the

instalments to be paid are a reduction of ten per cent. on the second term rents to start with, and this is all ever to be had in the shape of relief. There will be no reduction of the "instalments" when what would be period of the third term will come, for these must be paid for the sixty-eight years and a half. On the other hand, had the tenants remained under the act of 1881, with the power of obtaining the succession of reductions of rent from term to term instead of going over to the tender mercies, the cast iron rigidity of the new act, rent would disappear. If the act of 1881 had been fairly administered, there would have been no need for the preposterous purchase act. Mr. Wyndham's advisers must have thought so. They could not otherwise have allowed him to say the act he was introducing would impliedly repeal it. The acts were in different planes. Why was the provision about the bonus so muddled as to give the out at elbows tenants for life £12,000,000? Will they pay their simple contract debts?¹⁹

The rate payers are crushed by the local burdens, the allowances out of the Irish contribution to the treasury having been withdrawn to secure the landlords the prices agreed to by the tenant purchasers. The landlords' share of the poor rates has been released, though the landlords were the makers of the paupers by the ejectments in the past. One almost laughs when he thinks how these men in a Christian country, a country at the heart of the empire and supposed to possess the liberal and enlightened views on social and political questions, which are the inheritance of Englishmen, are not merely guilty of indescribable cruelty and injustice to their countrymen, their very neighbors, but expect compensation if required to give up their cruelty and injustice. Even a *laissez faire* political economist, we mean one of that school who looks upon economic action as a law of nature not to be interfered with by sentiment, would say that the destitute are primarily a charge upon the land. We cannot go into the awful history of dealing with the poor in Ireland; it would take too long. It is a totally different thing from the method of dealing with the destitute in England. The poor in England were provided for from the time of Elizabeth. It is not meant that the poor houses there were palaces at a time that well-to-do people of the middle class had no idea of the comforts and conveniences artisans and workingmen now enjoy; but the poor in Ireland were not the sudden and un contemplated consequence of a tremendous and universal spoliation of religious and charitable foundations. They had actually been created year after year by the new landlords, who became a settled, irresponsible and all-controlling oligarchy from

¹⁹ Sir R. Griffen declared twenty-two years ago that all economic rent had disappeared from Irish tenancies.

the year 1692. The poor of Ireland wandered about as beggars, increasing with eviction and with births. Their children were sometimes taken from them to be brought up Protestants in founding hospitals, charter schools and similar institutions and to die of hideous cruelty and neglect. In the first years of the late Queen the Irish poor law was established and the inmates of the new work houses were the beggars on the highway, evicted families, prostitutes and tramps of bad character. Ever and ever the numbers were recruited from evicted families; and as the land was cleared the incidence of poor rate became lighter on the cleared land and fell heavier on the lands thickly populated and, of course, upon the towns. The cleared lands were kept by the landlords in their own hands or let as grazing farms at high rents, the expense attending on them being nominal.²⁰ The late government relieved these gentlemen of poor rate, not merely the share they contributed with their small tenants, but what they paid on the grazing farms, too.

In the reign of George II. the landlords excited, sustained and to some extent headed an insurrection of the tenants against tithes and the Established Church. At this time the system of wide sheep farms was in full working order; the attention to black cattle was spreading, and so the country was becoming the fruitful mother of flocks and herds, as a bland Lord Lieutenant, the late Earl of Carlisle, would say. The foolish people thought that all the evils of their condition were to pass away. The "gentlemen" were to become Catholics and the Bishops and the parsons to be sent to England, while the priests would be called from the morasses and impassable bogs, from mountain caves, from deep glens, where no voice was heard but the white torrents that tore through them, no inhabitants to be seen save the fox and the wildcat and the bird of prey, to enter into possession of the churches and pleasant glebe houses and the glebe lands.

The inferior landlords and the cadets of the great families, in pursuance of this infamous object, were riding post haste from village to village stimulating, encouraging and animating the inhabitants to the rising, seeking for them up the side of the mountains, where a few wattles made the house and a level spot in the savage rocks, to which earth had been carried from below, made the "farm," following them wherever they might be found to impart the blessed tidings that their day had come. Governors of counties, Sheriffs, Deputy Governors and Justices of the Peace held their meetings with closed doors, as if to decide what should be done in such alarming conditions. Messengers from the Lord's Justices were coming from

²⁰ A herd and his man could look after several hundred acres of grazing land. This was an inducement to evict tenants of small tillage holdings.

Dublin and rushing back to Dublin Castle.²¹ It was all a farce of zeal on the part of the Governors, High Sheriffs, Deputy Governors and Justices of the Peace. The Irish Parliament took the tithe off the demesnes, home farms and grazing lands and put it exclusively on the tenants as a reward for their part in the affair; and these duped creatures besides were imprisoned, flogged at the cart's tail and sent to the West Indies and to this country to serve as a barrier between the English settlers and the Indians. The grant of education is hypothecated, for the prices to be paid the landlords under Mr. Wyndham's act and the development grant is appropriated to make good the losses on the flotation of the loan to pay the purchase money under that act. In a word, no matter what may happen, the landlords come out triumphantly. We need not offer specific evidence of the untrustworthiness of these men. Their statements concerning the condition of the country are always believed in England. At the present time the London papers and the Irish Tory papers are united in double choruses of mendacity. There is the danger that the government will lose their heads and launch proclamations and revive those coercive statutes of which there was so much experience when Mr. Arthur Balfour was playing the part of a Cromwell *en bouffe*. At any rate, they have had their own way²² as to how they might choose to represent things; and in deference to their statements as to facts and the expression of their fears, extra police and even soldiers have been often quartered on crimeless districts at a great charge to the people. It has been the course ever since 1692, and we fear it will be the course for a long time to come.

There are practices of petty meanness of which we know, and these practices have very distinctly, though indirectly, contributed to the obtaining of the land purchase act. When a man encumbered to the hilt desired to obtain a loan he went to London—we are speaking of the later seventies; since then a loan could only be obtained from Jews. He learned the terms and had a valuer down to his property to recast the valuation with a view to raising the rent. On this fictitious rental there was a margin that would apparently sustain the loan. There was here lying, lying as well as dishonesty, and yet Mr. Justice Ross thinks only of these men, and not at all of the mortgagees, many of whom have received no interest, or only part of the interest, since 1879, when Judge Flanagan refused to sell as long as there was disturbance in the country on the score of rent.

²¹ We have all this in the Lord Primate Boulter's letters to the Duke of Newcastle, then head of the Imperial Government.

²² This has been always an excuse for raising rent above the valuation.

It is worth mentioning how the negotiation would proceed. The new rental was carefully prepared, the government valuation kept in the background, unless demanded, and was skillfully adjusted to bear inspection, for every one knew it was from twenty-five to thirty-three and one-third per cent. below the letting value of the tillage lands and one hundred per cent. in the case of grass lands. This was made firm by the production of the tenants' agreements to pay the increased rent—agreements signed under threats of eviction. It would be a curious subject to inquire to what extent these fictitious rents went to the swelling of arrears now found to be good debts under the purchase act, for they are included in the price to be paid, a brazen fraud on the taxpayers.

There is little more we need say. We think there is ground to suspect that the contrivance of the zones²³ was an expedient to secure excessive prices; that certain restrictions put on the purchase commissioners by secret and since suppressed rules of administration were intended to defeat the glowing prospect held out that the uneconomic holdings would be converted into farms, on which industrious men could live comfortably and bring up their families far above the sordid and degrading conditions of the past. A very effective amendment of the act can be accomplished without difficulty in the interest even of the imperial taxpayers. First, there can be a restraint put upon ejection in the case of holdings within the purview of the act of 1881 until the tenants' interest is in reality made a quasi partnership, so that its value can be ascertained as a lien on the landlord's interest. Before the passing of the purchase act the mortgagees were clamoring for payment. They naturally stayed their hand where they found a prospect of payment in full instead of in part. If artificial prices can no longer be obtained, they will insist, as they are entitled to insist, on sale of their security. The result will be that transactions will return to the status of the years before the purchase act, when tenants paid on an average half the purchase price they are paying now. This will relieve the strain on the whole social and industrial life of Ireland, and the work of the purchase commissioners will proceed with expedition.

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²³ When cases fell within the zones on a negotiation for purchase, the commissioners could not order inspection to ascertain value. A property which the Land Commissioners before the Purchase Act refused to consider a security for five years' purchase had to be passed by the Purchase Commissioners on a bargain for several times that number of years' purchase because the conditions of purchase brought it within the zones.

A CURIOUS HERESY.

IF THE importance of a document is to be measured by the volume of comment which it evokes, there have been few utterances of recent times of such world-wide interest as the encyclical "*Pascendi Dominici Gregis*." It is true that there has been discord in the tones of comment. The commentaries are not always in agreement with the encyclical or with one another. In press and magazine praise and censure jostle each other. There have been loud-ringing notes of condemnation. As usual, the empty vessels have been loudest in their denunciation and shrillest in their deafening clangor. The shallow school of thought, which, unfortunately, in this country constitutes almost the entire thought, has been sweeping in its pronouncements against the "reactionary," as it calls it, attitude of the Papacy. Even counter encyclicals have been brought into play in the blind onslaughts on a document which, in all probability, nine-tenths of the critics had never taken the pains to read, and of those who read, one-half has failed to understand. It is quite safe to say that outside the Church many pious and well-meaning people devoutly believe that the encyclical is nothing more or less than a Papal fulmination against all modern material progress. They see in the condemnation of "modernism"—if one can judge from their commentaries—a violent assault of Pius X. on all modern methods without distinction—against steam and electricity, against telegraph and telephone, against aeroplane and autocar, in a word, against all the useful and wonderful inventions of modern applied science and against all the material blessings which modern progress and modern invention have bestowed upon the world. Indeed, it is doubtful whether either the writers or the readers of the vulgar abuse heaped upon the document have yet discovered—or will ever discover—that the Papal encyclical "*Pascendi Dominici Gregis*" is a defense of Christian truths which should be as dear to the writers of these diatribes—if they are sincere in their Christian beliefs—as they are to the Pope himself.

In point of fact, the encyclical has been bitterly assailed in this country by two classes of Protestants. The traditional enemies of the Church, blinded by their old-time insane bigotry and prejudice and misled by the term "modernism," have, without stopping for further inquiry, rushed madly to the usual vulgar denunciation of the Church, forthwith proclaiming her for the millionth time the inveterate and irreclaimable foe of all progress and science. These constitute one class. There is, however, a consoling feature even here. It is that the volume of attack is, in this instance, less than

on former occasions. This fact alone shows that the thinking and intelligent portion of the Protestant world has grasped the true meaning of the encyclical; and evidence is not wanting that by many among them Pius X. is regarded as the God-given defender of Christianity and all its vital truths against the assaults of modern error.

The other portion of the Protestant world which has been bitter in its denunciations of the encyclical is that which has already surrendered itself completely to the witching charms of the modernistic philosophy. Modern scientific infidelity has eaten into Protestantism, even to the very core. The Christian element in many Protestant pulpits is but the shadow of a shade. The historian Lecky it was who long since called Protestantism the halfway house between Catholicity and infidelity. The average Protestant mind has to-day left the halfway house far in the rear, and while yet retaining the name of Protestant, is fast nearing the infidel goal. Men scoffed at Mrs. Humphrey Ward's hero, Robert Ellsmere, the callow mieksop, who at the mere manœuvring of the so-called learned squire completely capitulated to the "squire" before a single gun was fired. With David Crockett's coon he cried out: "Don't fire, Dave. I'll come down." It is now evident, however, that Mrs. Ward had accurately felt the pulse of Protestantism and that Ellsmere was but a type. We now have Ellsmeres by the thousand. The Protestant pulpit has surrendered without a single blow. The walls of the Protestant Jericho have tumbled at a mere shout from the scientific ranks. Instead of the saving truths of Christianity, many Protestant pulpits now emit a rank infidelity and even a pantheism which Spinoza need not have disdained.

In this country this class is unusually industrious. Its members are forever proclaiming their intellectual emancipation and their superiority to the rest of mankind. They imagine they are abreast of the scientific thought of the age. The fact is, they have mistaken noise for knowledge, braggadocio for truth and bravado for science, and they have become alarmed—even panic-stricken—to such an extent that they have rushed headlong at breakneck speed into the ranks of the unbelievers. They claim that the world has outgrown Christianity. They seek to establish religion on a new basis while still maintaining the outward form and organization. Needless to say, this class is loud in its denunciation of the encyclical. They had looked for a new religion which would be a sort of eclectic association of religion, science and socialism. Their new form of religion would be a sort of potpourri of modern science, advanced Protestantism and emancipated Catholicism, where the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man would be the chief corner-stone,

where each man would be his own moral law and where the chief architectonic features would be a Saviourless Christianity, a Godless Christ and an unknowable God. As these had been looking forward to a union with the modernistic element in the Catholic Church, the encyclical has dashed their hopes to pieces. It has recalled the ranks of Catholicism from a slight confusion to perfect order. It has been far-reaching as the bugle note to the stragglers in the army. The alignment in the Church is now as rigid as ever. The scientific knight-errants of Catholic thought are recalled to their senses. The alliance loses its most important feature—the hoped-for contingent from the Catholic ranks. Disappointment succeeds to hope. Naturally there is denunciation of the encyclical as the enemy of science, the foe of progress and the stronghold of ignorance and superstition.

There is, however, a solid and silent class outside the Church which has grasped the true meaning of the encyclical and which has recognized once more in the Papacy the mighty bulwark of Christianity, protecting it against the inroads, open or insidious, of infidelity, agnosticism and pantheism. Scholars with minds capable of grasping intellectual truth—as against those who are ever ready to take up the popular cry and shout with the multitude, being unable to penetrate deeper—have welcomed the encyclical as a purifying explosive which has cleared the atmosphere of Christianity of the noxious gases and poisonous exhalations which were injuring mental vision and fatal to Christian truth. To these the profound and scholarly range of the encyclical has been something of a revelation. It has shown to them the Church as once more the savior of the world, not only in the realm of faith, but in the region of intellectual thought as well.

Catholics have, of course, received the encyclical with joy and gratitude—nay, even with pride. It is at once a luminous exposition and a masterly refutation, and as such they welcome it. The authoritative voice has spoken, and they marvel only at the clearness and firmness of the note in such a surrounded babel of error and confusion. They are in admiration of the synthetic power which has crystallized so many volatile views and reduced the chaos of erroneous and desultory opinion to system and order. Indeed, the very reduction of the scattered errors to a unified system has of itself dealt a deathblow to the heresy; for it appears that the leaders of the movement have courted confusion and purposely and systematically avoided all arrangement and system, in order the more easily to escape observation and thus evade condemnation. For this reason, as well as for the profound and masterful refutation of the errors, the encyclical has been pronounced—and rightly so—one of the most

remarkable documents—perhaps the most remarkable document—that has ever been issued from the seat of infallible authority. Scholars are in admiration of the sureness and accuracy of its observation, the breadth and solidity of its knowledge, the depth of its philosophy and, wherever it pauses to reason, the forcefulness of its intellectuality. These things of themselves would constitute an extraordinary document, and the Catholic world would on these grounds alone receive it with pride and pleasure. But behind all this they recognize the words of the Vicar of Christ safeguarding the deposit of faith and keeping intact from all dross of error and corruption the purity of doctrine handed down by the Apostles. Hence there has been everywhere throughout the country a spontaneous uprising of leaders of Catholic thought to profess adherence to the Holy See and to thank it for this latest proof of its divine mission in its timely intervention to save the faith of Christ to the world. The Catholic press, too—what we have of it, and heaven knows that is meagre enough—has been a unit in its expression of reverent submission. And nowhere throughout the land has it been possible to detect a note of reluctance or sullenness in the submission. Indeed, the spontaneous expression of filial acceptance of the encyclical leaves little room for doubt that modernism had been far from obtaining anything like a firm foothold in the Church in the United States.

And yet there is, nevertheless, a feeling of relief that the voice of infallible authority has spoken. There is even a conviction that it has not spoken one moment too soon. There is little doubt that the foolish notions—for in this country it seems absurd to call them doctrines or even errors, so vague and shadowy have they been—were creeping in apace. The cockle had been oversown somehow among the wheat “when men were asleep.” It had not yet, however, taken very deep root. The presence of the new mode of thought was manifested occasionally by a strange form of expression in the pulpit, by a novel or startling phrase in a magazine, by an affectation of modernity in everything, even in religion. These things, however, were regarded as a mere weakness in the author—a concession to modern tendencies outside the Church—love of novelty or perhaps of singularity born of a harmless vanity. And, indeed, even from this our Catholic literature in the United States had been remarkably free.

The same could not be said, however, not only of all our Catholic literature, but even of all our English Catholic literature. The unpleasant conviction was at last beginning to force itself upon the mind that there was after all something behind the unique phraseology, which first seemed to be merely an imitation of the advanced

Protestant pulpit thought. One of the earliest instances of the new affectation appeared some years ago in an admirable work of meditations adapted from an earlier age by a distinguished prelate now gone to his reward. The modern weakness and seeking after strange gods was shown in the very preface of the work, which is otherwise incomparable in its matter, method and spirit. The reader was gravely informed that the author had in more than one instance broken away from the mediævalism of the original; that certain points in a particular meditation had been "derived from Max Nordau's *Degeneratio*;" that "certain ideas in the same treatise, and perhaps elsewhere, had been suggested by Mr. Benjamin Kidd's *Special Evolution*," and there was even the boast that "one has been taken, almost verbally, from Herbert Spencer." These things were all very well in their way, but their significance appeared on reference to the passages themselves, of which let one example suffice. For instance, in the meditation on prayer, after the author has told in most admirable terms that "this is one of the highest employments of the intelligence and the will of man," he immediately adds: "It (prayer) is specially distinctive of rational creatures; for although it prevails among the lowest races of men, there is no rudimentary form from which it *can* have been developed (*italics ours*), in even the highest race of animals; and it is most effective in keeping man from reverting in life and morals to the animal type." Other instances might be added from this work, which, aside from these slight disfigurements, is one of the most enjoyable works that has come from the Catholic press in a quarter of a century.

Occasionally, too, old-fashioned people were startled to find a staid magazine which for years, perhaps, had been a very Gibraltar of conservatism opening its pages to the ventilation of "modern" ideas. In them we were all severely lectured on the sin of conservatism. "Non-concessionism" was the unpardonable crime. "Progressive Catholicism" must have a clear field. And we were even gravely warned that "intolerant non-concessionism may prove responsible for crises in matters of faith."

Then, too, we had a Catholic novel dealing frankly with the subject, about which, perhaps, the less said the better. It is, however, worthy of observation that while it gratuitously ascribed a strange morality to the Roman Curia as a line of policy, and commended it highly for the attributed worldly wisdom in this respect, that in some quarters the work was hailed as a new gospel, that enthusiastic admirers should read their own ardent views into the opinions of the world at large, and that we should be gushingly informed that this work "of such profound and actual interest" had "been welcomed on all hands as a Catholic masterpiece."

Deeper, however, than gush and highwrought optimism of this nature the evil does not seem to have descended. The voice of authority was, therefore, all that was needed to cause the scales of delusion to fall from our eyes. *Roma locutua est*; and a cackle that was threatening to become noisy and slightly overbearing is hushed.

While here in the United States we are startled by the virulence of the errors and amazed at the sweeping infidelity and even pantheism of the doctrines as exposed by the Holy See, it appears that the matter is not wholly new in Europe. Neither does it seem to be a passing aberration of misguided enthusiasts. The error seems to be deeply seated and deeply rooted. It comes as an unpleasant surprise to us in this Western Continent, to find that there should be any class, or school, or number of men within the bosom of the Church, whether associated together by definite ties or not, who entertain views of Christianity utterly subversive of all Christian belief and order. And yet the encyclical tells us: "Once, indeed, we had hopes of recalling them to a better sense, and to this end we first of all showed them kindness as our children, then we treated them with severity, and at last we have had recourse, though with great reluctance, to public reproof. . . . They bowed their head for a moment, but it was soon uplifted more arrogantly than ever." The Holy See might even then have overlooked the matter, as the encyclical informs us, "but the security of the Catholic name is at stake." "As to maintain" silence "longer would be a crime," the encyclical depicts these men "in their true colors, and their evil disguise is unmasked." Nay, the encyclical informs us that such are "their tenets, their manner of speech, their conduct" that no one will "err in accounting them the most pernicious of all the adversaries of the Church." "They lay the axe not to the branches and shoots, but to the very root; that is, to the faith and its deepest fibres." "There is no part of Catholic truth from which they hold their hand, none they do not strive to corrupt." Nay, what is more, "none is more skillful, none more astute than they in the employment of a thousand noxious art; for they double the parts of rationalist and Catholic, and this so craftily that they easily lead the unwary into error." Again, we learn that "audacity is their chief characteristic," and that consequently "there is no conclusion of any kind from which they shrink or which they do not thrust forward with pertinacity and assurance." What "destroys all hope of cure," moreover, is that "they disdain all authority and brook no restraint."

This is an appalling arraignment, and we do not see that it is not only the interest, but the Christian duty of Catholics to take a firm stand in the exposure and censure of their errors. No Catholic worthy of the name can look on with indifference. Everything that

the Christian holds dear is, it appears, gravely challenged. Our most earnest and sacred beliefs, our most ardent Christian hopes, our most cherished religious and devotional institutions—the whole divine economy of the Christian faith—is at one stroke obliterated, and man is again rudderless on the ocean of life. It is, indeed, startling to be told by an authority which there is no questioning that there are men within the bosom of the Church—and who, strange to say, wish to stay there—who would persuade us that Christ was but a mere man, who deny His resurrection, who would obliterate from the world all supernatural dealing of God with His creatures, who would exclude all revelation and all miracle, who at a single stroke would wipe out all the sacred parables and divine teachings of Jesus Christ, all the dogmatic teachings of the Church, all the sacraments, all supernaturalism, and who would degrade religion to the rank of handmaid to a blundering science—men who will tell us there has been no external revelation from God to man; that not even from the things that are seen can we conclude the existence of God; that all religion is born of a sentiment inherent in man; that solely by the evolution of this sentiment—as the tree is developed from the seed—has there been a growth of religion; that all the religious phenomena to be met with in the world's history means nothing more than the development of this sentiment; that consequently all religions are equally true; that the wild vagaries of the human mind that have been palmed on deluded disciples as direct from heaven—everything from the excesses of the Lollards to Mormonism and Mrs. Eddy—have been equally true with the teachings and virtues of Christianity; that all have fulfilled their own legitimate and useful part in the development and evolution of society in general and of religion in particular, and consequently we suppose that they were the best religion for the time—as the evolutionists have it—being simply links in the chain of development.

This is indeed strange Catholic doctrine. God is unknowable. Revelation is impossible. Miracles are unphilosophical. Christ was a mere man. He died and His body rotted in a pit like that of other men. And still the expounders of these theories wish to stay in the Catholic Church and maintain their preposterous speculations. What wonder that the world should be startled! What wonder that in this country, where we have had no such vagaries broached, the news should come as a genuine surprise and should be received with commingled pity and indignation.

And what is the cause of all this commotion and new religious enlightenment? Has there been a new revelation? No. Has there been a disproof of the revelation which we have? No. Has there been a disproof of all the doctrines and tenets of Christianity? No.

Has there been a disproof of even one of these doctrines? No. It is not claimed that there has been. Has there been any invention or discovery which has discredited our Christian beliefs? Again no. But the encyclical leaves no room for doubt about the reason. We are asked to cast aside the whole Christian teaching and to overturn the whole Christian fabric simply, it appears, because there are men who want to be in the forefront of a shouting, braying, shallow age. Thus for the first time in the Church's history do we find men calling themselves Catholics who have undertaken to blot out the name of Jesus Christ as the Son of God in the true meaning of the term, who mingle blasphemy, heresy and piety in equal proportions, and who would take away the sign of man's salvation and redemption; for if Christ be not God, as they would persuade us, what meaning can be attached to His life or to His Cross?

It would, we think, be difficult to find in all human experience psychological phenomena of so extraordinary a character as the frame of mind indicated by the position of the modernist as exposed in the encyclical. The logical absurdity of their attitude as fighting for the retention of Christianity while they are making war on everything that makes Christianity valuable is without a parallel in the history of human aberrations. Christianity is false, they assure us. Its teachings are absurd. There never was any such thing as a revealed doctrine to mankind. There has been no supernatural foundation whatever on which to build the Christian edifice. And yet the Christian edifice, founded upon a lie, must be retained at all hazards and at any cost. Again, Christ announced that He was the Messiah—the true Son of God—all falsehoods in the eyes of the modernists. Consequently, according to them, the Saviour of mankind was the rankest and most daring impostor, if we can use the words without blasphemy. And yet Christ is one of the features to which the modernist must cling with the most unyielding tenacity. His personality must have and hold all its old-time power to sway the mind and captivate the will of men.

As a mere psychological problem, it would be difficult to give anything like a rational solution of such a preposterous attitude. But viewed from the historical standpoint, it admits, we think, of an easy solution, though, to be sure, the intellectual absurdity of the position remains the same as ever. The encyclical tells us that of "the intellectual causes of modernism . . . the chief one is ignorance." To those who have followed closely the various movements in modern science and modern philosophy for the past quarter of a century or more this ignorance would seem to be combined with fear and anticipation. There is, we think, hardly any doubt that the present movement is the legitimate offspring of recent follies in

science, philosophy and Biblical interpretation. It would seem to be the joint product of three separate and distinct factors—viz.: what is called the agnostic philosophy—the Darwinian theory of evolution—and the Tübingen school of hermeneutics, or, more properly speaking, of the so-called higher criticism which has superseded the school of Strauss and Baur. To this coalition the modernist seems to have completely and incontinently surrendered his Christian faith. The careful and rigid exclusion of the divine in human history, of the supernatural in Christianity and of the superhuman in Christ seems to have been a broad concession to the folly of agnosticism. The fantastic theories in their Scriptural interpretations and the rules adopted for the explanation of the divine in human affairs seem to be but mere modifications of Strauss and Baur or even of Renan, applied according to the personal fancy of the hermeneutist. And, lastly, fear that the Darwinian speculation regarding man's origin might finally prove true, would seem to have been the primary cause of the movement. Even in the elaboration of their strange theories they seem to have followed, or perhaps borrowed, the method of the evolutionist in his application of his theory to phenomena generally.

Indeed, there seems to be nothing original even in the modernist's mistakes. The systems of development, the methods and processes of theoretical application, the very notions themselves seem to be borrowed wholly from the principles and methods of the evolutionist. Even the theory of immanence seems to be but an adaptation of Max Müller's views in his "Origin and Growth of Religion," in which he undertook to "show how religion arose with the pressure of the Infinite upon the Finite suspect, and how all religious systems are not progressive phases of the endeavor to give a rational expression a sensible and intelligible garb to what is super-sensible, transcendental and irrational in that consciousness of the Infinite which every sensible perception forces on us." It had grown to be the custom, within the past couple of decades, to explain everything according to the idea of evolution and to apply that principle in its workings to the development of all phenomena. The late Herbert Spencer had undertaken to apply the theory not only to the organic and inorganic world, but to all classes of phenomena, whether material, mental, moral, social, political, historical or religious, and had actually made application of it, such as it was, to some of these departments of knowledge. The world to-day has its own views about the value of these labors. Spencer himself seemed to have grasped the notion of their folly and absurdity before he left them forever. In spite of this, however, the modernist, all unconscious of the folly of the evolutionist's work in this department, seems to have

taken up the duty of applying the theory of evolution in the realm of religion, thus continuing the work of Spencer and showing the development of Christianity in accordance with the evolutionist theory. The task of the modernist seems to have been simply an attempt to fit the Church into the modern theories of the universe, especially to make the Catholic religion the outcome of the theory of evolution and even a part of the process itself. The Catholic Church would thus, so far from being at variance with the Darwinian theory, be in itself an exemplification, and even a proof, of that theory. Religious phenomena had developed—like all other phenomena—according to the natural law of evolution. Thus the Catholic Church was proof of the Darwinian theory. The lion of natural science and the lamb of religion could after all lie down peaceably and amicably together under the dexterous manipulation of the modernist.

But there was more even than the work of exemplifying the workings of a great natural principle in this skillful manipulation. There was the task of saving the Church. For the first time in her history—in the opinion of the modernist—the indestructible Church stood in actual danger of total destruction, and the modernist alone seemed to comprehend the danger. These men, wiser than their generation, with a keenness of perception greater than that of their fellow-men, realized the awful peril of the situation. They beheld—or seemed to behold—science (modern science), with all its inventions, discoveries, incontrovertible facts and marvels of every kind, to say nothing whatever of its numberless hypotheses and theories, rushing with irresistible force against the Catholic Church. They beheld leagued with science the now powerful forces of agnosticism and the higher criticism. They had seen how all other forms of Christianity had gone down before the fearful coalition. They took all the vaporings of science for granted. All its empty boasts were for them established facts. They imagined they saw the whole mountain mass of modern science threatening, bearing down upon the Church, carrying with it inevitable, overwhelming destruction. They alone seemed to perceive the danger. They foresaw the inevitable doom of Catholicity unless something was done. They resolved at once to do what they could to save Catholicity, and they flung themselves unhesitatingly into the breach to rescue the Church from the disastrous fate which had already overtaken all other religions. They beheld the storm threatening, gathering wrath and fury as it came, and they resolved to do what in them lay to avert the impending destruction.

It must, however, have been an anxious moment as they stood for the instant aghast with horror. Were all the glories of the

Christian Church to be obliterated in a twinkling? Was that wondrous power in Christianity that had leavened and fashioned human society and moulded and kneaded the masses of humanity into Christian civilization and refinement to go for nought at last? Must that marvelous organization of the ages—the Church itself—the pride, the admiration, the wonder, the glory of the Christian world—must it, too, pass? Had all its so-called truths no meaning after all? Was even Christ Himself to be a failure—to pass the way of other men? So marvelous an entity, so glorious an organization as the Church—could it not be saved? Such a splendid personality as that of Christ—must that, too, go? Surely in the world's history we meet with but too few personalities such as that of the Nazarene—could not so lofty an ideal be preserved to humanity? If not for the Godlike, at least for the manlike. Surely such potent factors in the history and development of human society as had been Christ and His Church should not be surrendered without a supreme effort. They had loomed up so in the history of all human phenomena and had towered so loftily above all other human organizations and personalities, their influence had so dominated all history since their appearance in the world, nay, before—were it not a thousand pities to permit them to be lost to the world in the universal wreck and ruin of things religious? Could not their power, influence, character be rescued from the universal disaster of all things? So unequaled a prestige, so benign an influence—surely they must be preserved to the world at any cost. And then, too, why instead of warfare should the Church not sue for peace? Even if religion were to make sacrifice and admit a compromise? To be sure she must not sacrifice everything. And then why should the Church be ever and always regarded as the sworn enemy of science? How glorious if we could only join hands in all the vagaries of modern folly! What even if they are vagaries? See the tremendous advantage that would accrue to the Church from a slight concession—and then, too, disaster otherwise awaited her. Could not a compromise be made by the Church with the higher criticism, the agnostic philosophy and the leading (but unproven, it is true) hypothesis of modern science? Surely it were madness not to make for peace. Could there not be discovered a *via media* where all should meet in harmony and friendship and ploughshares and pruning hooks should supersede the sword and the spear? Surely such an enterprise were worthy of all their powers.

Accordingly they cast about for the means of salvation for both Christ and His Church. One thought seems to have predominated in all their search after the means. In the coming change which was inevitable, could not the Church be so revolutionized that it

could fall naturally into its place among scientific institutions and thus put an end to the conflict forever? Could it not be made to fit in with the new theories of the universe, the new modes of thought, the new and advancing sciences? Could it not be made to exemplify in its own existence the truth of the survival of the fittest, and at the same time retain all its former power for good amongst mankind? It was, indeed, a bold thought—a desperate resolve. But what if once made and carried to successful completion, the Church should by such an arrangement be successfully placed beyond all reach of harm for all future time, and its entire lustrous history, its dogmas, its authority, its institutions, its sacraments, its faith, its supernaturalism, nay, its very Founder—all be placed henceforth and forever beyond all reach of danger? Here, indeed, was a task worthy of the powers of such men as they—a work destined to ensure the gratitude of all future time. At all events, one thing was certain—unless some exertion was made, and that quickly, the Catholic Church must pass with all else. Its glory, its grandeur, its splendid prestige, its marvelous history, its golden beliefs, its sublime ideals, its unexampled morality, its magnificent promises all must pass the way of all things that stood in the path of the mighty tidal wave of modern science, philosophy and hermeneutics which was sweeping in its course of destruction to all conservatism of ancient beliefs. As they alone perceived the danger, so they alone could be depended upon to avert it. And with a zeal that was praiseworthy and deserving of a better cause, they set to work to stem the awful advancing tide of destruction and death.

To the modernist there was but one remedy—the old faith must be remodeled. Catholicity must be reconstructed on a new basis. The exigencies of the case demand that the work be done in the fuller light of science, and, what is more, that faith itself must be put upon a scientific basis.

And they were not wholly without precedent here. It was but a short time since morals were precisely in the same danger that now confronted faith. At least so thought the late Herbert Spencer. They had been unfastened from their moorings of religion by another such tidal wave of science. Was morality therefore to be lost to the world? "Few things more disastrous" to mankind could occur than the destruction of morals, total and absolute. Heaven knows what might have happened to morality had not the late Herbert Spencer been prescient enough to foresee the danger and inventive enough to prepare the remedy. Few things in the world's history are more imposing in their colossal dimensions than the task which Spencer undertook—viz., to lift the entire edifice of morality from its tottering religious foundations and place them securely on new scientific

foundations prepared by himself with extraordinary labor and exertion. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the world has ever fully appreciated or realized the gigantic labors that Spencer spontaneously undertook in its behalf. That extraordinary enterprise is now paralleled by the work of the modernists. Danger threatened the ancient edifice of Christianity. The old Catholic Church, founded on a rock though she was, found that the rock itself was swaying beneath her. The only remedy, as the modernist perceived it, was to lift the entire edifice of faith and Catholic belief from the old foundations, now so insecure, and place it on the new sure foundations of science specially constructed for it by men providentially sent for the purpose. With the noble example of Spencer before their eyes, the task was easy. Indeed, not only in the particular work of shifting morality from the foundations of religion to those of science, they could copy him and did copy him. In the execution of the work they found that they were merely effecting an extension of his labors, and were, as has been seen, applying to religion the principles of development which he had traced out in so many other departments of phenomena. It might have been a mere overweening vanity. It might have been a colossal egotism. It might have been a still more colossal ignorance. But one thing seems certain—viz., that the modernists at the outset were sincere in their endeavors and were wrapped up in a sort of a poetico-religious enthusiasm in their self-appointed task of saving Catholicity. But certainly there was a striking parallel between their Quixotic endeavor and the absurd labors of Herbert Spencer in building his scientific ethical foundations. The gigantic undertaking of shifting the magnificent edifice of Christianity from the unsafe and outworn foundations of Jewish history to the surer concrete of modern science too closely resembles the Herculean labors of Spencer both in its conception and in its ridiculous, absurd and impossible feat, not to have been inspired by and to some extent modeled on it. They saw—or thought they saw—better than the rest of men where the danger lay, and they were satisfied that only they were competent to discover and apply a remedy.

That this is the true state of the case there can be little doubt. Only the other day the English leader of the movement publicly upbraided Pius X. with his blindness and stupidity in not yet realizing the true condition of affairs or in failing to see where lay the danger and where the remedy.

Their real intent and object seems to have been to preserve Catholic Christianity to the world. They perceive its necessity for society, for the individual. Their stupendous labors, with all the included blunders and follies, seem to be a more or less ingenious

attempt to retain and preserve the Catholic Church for mankind. Indeed, adaptationists would seem to be the proper term to apply to them in this view of their work; for all their efforts would seem to lie in the direction of an adaptation of the Church's organism, its machinery, its discipline, its supernatural influences and effects to modern conditions as they regard them. They would apply its supernatural powers naturally. They would retain all the light and heat of the sun with all its marvelous effects, while discarding the sun itself. It is, it is true, like an attempt to produce all the results of sunlight by means of moonlight. It is folly, of course, folly of the supreme kind, but having seen it attempted in other departments of phenomena in accordance with the supposed processes of evolution, the modernist would apply the same methods and processes to revelation and religion. These must be revised in the light of our twentieth century knowledge, rearranged and made to fit into their places in our modern development. One thing is certain, however, they must not abandon Catholicity. Catholicity is far too valuable to be lost to the world. Moreover, no other religion can take its place or fulfill its mission. No other is so adapted to the needs and wants of humanity. All that is necessary is that it should be adjusted to its new scientific environment.

That their intentions have been the very best—if the veriest absurdities—seems to be certain. It was in no rebellious spirit that they set about their self-imposed task. They were going to use the mighty engines of science for the use of the Church and enlist all modern science in the Church's behalf. Here are the words of one of their most ardent admirers on this point: "Notwithstanding the fears of their co-religionists, the progressives are convinced of the necessity of employing for the Church's use these (new) sciences." The hopes of their admirers—to say nothing of themselves—seem to have been even rose-colored. "Whether," we read, "their views will ultimately prevail or not cannot be prophesied, but it is hardly going beyond our present data to say that they are daily gaining recruits, and that the time seems to be drawing near when they or theirs shall have some share in the official direction of the Church." We were further told that "accordingly, these Catholics, entirely single-minded and high-souled, have set themselves the noble though risky task of capturing the enemy's arsenals for the defense and protection of the Church." Noble words! For a still more noble work! Eheu! If these "high-souled and single-minded" Catholics had only not permitted the enemy to capture them so completely and utterly. But every one who reads the glowing eulogy above and happens to bethink him of the strange *denouement* will doubtless be forcibly reminded of the Scotch soldier who called to his captain

from the thicket with the important news that he had captured a prisoner, and on being told by his superior officer to bring the "prisoner" forward, was forced to the ignominious confession: "Aye! aye! mon, but he will nae let me." This seems to be the nature of the capture of the enemy's arsenals accomplished by the modernists.

The glaring absurdities of the situation seem to have never been perceived by the modernists. It never seems to have occurred to them that if the Church was not true she was not worth saving; that if she had failed at all or was in any danger of failing she could not be the true Church of God. "Why are you fearful, oh, ye of little faith?" never seems to have entered into their philosophy at all. On the one hand they seemed to think they could do a lasting service to a Church which they admitted could not be destroyed by saving it from destruction, and on the other that they could confer an inestimable favor on the law of evolution, which they admitted to be inexorable, by applying it to a class of phenomena which, it was inevitable, must be guided by it in any case. It was, indeed, something—was it not?—to point out to an infallible Church a course by which she could not fail, and at the same time so to direct an unerring law of nature that its force and efficacy could not be frustrated or itself miss its certain goal. Their zeal seems to have been a strange admixture of religious poetry and childish simplicity. In their ardent desire to be of use in the movement of things they cheerfully volunteered to determine the course of a predetermined agent and to guide the footsteps of a divinely infallible guide. To usurp the place of what they conceived to be a natural law, or to arrogate to themselves the functions of the Holy Spirit in the divine guidance of the Church is somewhat startling conduct in men who are said, before all things, to boast of their surpassing intellectuality.

Then, too, they seem to forget that it has not been the Church's custom to remodel her beliefs to suit the epoch or to adapt them to the changing follies of the times; nay, that, on the contrary, her proudest boast is that she has remained unchanged in the midst of a constantly changing world; indeed, that her immutability is bound up in and inseparable from her indestructible vitality. They seem to overlook the important fact that if you change the essence of a religion, you have no longer the same religion, but a new one, and that when you expunge from a creed all that is vital you may indeed make a new creed, but you have the old one no longer. Nor do they seem to show a very precious regard for the nature of truth when they imply that a thing may be true to-day and false to-morrow, and *vice versa*.

One thing, however, before all they never seem to have lost sight

of and never seem to be able to relinquish—viz., that the Catholic Church is best adapted for life in the new order of things as she also was in the old. It only needs to be remodeled according to the modernist's ideas to enter upon a new epoch of usefulness. Their changes effected, the Church will fit perfectly into its place in the new scientific dispensation. This plasticity and adaptability to new situations, which seems to be destined to take the place of her old-time immutability, the modernists evidently regard as the new view of the indestructibility of the Church.

Their attitude here would seem to throw some light on what is to many a perplexing and to some an incomprehensible feature—viz., the preposterous and absurd determination, *aut fas aut nefas*, to remain within the Church. Indeed, the whole movement seems to possess a *naivete* entirely new in heresiarchs and points on the one hand to a childish fear of science which it does not comprehend and which it has evidently magnified into an irresistible and overwhelming power whose approach is inevitable, and on the other points to a refreshing confidence in their own ability to avert the catastrophe which must inevitably come unless they (who understand the danger and can apply the remedy) bestir themselves into intense activity. Preposterous and ridiculous as are now their self-complacent assumption of authority, it was—at first, at least—far from being a mere affectation or pretension. They were before all dreadfully in earnest. They seem to have regarded themselves as called upon to do what in them lay to save the Church. It was in the hope doubtless of saving a remnant of Israel that they started on their career of apologists, heremeutists, theologians and philosophers—a hope, alas! which has ended so lamentably.

How lamentable, even from an intellectual standpoint, is seen from the religion which the encyclical points out as theirs. The adapted Catholicity which they would give us is a mere religious scarecrow. Catholicity togged out in the garments of evolution, agnosticism and the higher criticism is a spectacle to witness. They would give us precisely what Protestantism has been giving its followers for religion ever since it surrendered its faith in Christian truths. The skeleton of the old form is indeed there, but its carcass is fearful to behold. The organization they would retain, but robbed of all that was desirable, its outline is ghastliness itself. The edifice they would save, but its interior structure is as though a conflagration had passed through it, or as though the structure had been convulsed in the throes of a Calabrian earthquake. It is Protestantism diluted by science into a crude rationalism. It is rampant Unitarianism substituted for Catholicity. It is agnosticism and false science as expounders of the Sacred Scriptures and the source and inspiration of

Christianity. It deals with the divine personality of Christ as advanced Protestantism has already dealt with it. "The full, rich, glorious Christ of Catholic Christianity has been dragged from His throne by these 'advanced' thinkers (God save the mark!) and reduced to beggary. A pale, bloodless, emaciated Syrian Ghost, He still dimly haunts the icy corridors of this twentieth century Protestantism, from which the doom of His final expulsion has been already spoken." These words of a Protestant clergyman, depicting the awful situation in the Protestant world, aptly describes what the modernist would place on the altars of Catholicity. This is what the modernist would give to the Church, as he found himself swayed by the double emotions of fear and vanity. For no character of rebellion, no uprising against authority, no heretical opinions, at first led them onward. The greatest reproach at the outset might be, "Why are your fearful, oh, ye of little faith?" Indeed, at first they must have regarded their action as not only praiseworthy, but absolutely necessary. However absurd, ridiculous, illogical or misguided it may have been, the movement at the outset seems to have been at least well-intentioned. Their colossal vanity seemed to point out to them a colossal duty and to impose upon them a colossal task. They saw—or thought they saw—better than the rest of men where the danger lay, and they imagined that they—not the divinely appointed pilot—were specially called, now that the Church was upon the rocks, to guide it to the port in safety, since they alone knew precisely the rocks and shoals that lay beneath the surface of the angry waters. Accordingly they take out of the hands of the properly constituted authority the task of successful guidance. The legitimate pilot sees the danger, snatches the helm from their silly grasp in the nick of time. The bark is saved; they are wrecked.

It is another instance where men who believed themselves wiser than the rest of the world fall into the most obvious errors and make the commonest blunders. The modern "reign of terror," as it has been appropriately styled, seems to have completely hypnotized these men—Loisy falling an easy prey to the vagaries of the higher criticism and Tyrrell the victim of the Darwinian theory. How peculiarly dangerous to weak heads is the modern effervescence of scientific and philosophic theories can be learned when we see these men so intellectually blinded by them that they even sink into that slough of all philosophy—agnosticism—and this, too, without seeming to perceive that in so doing they have reached the lowest point of intellectual degeneracy. The Catholic world stood amazed when it beheld Protestantism yielding without striking a single blow in the guerilla warfare which a barbarous science has been waging on Christianity and in which it thought to completely extinguish it; but

it never for a moment dreamt that men could be found within the bosom of the Church itself so timid in faith, so unversed in the wiles and tactics of modern sophistry, so shallowly grounded in sound philosophy as to seriously entertain for a moment the thought of accepting the impudent and ignorant strictures and arbitrary limitations which philosophical outlaws like the agnostic bandits have attempted to place upon the supernatural.

Absurd and childish as has been the entire movement in its conception, inception and development, it is safe to say that the world has not yet heard the last of modernism. While the sources of the errors remain they are sure to poison thought. It was the boast of the late Professor Huxley that the ferment in modern scientific theories was fast "whirling featherheads into all sorts of eccentric orbits." Even so, who would ever have dreamt of the eccentricities of modernism? And who can forecast what further eccentricities in science, philosophy and religion the future may bring? Startling as are the strange vagaries of intellect as revealed in modernism, there may be more still in store for us while the aberrations in philosophy and science dominate thought. And it is the Church which must meet and combat each new error.

The Catholic Church now stands absolutely alone in her conflict with modern error. She it is that, without reinforcement of any kind, must take the field and drive out the intellectual marauders from the regions of science and philosophy and restrain their pillage in the realm of religion. Once, indeed, Protestantism stood as a mighty breakwater between the Catholic Church and the waves of infidelity. The last vestige of that breakwater has, however, now disappeared, submerged completely far below low-water mark. The Catholic Church now stands foursquare to the full brunt of the storm and must meet the full fury of the waves. She is divine. She is infallible. She is indefectible. She can and will meet it, even as she has met modernism. But her children—her scientists, her philosophers, her hermeneutists—should spare her the pain of direct encounter and the shock of dealing her deadly blows. And here comes the question, what have her soldiers been doing in the case of modernism? Evidently they were quietly sleeping at their posts, and no one perceived the danger until the conflict was over and the death-bearing bolts had passed. The danger was unseen of all except the great sentinel on the watch-tower. The soldiers knew of the danger only when the general had come down and already scattered the forces of the enemy. Now, at least, the soldiers should gird themselves for future conflict. There remain with us still a false science, a pernicious school of hermeneutics and the grotesque philosophy of agnosticism, with all its arrogant and

aggressive stupidity. Until the field is completely cleared of these noisy and mischievous elements men will not be permitted to be at peace.

It is true that the world had already begun to estimate the noisy, blatant school of science and philosophy of the last generation at their proper value. In the perspective men had begun to recover their mental vision and were beginning to see through the tricks of the soothsayers of speculative science. They have begun to judge according to the Baconian principle, and on taking inventory of the "fruits" they find them to be very meagre indeed. The sober-minded, thoughtful portion of mankind that does not rest satisfied with the surface foam, but goes to the bottom of things, is fast coming to the conclusion that they mistook noise for knowledge. self-laudation for learning and assertion for truth. The present generation has been settling down to the sober conviction that Huxley was a mere clever scientific fakir, Spencer a philosophical mountebank and Darwin a hypothesizing bore. As philosophers and speculatists the school has been the shallowest of modern times. But the baleful legacy of their errors remains with us, and no one need be surprised to see a renaissance of the entire speculation. Nor would it be surprising to find the baffled modernist, thwarted in his attempt to betray religion into the hands of the agnostic and the Darwinian, attempting to revive, as far as in him lies, the agitation of hypotheses and theories which were dying a natural death.

It is only by a thorough exposure of the utter groundlessness of modern scientific speculations that the world can ever hope to be rid of the shallow school and its blighting results. We seem to stand in need of trained scientists who have learning, insight and courage. We need men who are not swayed by the popular clamor or the verdict of mere scientific plebiscites. Two things are needed in the modern Catholic scientist—keen and accurate perception of truth, which will safeguard him against all imposition of a noisy charlatanry and the syren blandishments of modernity and progress, and then moral courage to stand firm and immovable in the face of loud, assertive and aggressive pretension. So far there have been but few that have not been carried off their feet. Since the days of Orestes A. Brownson we have had no champion of truth in the English-speaking world. We now need just such another. With all his faults and shortcomings in philosophy, no man saw more clearly the errors of other schools, whether in science or philosophy, and no man more mercilessly exposed the shortcomings and false pretensions of the shallow men, whom it has since Brownson's day become the fashion to worship. Whatever the errors in his own philosophy, he never failed to pierce with the lancet of his criticism

the weak points in modern errors. What is needed now especially is an uncompromising champion of truth like Brownson, who will like him rout the school of sophists and so-called scientists who shelter themselves under the name of modern speculative science.

In the field of hermeneutics the magisterium ecclesiae is, of course, the rule, norm and guide. The Protestant principle of private judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures seems, in our day, to have taken on a new meaning and to have been adopted by Catholics of a certain school. They do not seem to impugn the meaning attached to particular texts so much, but they arrogate to themselves the privilege of pronouncing on the fact of inspiration. Indeed, like the non-Catholic school of critics, they treat the Scriptures as purely human documents, and thus claim the right to deal with them as they will. This intellectual age, we are told, must not be fettered with the ignorant prejudices which have clung to the sacred books through the ages. Thus each Biblicist not only interprets for himself the sacred books, but accepts as sacred as much or as little of them as he pleases. Accordingly, we have as many fanciful theories about the sacred text, especially about the sacred personality and words and acts of Christ, as we have modern readers. Each man makes his own Scripture and fashions his own Christ to please his fancy. We are living in such an advanced, scientific, intellectual, enlightened age that we cannot be expected to have patience with an uncritical age and an unscientific or rather pre-scientific era. This is not the place to deal with this sort of folly. All that need be said to show its absurdity is that all the higher flights of intellectuality were reached long before the period so slightly spoken of by the smatterers of our day. The sphericity of the globe and its meters belong, indeed, to our day. So does the law of gravitation and the New Organem. But all of them—even Bacon's discovery—differ not only in degree, but in kind from the wonderful products of human genius which gave to mankind the mathematical sciences and the syllogism, to say nothing of the alphabet or the particular science of numbers or the speculations of the ancient philosophers regarding the origin of things, the nature of matter, on which even our day has made but little advance. And these we received not in lame or halting condition, but perfected and completed instruments ready for use at all future time. Imagine our intellectual (?) age giving us such perfect instruments of knowledge. But to imagine it is to imagine the impossible. It is safe to say that had the world depended on our epoch for wonderful instruments of the intellect as necessary for us as our hands and feet and eyes and ears, and whose value and importance we are accustomed to forget, like those of the latter also, the world would never have come into the possession or enjoyment of them.

And yet we must now question all things as though we for the first time had shown the world what intellect means, whereas, the fact is that the stature of the human intellect in its features of pure intellectuality seems to be shrinking as time advances.

But with a nonchalant air of admitted superiority, the modernist seems to push aside unceremoniously all the ages that have intervened since the dawn of Christianity, and after a period of well-nigh two thousand years deals with facts and personages and events as if they occurred yesterday and no one had ever dealt with them before. The world had been all this while in possession of a rare casket whose value it was reserved specially for the present age to accurately determine. And, worst of all, the only key to its determination seems to be simply their own fancy, while the world must accept as gospel their mere *ipse dixit*. The fact, however, is that, in spite of its boasts and pretensions, if we should deduct from the intellectual forces of modern times, especially of the last half century, the minds that have applied themselves solely to the practical sciences, we would find that the residue leaves us nothing but the crudest intellectual plans which the world has yet witnessed. We need hardly wonder, then, that when we come to the field of hermeneutics we meet with all sorts of strange conclusions and perversions of truth. We encounter the wildest and most fanciful theories as interpretations of Holy Scripture, and, worst of all, these theories resting on no foundation deeper than the imagination of the theorist. And shallow minds take to coddling and adulation of the silly theorist, where reprimand and rebuke would be the proper remedy for the unwarranted presumption. What can be more absurd than the notion that the twentieth century is in a better position to pass judgment on the surroundings, circumstances, origin and meaning of the words of Christ and His Apostles than any preceding age? Yet, like the advanced Protestant world, so assured are the modernists of this that they do not hesitate to put the critic's imagination in the place of the magisterium ecclesiae and the Protestant principle of private judgment in the chair of the ecclesia docens.

This perversion of all order as well as of intellect seems to have resulted from the broad concessions made to the agnostic philosophy. The real problem with the modernist seems to have been how to admit the agnostic position and in the face of this admission retain Christianity. Their attempt to solve this insoluble problem seems to have involved the modernist in all his strange entanglements. How retain faith in the unknowable? How preserve Christianity to mankind when the entire Christian system was placed by modern philosophy outside the boundaries of knowledge? This was the

problem which seems to have confronted these excellent men. And, strange to say, instead of undertaking the simple task of demonstrating the absurdity of the agnostic position from a philosophic as well as from religious standpoint, they seemed to have accepted the agnostic terms. That men who have any claims or pretensions to philosophy should consider seriously the acceptance of so preposterous an absurdity, which even Frederick Harrison exposed so easily, is difficult to understand. That they should surrender to agnosticism so far as to undertake to make terms with it is incomprehensible in any other view than that they were overawed by the name of Kant. Kant, it is true, never heard of agnosticism. It is even taking an unfair advantage of Kant to invoke his name as one of its special patrons. The placing of the Kantian metaphysics as the corner-stone of the agnostic edifice and the placing of the entire system of philosophic exclusion under the ægis of Kant's name was a result of which the Königsberg philosopher never dreamed. It is true, indeed, that the only logical feature of agnosticism is its claim that it is derived from Kant's principles. But doubtless Kant, were he living to-day, would as vehemently reject agnosticism as he labored to counteract the effect of his own principles during his lifetime. The agnostics know the value of a name, and they have not hesitated to invoke Kant's in season and out of season, and it is doubtless the prestige of his name that induced the modernist to make concessions to the philosophy of exclusion. It is for this reason, as well as for the reason that agnosticism is logically traceable directly to the Kantian principles that the real refutation of agnosticism involves a refutation of the Kantian doctrines. The mere routing of Lang and Huxley and Spencer will not suffice. Lang would doubtless repudiate the notion that he was a philosopher in any true sense of the term. Huxley knew less—far less—even about philosophy than he knew about science, and the extent of his possessions there we can gather from the fact that when the world begins to take inventory and make appraisal of the scientific estate which he has bequeathed to it, the entire sum of knowledge by which it will find itself enriched will be some rose-colored rhetoric on the blessings of science and some fire-colored rhetoric on the evils of religion. Spencer repudiated Kant with disdain and even spurned the compliment that his thoughts ran along the same groove as that of the German philosopher. He gave us the philosophy of agnosticism and with Lang, Huxley and others gave us the name and the thing; but as his philosophy implied that we could never know anything until we first knew something—which was rather a hard saying—the later agnostic wisely rejects the whole school of founders of the doctrine and falls back on the more substantial

authority of Kant. The agnostic of to-day is keen enough to perceive the shallowness of the founders and have grown ashamed of appealing to such patrons. Consequently, in order to give the cult importance and dignity it has been the fashion of late years to appeal to Kant as the father and founder of agnosticism. Little did Kant dream that he was opening the door to a train of evils compared with which the idealism of Berkeley and the skepticism of Hume, both of which metaphysical doctrines were intended at least to refute sound reasoning and solid philosophy. That he refuted Berkeley is not very clear. That he maintained the principle of causality so staunchly and valiantly in a refutation of Hume seems to some to atone for the manner of its maintenance. If it rests on no surer basis than the deduction of his other categories, the intention will hardly cancel the false principle. The refutation of Kant is yet to be written, and it is one of the imperative works of our time. Since Max Müller's translation of the Critique of pure reason—over a quarter of a century ago—the philosophy of Kant has been steadily gaining ground even with English-speaking peoples. It is now the Lingua Franca of all modern philosophy. In spite of its obscurities of thought and greater obscurities of language, in spite of its contradictions and changes, in spite of the fact that it is a *terra incognita*—nay, even on account of it—to the average modern philosopher, the Critique of pure reason and its conclusions are the scales to which philosophers of every school bring their ideas to obtain the knowledge of their real weight. Hence side by side with the revival of the scholastic philosophy must go the exposition of the Kantian errors. How necessary this is can be seen by the simple fact that within the very bosom of the Church Kant's principles, working through agnosticism, would give us an eviscerated Christianity and so completely humanized a Christ that He does not rise above the level of the modern Sir Rama Krishna.

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PORTUGAL, PARAGUAY AND POMBAL'S SUCCESSORS.

THE poet's tale of the destruction of Acadia has brought to many an eye the tear of sympathy. It was a colossal crime, almost as black in its inception and the mode of its execution as the massacre of Glencoe. But there was yet a blacker one, and one still more colossal in its dimensions, as yet unsung of any poet—a tale as sad and heartrending as the destruction of Niobe's children. The epic of the ruin of the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay has yet to be written, and when it is penned the name of Pombal will loom through it as darkly as that of "the rugged Pyrrhus" in the sack of Ilium.

Portugal was a great world-power for centuries—the rival and at times the superior of Spain. It was great in the path of discovery, great in its colonies, great in its literature and its arts, great in its rulers' very often—great in most things that shed honor, renown and prosperity on a country—until came Pombal. He began by ruining Paraguay and he ended by ruining Portugal. The crime and confusion which startle the world to-day are the direct heritage of the ascendancy gained by Pombal over the weak King, Joseph Emmanuel I.

The Marquis of Pombal's family name was Carvalho Melho, or more familiarly Carvalho—an old and turbulent Lusitanian house which terrorized the hilly country where it had its *habitat* for many generations. His Christian name was Sebastian Joseph. He enjoyed the title of Count of Oeyras as well as that of Marquis. He inherited all the reckless bravery of a race as daring as any of the robber Roman nobles of the Middle Ages, and with the daring of the freebooter, the cunning of the tricky gamester. He was a student and afterward a soldier, and later became a courtier and an adept in political and social intrigues. He soon became inspired with an ambition to become a Machiavelli, or rather a ruler of Kings like Richelieu and Ximenes. A visit to England on a political mission had given him an opportunity of studying British institutions and traditions of the art of ruling a State. He conceived a great admiration for the British system, and became inspired with the ambition to Anglicize the political institutions of his own country.

It is marvelously strange that so keen an observer could have failed to note that the Anglo-Saxon temperament and the Portuguese differed as widely as the poles, or to reflect that the institutions of a country are the natural outcome of the people's temperament and national traditions and psychology. It was a fatal mistake. A treaty of commerce with England had brought a British representative to Lisbon in the person of Mr. Methuen. He soon had the

Court of Portugal dependent on the Court of St. James in all its external policy, and the manners of London began to be imitated in the vogue of the nobles and merchants of the capital by the Tagus. Such was the situation long before Pombal came on the scene, and his visit to England made him the more enamored of the exotic Constitution, so little adapted to a people of fiery blood and unstable temper. The connection formed between the house of Braganza and the house of Brunswick, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, culminated when French and British armies desolated Portugal and drenched its soil with the blood of a Catholic people who were hated by either army, the one chiefly Protestant, the other chiefly infidel.

An English commentator on Junot's laudation of his troops in the Portuguese campaign remarks that he did not enumerate among their triumphs the outrages committed upon the women. The nunneries, he says, were broken open, and the inmates equally the victims of the cruelty and lust of the French soldiers. It is true. This was the price Portugal had to pay for Pombal's fondness for England, because out of that connection came the events which brought the English armies into the Peninsula. The French armies were sent in there to sever the old connection and strike a blow at England through her ally. But the critic who made the comment penned no reference whatever to the violation of the nunneries by the British officers, as related in the history of the campaign of Sir John Moore in Spain and Portugal by Sir R. K. Porter. This historian seems to take a keen delight in trying to excuse the libertinism of the British by charging the natives with similar crimes, inasmuch as he speaks of their being introduced, in Lisbon, to "idle monks and amorous devotees, meretricious dances and obscene songs." Then he goes on to particularize, saying:

"On the Portuguese frontiers the fair inhabitants of a few nunneries did not even keep a threshold between our curiosity and their seclusion. We found as free ingress into their cells as if we had been a regiment of confessors. Their veils were laid aside, their holy abstinence neglected; and adventures truly romantic ensued. I fancy the history of Rousseau's Nun was here realized in a hundred instances; and could those lovely forsworn have seen any prospect of safety by flight, I believe many of our officers would have a daughter of the Church added to his baggage."

Sir R. K. Porter—a truly British paragon of modern knighthood, by his own confession—did not sign his name to the history in which this confession appeared. But the reviewers of his book in the press gave it without hesitation. It was an open secret that Porter was the author of the *History of Sir John Moore's Campaign*.

To understand the ease with which the British troops gained possession of churches and convents in Spain and Portugal during the Peninsular war, it must be borne in mind that they came as friends and allies, while the French, on the contrary, came, in the name of liberty, to drive out Portuguese tyranny and substitute Napoleonic "almighty authority," as Junot, Duke of Abrantes, blasphemously proclaimed. When the Portuguese resisted, they destroyed their towns, sacked their churches, broke open their convents and violated their inmates. The English abused the trust reposed in them by profaning the sanctity of the convents in many places, the terrified inmates perceiving the hopelessness of resistance to such powerful auxiliaries and dreading that if they made trouble about their wrongs they might injure the cause of their country and be the means of having the yoke of the French permanently fastened around its neck.

But it was well understood in those days that when a country was made the theatre of war the rule that to the victors belong the spoils was to supersede the rule of morality and law. The lives and the honor of the inhabitants became part of the spoils. British officers encouraged their men, when leading on the storming columns, as at Badajos, by the hope of loot and enjoyment of female beauty. "Booty and beauty" was the watchword of Pakenham's men as they were being led on to the attack at New Orleans, it was commonly reported. Sir Jonah Barrington, Mr. Plowden and other historians of the insurrection in Ireland in the year 1798 testify to the enormous extent to which the outraging of women by the British troops, officers as well as privates, prevailed while the country was under martial law. Mr. Plowden states that:

"It has been boasted by officers of rank that, within certain large districts, a woman had not been left undefiled; and upon observation, in answer, that the sex must then have been very complying, the reply was that the bayonet removed all squeamishness. A lady of fashion, having in conversation been questioned as to the difference in conduct in this respect between the military and the rebels, attributed it, in disgust to 'a want of gallantry' in the Croppies (rebels)."

Mr. Plowden tells this somewhat startling story as an example of the general feelings and professions at the time upon these horrid subjects. Even the wives of military officers regarded with indifference the conduct of their husbands and the men they commanded toward the women whom the calamities of war placed at their mercy. The memoirs of the Duchess of Abrantes, Junot's spouse, prove clearly enough that French officers' wives looked upon such conduct as a matter of course; and on the whole there is reason to believe that

the French behaved more courteously and with more consideration toward the weaker sex, in the Peninsular campaigns, than did the British, who came to "protect" them.

The testimony of Sir R. Porter shows plainly enough that though both Spaniards and Portuguese hated the French with the most ferocious hate that an outraged people can feel, they hated the British only one degree less. The reason is plain enough. Their officers could hardly forbear from affronting the religion of the people, even when assisting in the churches during the celebration of "Te Deums" for victory. Their reputation traveled before them from Portugal into Spain, and they were everywhere received with coldness if not with contempt. Sir R. Porter gives some striking examples of this attitude—one relating to the entrance of Sir John Moore's army into Alcantara, on the retreat toward Corunna:

"With such sentiments, such respect and cordiality for the inhabitants did we enter Alcantara. But the governor proved a beast—a vulgar, uncivil animal, with little power to serve us and less inclination. He was asleep when we called on him. Indeed, all seemed asleep to the feelings we brought along with us. They received us with the coldness of men showing us they were resolved ever to consider us as strangers, and treated us with an inhospitality they durst not have ventured had they not believed us to be friends."

In all probability the authorities of Alcantara had heard of the way those "friends" had behaved in the Portuguese cities and towns toward the nuns and the vile terms in which they spoke of the Catholic religion—idolatry, baneful superstition, mummery and such like insulting phrases. We may well believe that writers who used such language are not to be believed when they set to work to show that the fruits of Catholic teaching and Catholic discipline in the priesthood, the monasteries and the convents were laxity, immorality and disregard of solemn vows. It is a curious circumstance that while Sir R. Porter told of these "gallantries" among the nuns, on the part of his countrymen in Sir John Moore's army, he did not name any place or any persons. "On the Portuguese frontier" is not a very definite phrase. That frontier is nearly the entire length of the Iberian Peninsula, and is studded with many cities, towns and villages. To put it plainly, we believe the author of this calumny was neither a gentleman nor a credible historian—for no gentleman would approve of ruffianly conduct on the part of either officers or privates of the British army, while he makes of it a ribald jest. Stories of this kind bore both immediate and remote fruit in England. They stiffened the resistance of the Tories to the demand for Catholic emancipation, and delayed it for a quarter of a century, and they prepared the rabble for the assaults on churches and convents

in Bristol, Liverpool and other places, when Spooner, a rabid English member of Parliament, brought in his bill for the inspection of convents. The cry of "No Popery" raised by little Lord John Russell in his Durham Letter and in Spooner's annual bills found lurid expression in the flames that consumed church and convent in many parts of England at that period, and fatal expression in the many lives that were lost in the defense of the priests' and Sisters' abodes, chiefly those of humble Irishmen.

Thus the evil results of Pombal's pro-English policy worked themselves out in the moral and material ruin of his country, for the time being. It brought on the curse of French invasion, and it brought on the scarcely less sinister blight of English help. So much for its results in Europe. On the American Continent, on the other hand, consequences no less disastrous to Portugal and religion eventuated from it.

It would require a tome of writing to tell the story of the ruin of Paraguay. It was a tragedy as extensive and as poignant in its accompaniments as that of the partition and downfall of Poland. Pombal began his war on the Jesuits by negotiating for a barter of the Portuguese colony of San Sacramento, on the Rio de la Plata, a rich and fertile place, for the barren settlements of Spain in Paraguay and Uruguay. Though the soil was poor and unfruitful, it was believed to be rich in minerals and metals, and the precious metals especially. Hence the cupidity of the Portuguese Governor of Rio Janeiro, Gomez d'Andrada, led him to believe that in negotiating for an exchange, as proposed by the Prime Minister, he was promoting the material interests of the settlement and the Crown in the most practical way. The exchange was effected. It involved the ejectment of thirty thousand Indians in order to clear the soil for the operations of the intended gold seekers. Heartrending scenes attended the effectuation of this inhuman purpose. The population was mostly Mestizo—Indians of Spanish blood. To make this population Christian and civilized the Jesuit Fathers had labored for many years, and with the most satisfactory results. Now they were to behold all their patient work undone. The Indians, despairing, turned to them for guidance when the decisive hour came, and the fathers counselled patience when resistance would mean only destruction. They led the heart-broken natives away from the scene of their labors and their sorrows, and saw them settled in a region beyond the coveted but illusory gold fields. While they strove to console them in their trials, they could not but condemn the cruelty which had consigned the helpless Indians to the doom of the exile. But the enemies of the Jesuits saw here an opening for the beginning of the war that Pombal had determined

on. They sent agents among the Indians to whisper suspicions of the Black Robes' disinterestedness in counselling surrender of the soil by its occupants, whom prescription had made owners. Some of the tribes were maddened by these stories, and flew to arms. They swooped down upon the settlements and destroyed the buildings. The Jesuits were forced to fly, and the great work of civilization among the aborigines of Paraguay was forever undone.

This was Pombal's first stroke; the next one was even more deadly. He got up a pamphlet depicting the Jesuits as the tyrants of the New World, whose daring ambition was to unite all the Spanish colonies in South America into an empire and place the crown on the head of a lay brother, who was to be recognized as emperor, with the title Nicholas the First. Accusations of the most obnoxious character were piled up against the order; they were represented as conspirators against governments, against human society, against liberty, against civil law—the enemies, in short, of civilization; and it was necessary for the general safety that they be driven out and destroyed. This fearful indictment was printed by thousands and scattered broadcast over Spain and Portugal by the secret emissaries of Pombal.

Whatever its reception in Portugal, it did not fare well in Spain. The King caused inquiries to be made of the Spanish Governor of Paraguay regarding the allegations formulated by Pombal. It was soon ascertained that there was not a scintilla of truth in the statements about the new empire and the supposed emperor. It was found that the Jesuits had made great conquests for religion and civilization, and their memory was blessed instead of being execrated. So it was reported to the King, and so, accordingly, the lying work of Pombal was ordered to be publicly burned in Madrid by the State executioner.

But Pombal was successful in other directions, if he had lost the game as far as Spain was concerned. He had counted on resistance by the Jesuits in Paraguay. Their submission was a surprise to him, and he construed it wrongly. He believed he had cowed the Jesuits; the storm that bends the bough may laugh as it rushes on, but it is not the victor, for soon the bough, resilient, springs back into its place. So with the Jesuits and Pombal in South America. Deceived by the apparent submission there, he bethought him that it would crown his success were he to carry the war into Europe. Benedict XIV. was at this juncture the occupant of the Papal chair. He was a Liberal of the Liberals, and a great friend of the Jesuit Order. But his minister and confidant, Cardinal Passionei, was of a different mind. He loved not religious orders, especially that of the sons of Loyola. A Capuchin came forward, just when he was

wanted by men like Pombal, with a book in French, signed "Norbert," against the Jesuits in India, under the title "Historical Memoirs upon the Affairs of the Jesuits." It was as full of lies as the famous "Senate Document No. 190" of our days, concerning the Spanish friars in the Philippines. The book was censured by the Holy Office, but, on the author's appeal to the Holy Father, Passionei got the censure withdrawn. But the Jesuits had powerful friends as well as tenacious enemies, and the contest started by Pombal and "Norbert" was prolonged ere the Pope yielded to Pombal's prayer for a decree of reformation of the order in Portugal. The Pope was then near his death, and his power of resistance fast ebbing away. He signed the decree, believing that the investigation demanded would fully exonerate the society. Instead of being confined to Portugal as requested, the inquiry was extended to the whole world, wherever a Jesuit found a field of labor. The Cardinal Saldanha, a friend of Pombal's and an enemy of the order, was appointed judge, and Pombal acted as accuser, witness and executioner, like that British officer in Ireland who at the time of the '98 insurrection was called "the walking gallows." The predetermined happened. Without being given a hearing in their own defense, the Jesuits were condemned and interdicted as far as Portugal was concerned. But when Pope Benedict died his successor, Pope Clement XIII., listened to the pleading of the Jesuits' general, Father Lorenzo Ricci, for a reopening of the case and a hearing for the defense. The appeal was successful. To the judgment of a Papal congregation the affairs of the Jesuits were submitted, and the result was an acquittal.

This rebuke was a blow to Pombal, but he was a man who could wait for his revenge. It came in a little while when an attempt was made on the life of King Joseph because, it was said, of an illicit amour with the wife of one of his chief courtiers, the Marquis of Tavora. The nobleman was too powerful for Pombal openly to proceed against on the basis of mere suspicion, but he bided his time. When he had artfully prepared the King's mind by means of fears for his safety, he got him to consent to a bold stroke. The whole family of the Tavoras, men and women, were seized and imprisoned on suspicion of being accessories to the attempt on the King; with them the Duke of Aviero, a relative. They were put on trial by Pombal, who presided as judge as well as packed the jury. The Duke was put on the rack, and under the torture made an avowal of guilt, as well as an implication of the Jesuits. This avowal, wrung from him by pain, he retracted when he recovered his senses, but it was enough for Pombal's purposes. The whole family were given over to the torturer, the headsman and the hang-

man. On the day before the completion of the tragedy action was taken against the Jesuits. A persecution as fierce as Nero's was at once begun in their regard. All over Portugal, Goa, Brazil and Paraguay the members were seized, flung into prison, sent to the rack and the scaffold. Fifteen hundred victims fell before the fiery tempest. Against the horror of these proceedings the Pope vainly protested and threatened. Pombal had tasted blood, and he was eager to drink his fill. He was supported by a large part of the secular clergy and the Bishops in Portugal, too fatuous to see, in their hatred of the Jesuits, that the attack was on the Church and the authority of the Papacy. The results of their weak action are perceptible in the state of the Church and the state of civil society in Portugal to-day. Pombal's rule was more fatal to the Church and the country than that of Combes in France. And not only was it fatal to his own country, but it immediately began to bear fruit in France. The epoch of the Jansenists, the Encyclopædists and the philosophers began when the bloody havoc among the Jesuits had done its work. But the author of all this horror did not escape Nemesis. When his patron, Joseph I., died his reign of triumph came to an end. The King's daughter, Maria I., succeeded, and she had no liking and no need for a war on religion or on any religious order. There came an immediate change. Pombal's antagonists were not slow to avail themselves of it. He was accused of high crimes and abuse of his power, was brought to trial and convicted, but his life was spared. He died in exile, five years after the death of his tool and sovereign, the weak and dissolute Joseph; and he died, moreover, penitent and imploring the blessing of the Church which he had so savagely outraged, and which is always glad to welcome back sinners like him once they show they are sincerely contrite.

But contrition and remorse could not undo the evil and the ruin his mistaken policy with regard to England had brought upon his country in the past and was destined to bring to it in the approximate future.

Napoleon's hatred of England amounted almost to an insanity. It was this feeling that led him on to the invasion of Portugal and Spain. English influence had been paramount in Portugal ever since Pombal's time, and Napoleon thought he could strike at England and William Pitt more easily by sending an army over the Pyrenees than by attempting to land one in Ireland, as he had formerly prepared to do, but at the last moment decided not to do, but to throw one into Egypt instead. The Portuguese Court heard of his preparations from the English Minister, and it was then and there determined to avert the destruction of the dynasty which

Napoleon contemplated by having the Prince of Brazil, then Regent, retire to his vast dominions across the ocean, where he could remain in perfect security as long as he pleased. The whole royal family determined to accompany him, as Pitt's agent in France had learned of a secret treaty between the Spanish Court and that of Fontainebleau, under which the partition of Portugal and its absorption into the French Empire were agreed upon in return for French assistance to the Spanish monarchy in other directions. Napoleon did not anticipate that the royal family would think of quitting Portugal; he rather counted on them easily falling into his trap, as we find from his conversations with Madam Junot, the wife of his ambassador and commander-in-chief in Portugal. Here he is found giving that clever but not over virtuous lady the most minute directions as to her attitude and language toward the ladies of the royal family and the religious sentiments of the Portuguese. It is to be observed that owing to the onslaughts on the Church made by Pombal respect for religion, once so marked a characteristic of the Portuguese, had declined immensely, especially in the large cities and towns. Atheism and Freemasonry were rife in the universities, colleges and schools; there was insincerity even in the Church, in places; religion, indeed, was at a very low ebb, save in the rural regions. There was no press to point out the dangers of the situation—for under Pombal's iron rule nothing could be printed, not even a book or a pamphlet intended for the writer's own circle, that did not pass under the scrutiny of the official censors who were planted in every considerable centre. The author of a work called "*The Portuguese Observer*," published soon after Junot's army had been driven out of Portugal, affirms that for the last century—this was in the year 1809—there has appeared scarcely any book of history or travel published in the country, and that whatever literature was produced during that period existed in manuscript in private hands. But what most interests Catholics is the condition of the religious houses during that gloomy period. Is it true that English officers, as boasted by the unconscionable libertine whom we have quoted, had no difficulty in gaining admission to the cells of the Sisters in various places and that as many as a hundred of them had willingly submitted to dishonor at the hands of English "officers and gentlemen?" This is a very interesting question indeed, and the references to the behavior of the French that we find in "*The Portuguese Observer*" help us to decide it and bring the conviction that those English *friends* of the Portuguese, those paragons of valor and chivalry, were besides being ruffians and libertines most abominable liars!

The first reference we meet is the statement that when the troops

of Junot entered Lisbon "all persons in the great convents of Jesus, the Paulistas and S. Francisco da Cidade who had any relations by whom they could be housed were ordered to turn out, that the French soldiers might be quartered in their apartments." The next: "The troops, as they continued to arrive, were quartered in all the convents, and their women with them, as if to insult the religious feelings of the people." Famine, even in the great city of Lisbon, almost immediately followed on its seizure by the French and the reign of plunder which then began by Napoleon's robber hordes. The author gives us some glimpses of the horrors of the time: "Whole families," he wrote, "were suddenly reduced to poverty and absolute want. All who depended for employment and subsistence on foreign trade were now destitute. Their trinkets went first; whatever else was salable followed; these things were sold at half their value, while the price of food was daily augmenting. Persons who had lived in plenty and respectability were seen publicly asking alms, and women hitherto of unblemished virtue walked the streets offering themselves to prostitution, that the mother might obtain bread for her starving children, the daughter for her starving parents."

Driven to desperation by the outrageous proceedings of Junot, Kellerman, Loison and other French commanders, the Portuguese populations both in town and country, rose up against their persecutors, and several fierce battles between the undisciplined and the disciplined resulted in the burning and levelling of many cities and villages. A particularly stubborn resistance was shown by the allied Spanish and Portuguese outside the city of Evora, and when the place was at length captured by the French it was at a loss of three thousand men. Then, inflamed by this enormous loss, the French troops were let loose upon the citizens. The city was given over to pillage and the inhabitants to massacre. Nine hundred persons were butchered in the streets and even in the churches in which they had sought sanctuary. Men, women and children indiscriminately fell by the sword and the bayonet. Thirty-eight priests, as well as the Bishop of Maranhão, were slain along with the rest. The convents were broken open and the Sisters were equally made the victims of the soldiers' cruelty and their lust. So says "The Portuguese Observer." This means that the nuns did not submit to brutality without making all the resistance feeble women could make, and so proves that the anonymous British historian was a slanderer as well as a brute.

It is little wonder that the British Government put forth extraordinary efforts to gain the victory in the Peninsular War. It had a monopoly of the trade with Portugal as well as a very large share

of that of Spain. Half the merchandise in the city of Lisbon was, at the outbreak of hostilities, of British manufacture. Junot gave orders that all this should be confiscated and burned, but he soon found that this measure was impracticable, since every shop and every private house contained the products of English factories, in dress, in furniture, in jewelry and hundreds of other things. Thus the British alliance, or protection, brought to the Portuguese much the same sort of results as it did to Ireland. The destruction of their native industries was one of these; the filching of the fair fame of its people another. The policy of Pombal was modelled on that of the British Tory Ministers. It fastened illiteracy on the country, as well as industrial depression. It prevented the growth of a public press and a public spirit. It had all the vices, but not a single one of the virtues of the Bourbons in France. Finally, it brought on the scourge of foreign invasion, the ruin of the country, the slaughter and the violation of its sons and daughters. Such have invariably been the consequences of all statesmanship based on a principle of persecution of God and the ministers of God.

It would not be proper to take leave of this most painful chapter of history without contrasting the evidence offered by this English officer, and the malice which blinds him to his own dishonor in giving it publicity, with the statements put forward by Sir Archibald Alison in his "History of Europe" regarding atrocities committed in Portugal by the British troops. Atrocities, he admits, were committed, not on the enemy, but on the people whom the British had come to protect from the French; but he says these were the work chiefly of "wild Irish" levies. Mark this statement, and remember that Wellington, the victor of Waterloo, ascribed his victory there in great part to the "steadiness" of the raw Irish levies who came marching to the field of slaughter to the airs of "The Young May Moon" and "The Girl I Left Behind Me" and stood in square as steady as veterans all day long while Ney's cuirassiers charged up to their levelled bayonets taunting them and firing pistols in their faces in the vain hope to make disorder in the ranks and so break the square. There was only one Irish regiment, as appears from Alison's history, in the forces which took part in the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos—the Eighty-eighth. When these towns were carried by assault, the scenes of murder, outrage on women and drunkenness in the streets, when the infuriated soldiery flung off all control of generals and officers were unparalleled since the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. Everywhere in describing and at the same time striving to palliate and minimize them, Alison refers to the drunken rabble of military as British—that is, English and Scotch—and says they gave way to their national vice, drunken-

ness, in a way to make all decent people ashamed. In thus placing the blame where it properly belonged, the historian evidently forgot for the moment that he had previously attempted to make "the wild Irish" the scapegoats for the dreadful sins of the whole British host. These two places, Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, form the blackest spots for deviltry in the horrors of war since the sack of Magdeburg, and the perpetrators of that deviltry, whose fury Wellington himself did not dare to attempt to check for three entire days, until the ruffian rabble had exhausted itself in its orgie of drunkenness, lust and robbery, were British regiments all save one.

During the many years that the Peninsular War dragged on, the interests of religion suffered irreparable loss in both countries. Convents and monasteries and churches were seized and occupied by brutal troops, the one part pretending to come as friends to save the inhabitants from the oppressions of the French, the other as the protectors of the national religion from heretical invaders. So said Junot in one of his bombastic proclamations to the Portuguese, bidding them to "beware of the English heretics, who sought equally to debase their country and destroy their religion." Worse than either of these enormous crimes was the indiscriminate blackening of the national character which the tales of such "officers and gentlemen" effected in Great Britain. The men of Portugal were commonly branded as poltroons and assassins, the clergy and the religious Sisterhoods as lazy, lascivious, and a disgrace to true religion—in fact, while they were usually referred to as idolators, their moral behavior as painted by these unscrupulous chroniclers was represented as quite in keeping with the fetishism of the worshipers of images and evil spirits. The British acted toward the people of Spain and Portugal precisely as they did toward Ireland. They robbed them of their good name as a preparation to the process of despoiling them of their property and an effort to despoil them of the most precious possession of all, their ancient faith.

As long as Portugal remained truly Catholic she was truly great. She had earned for herself the title of "Most Faithful Kingdom." She was enabled to plant the banner of the Cross over South America, over a great part of India and Africa; she was able to take part in the expulsion of the Moorish hordes from the Peninsula. Her poets, her artists, her scientific men, her navigators were unsurpassed in genius by those of any nation, contemporary or of the past. The evil genius of one man was able to undo the fruits of centuries of glory. What an awful lesson in the evils of impiety and sacrilege!

The spiritual condition of Portugal at the present time is low indeed. The faith is held in all its fullness by the women of the

kingdom. In all Catholic countries the Church possesses its most steadfast adherents in the ranks of the gentle sex. But as for the men, there is little that is consoling to be said. Freemasonry, infidelity, the socialistic propaganda, immorality, the yellowest of "yellow" journalism—all these portents of "modernism" in actual operation have produced a woful chaos in the body politic. A dreadful outbreak of anti-clericalism—a seismic sympathy, so to speak, with the upheaval in France—preceded the political fever which culminated in the murder of the King and Crown Prince. This anti-clerical movement was fed chiefly from the schools of the higher classes and the medical colleges. In these the teachers are chiefly atheists, materialists and socialist doctrinaires. The great University of Coimbra—the only one in the country—possesses a number of rabid anti-clericals among its teaching staff. So, too, with the public schools. Despite the fact that the Catholic religion is the established one in Portugal, the public school system is honeycombed with irreligion and infidelity, as far as its teachers are concerned. A startling proof of this anomaly was given not long ago, when a number of the pupils of the public schools in Lisbon and Oporto, with the connivance of the teachers, began to hold public meetings at which rabid anti-clerical resolutions were passed in sympathy with the propaganda then going on in Parliament and throughout the press and the municipalities. This agitation had the hardly concealed approval of successive Ministries. It was said, indeed, that some of the worst articles against the priests and religious orders were written by an ex-Prime Minister. The seeds thus sown in time produced a crop of hate, but not exactly of the sort intended by the sower. The magicians might conjure up the fiend of the storm, but could not guide the course of the levin bolt. The teachers of revolt against God did not, probably, contemplate that their lessons should take effect in the shape of bullets aimed at the royal family, but it is the experience of all history that those who do impart such lessons do but teach bloody instructions, which, being taught, return again to plague the inventor.

Portugal, like Servia and Montenegro, does not take kindly to the constitutional method in government. The system was only established in 1826, and the political intrigues of the various parties at length brought on a state of chaos from which there was but one way out—the way the late King took, at Franco's advice, with such terrible consequences. The parallel with Servia is confirmed by the fact that the government dare not seek to bring to murder the regicides, nor even to hint at having them arrested or prosecuted. A further proof of the weakness of the present government was afforded in Parliament a short time ago when one of the Republican

leaders boldly told the Ministry that if the government was not economic in expenditures and liberal in its measures, from the Republican standpoint of liberality, his party would organize a new revolution. The hand of the State is paralyzed as well as the arm of justice, else no one would dare to utter such a threat in the legislature. There is rottenness in every department of the public service, honeycombed as it is by Freemasonry, infidelity and the preachings of assassination.

It is impossible to withhold one's pity for that brave and noble lady, the Queen mother. Her sorrows are similar to those of the legendary Niobe or the stricken Hecuba of Troy, with her husband and son slain in her very arms, while she, like a true Roman, sought to shield them with her own person from the cruel bullets of the murderers. To make the tragedy all the more appalling, she had been all her lifetime engaged in works of charity and beneficence—the heroic nurse of the fever-stricken, the bold swimmer who had more than once struck out with masculine courage and vigor to snatch drowning men from the jaws of death. Hardly less pathetic a figure is that of the boy-King, suddenly called upon to grasp what may well be called a barren sceptre and to wear upon his head a fruitless crown. Yet there is hope for the country in the fact that religion seems to be the dominant influence still with the stricken Queen mother and the young King. The former has always been conspicuous for piety, amongst other womanly virtues; the latter is found proceeding publicly to the Cathedral for the purpose of offering prayers at the tomb of his slaughtered father and brother for the repose of the unhouseled unprepared souls. This is a touching spectacle and ought to impress even his cruel enemies with the sincerity of piety as well as the undaunted spirit of this lad of nineteen, called upon, under such terrible circumstances, to assume a responsibility from which even the soul of an Agamemnon might shrink appalled by the dangers that accompany it. It is a morsel of comfort in a gloomy condition that piety is to be found at the head of a degenerate State. It shows that the spirit of Don Sebastian is not yet extinct in the land of Camoens; and while that spirit lives there is yet hope for Portugal.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WITNESS.

There is Samuel Johnson, born a Protestant, yearning for the Catholic Church, and bursting out into fitful defenses of portions of her doctrine and discipline, yet professing to the last that very Protestantism which could "neither command his affections nor cure his infirmities."—Newman, "Present Position," etc., Lecture II., sec. 3.

I.

THESE few jottings and personal impressions regarding the interior life of the illustrious Dr. Johnson are not intended in the mind of the present writer to pass as religious controversy. Such a purpose, for many and obvious reasons, is furthest removed from him. Yet the subject, though not polemical, is still something more than a mere literary curiosity, for one could as well be indifferent to the religious belief of a dear friend as to that of him who has become as familiar to English students through the fellowship of books as the scenes and faces of childhood. And that this particular phase of Dr. Johnson's personality is in reality a living topic, and still matter of strong human interest even after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years, was never more clearly evinced than during the past eighteen months, when not less than three different writers in widely separated quarters of the world directed themselves almost simultaneously to its consideration. An Irish barrister, Mr. Charles T. Waters, was among the first to revive the question by a graceful essay in the *Irish Monthly* of July, 1906. About the same time the English Parliamentarian, Mr. Augustine Birrell, of education bill fame, treated the same aspect of the great man's character in his "happily conceived and happily worded preface" to a new edition of Dr. Johnson's "Prayers and Meditations;" while on this side of the Atlantic an article on Johnson's religious life, substantially a review of the above mentioned "Prayers and Meditations," appeared in the *Ave Maria* of July 14, 1906.

This quasi revival of Johnsonian literature is only another indication of that ingrained longing of an appreciative posterity to know the celebrated men of former ages as they really were—with all their faults as well as their virtues painted in, the former for compassion, the latter for emulation. It is a natural and world-old desire—this craving to explore the inner lives of geniuses. Its indulgence, resulting in the detailed history of some great soul's development, often occasions truer and more fascinating literature than any of that soul's productions in the field of thought or art. Such, thanks to Boswell, has been the destiny of Samuel Johnson, and Macaulay's prophecy reads truer for each succeeding generation: "That kind of fame which is commonly the most transient is, in his case, the

most durable. The reputation of those writings, which he probably expected to be immortal, is every day fading, while those peculiarities of manner and that careless table-talk, the memory of which he probably thought would die with him, are likely to be remembered as long as the English language is spoken in any quarter of the globe." Hence it is that Johnson has a place in the history of developed English literature that is peculiarly his own and disputed by none. By popular acclaim and veneration he stands, personally and as a man, among the very foremost of that glorious galaxy headed by Shakespeare and Milton. Yet the fame of his written works, such as "Rasselas," "The Rambler," "London" and "The Vanity of Human Wishes," is now chiefly confined to the learned and the *connoisseur*.

A careful study of this quaint old philosopher in his shriveled gray wig, scorched at the foretop, shirt which should be at wash, suit of rusty brown, with black worsted stockings that were ill drawn up, and unbuckled shoes that clattered as he walked, has never failed to bring its own reward to those who care to do a little studious digging. New and at times wholly unsuspected beauties will be revealed sparkling away beneath that rough and slovenly exterior, for there was nothing of the grizzly about Johnson but the skin. Undoubtedly one of the most salient and significant lessons from his life story is that of his religious evolution. And the Catholic critic especially will find much to interest, even surprise him, in a close analysis of Johnson's spirituality, because of the marked Catholic atmosphere which permeated it, manifesting itself externally in that well-known bias towards Catholicity of which Newman speaks in his "Idea."

II.

EARLY RELIGIOUS TRAINING.

By birth, training and association Johnson was a High Episcopalian and Tory of the most advanced type, following in this the doctrinal precedent of his father, the bookseller of Litchfield. The first indications of that deeply religious spirit which characterized the future lexicographer appeared in early years, when the strong lineaments of the grown man were easily discernible in the child. The foundations of that rugged Christianity, from which the England of the eighteenth century was to reap such profit, Johnson himself traces to his mother's care and training. "She was a woman," we are told in his biography, "not less renowned for piety than for understanding," and her religious influence was the invisible stilus that wrote large and deep upon his future character. He

never forgot her, as his letters amply testify. This filial devotion is one of the most admirable traits in Johnson's character, and will be recalled with mingled pleasure and emotion every time that "Rasselas" is mentioned. For, in the words of Christopher Worth in the "Noctes Ambrosianae," "never were the expenses of a mother's funeral more gloriously defrayed by son than the funeral of Samuel Johnson's mother by the price of 'Rasselas,' written for the pious purpose of laying her head decently and honorably in the dust."

From his father, however, Johnson was not so happy in his legacy. From him he inherited not only bodily infirmities, but worse still, that demon of hypochondria which pursued and tormented him so cruelly that more than once his powerful mind almost gave way under the strangling clutch of the octopus, especially during the long and cheerless night when he first came to London. This half madness or "vile melancholy," as he termed it, was his most dangerous and life-long assailant. Though he managed to keep it at bay for seventy-five years, yet, like Hamlet, he came out of the conflict with a scar which he carried to the grave. His mother had done all in her power to root out this gloomy tendency while he was yet young, but it was in vain. Nothing discouraged, however, she continued her pious care of the precocious lad with marked assiduity, though not perhaps with the greatest prudence, for the strict evangelical discipline to which she subjected him resulted, as is not at all surprising, in a sort of reaction. This is the doctor's account of it:

"I fell into an inattention to religion, or rather an indifference about it, in my ninth year. The church at Litchfield, in which we had a seat, wanted reparation, so I was to go and find a seat in other churches, and having bad eyes and being awkward about this, I used to go and read in the fields on Sunday. This habit continued until my fourteenth year. . . . I then became a sort of lax *talker* against religion, for I did not so much *think* against it; and this lasted until I went to Oxford, where it would not be tolerated. When at Oxford I took up Law's 'Serious Call to a Holy Life,' expecting to find it a dull book (as such books generally are) and perhaps to laugh at it. But I found Law quite an overmatch for me, and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion after I became capable of rational inquiry."

III.

THE TEST.

Thus it would appear that, as with the great Augustine, the turning point in Johnson's spiritual career may be attributed in great

measure to the chance reading of a good book—not in his case St. Paul's Epistles, but Law's "Serious Call." A great change took place in the young student's soul. The solemn truths of God and eternity took a new and stronger hold upon his mind, so that all through youth, manhood and old age his life was remarkable for uprightness, seriousness and integrity of morals. And this becomes all the more remarkable when we pause and recollect that his career during a quarter of a century was spent in an atmosphere so polluted and poisonous to Christian virtue that it is little short of marvelous that he preserved himself from the moral death which overtook so many of his struggling fellow-authors. How he escaped the pitiable fate of his intimate, Richard Savage, is to some a mystery still.

This was assuredly the darkest period of Johnson's life, and about it we know but comparatively little. It was the "long night between two sunny days" when English literature was just emerging from the swaddling bands of servile patronage into the higher stage of mature and robust independence. Its pioneer emancipators, of whom Johnson was the chief and Grub street the rendezvous, led lives that remind one of galley slaves. Total strangers to the academic ease which the much-patronized Pope enjoyed, life for these poor literary hacks was one recurring round of scorn, hope deferred and insult, with little or nothing to vary the grim monotony save swooping bailiffs or an occasional full meal. And yet to them, for the most part unknown or forgotten toilers, may be justly applied by an easy metaphor the proud boast of the Emperor Augustus. If he found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble, then these workmen, with Johnson as master mason, did the same for English literature. But to effect the transformation, they had to work full workdays, often times far into the night. And the wages were such as an ordinary modern laborer would despise as insufficient to keep body and soul together. Yet Johnson issued forth from this furnace of probation with religion and faith unimpaired, though tainted externally with some disagreeable mannerisms, not his by nature, but rather engrafted onto him by these years of indigence and forced association with the vulgar. "During this miserable and obscure portion of his career," writes Thomas B. Shaw in his "Manual," "when he dined in a cellar upon sixpennyworth of meat and a pennyworth of bread, when he signed himself in a note to his employer 'yours *impransus*, S. Johnson,' when his ragged coat and torn shoes made him ashamed to appear at the table of his publisher and caused him to devour his dinner behind a screen, he retained all his native dignity of mind and severe honesty of principle. There is something affecting in the picture of this great and noble mind laboring on through toil and distress which would

have crushed most men and which, though it roughened his manners, only intensified his humanity and augmented his self-respect."

Precisely, for Johnson was of those who are bent, humbled and chastened by adversity, but never broken by it.

IV.

FIRST CONTACT WITH CATHOLIC INFLUENCES.

It was during this general period of Johnson's life that an incident occurred which, in the analysis of events, may explain to no small degree his intimate knowledge of the Catholic Church and consequent affection for her. It was an insignificant circumstance in his variegated career, has been accorded a few columns by his biographer and then dismissed without further notice. But never, as far as we can recollect, has it been considered as having the slightest connection with his leaning towards Catholicity. A Jesuit was concerned, at least indirectly, and we cannot but persuade ourselves that, viewed in the light of a cause, the event had a marked, though perhaps unconscious influence on his mind. We mean his translation and publication of Lobo's "Voyage to Abyssinia."

Father Jerome Lobo was a zealous Jesuit and an eminent missionary of the Portuguese province. Upon the conversion of Segued, Emperor of Abyssinia, to the Catholic faith in 1621, Lobo, together with several others of the society, had been despatched as missionary to the court of the Ethiopian monarch. The results of his Abyssinian experiences the father embodied in his "Relation," of which a French translation appeared in 1728, the same year that Johnson entered Pembroke College, Oxford. The young Oxonian read the work, was captivated by it, and from this French edition made his English translation in 1735. Macaulay erred, therefore, in stating with his usual dogmatism that "he printed a *Latin* book about Abyssinia." It was not a *Latin* book, but a French book, which in turn had been translated from the Portuguese by a certain M. Le Grand. Besides the detailed narrations and descriptions of men, scenes and events which abound in it as in a book of travel, there is of necessity much that is Catholic in the work also, since the author was not only a traveler, but primarily a priest and missionary. Indeed, the second portion of the enlarged Paris edition is largely devoted to doctrinal treatises on such subjects as "The Incarnation," "The Sacraments," "Miracles," "The Blessed Virgin," "The Communion of Saints," "Prayers for the Dead," etc., etc., comprising in all a succinct compendium of Catholicity.

Now, this work and these controversial treatises were to be abridged and rendered into English. To be translated aright they

had first to be understood aright. But with the Catholic Church, *scire est amare* to know her is to love her. Hence, how could it be possible, we argue, for Johnson, already of religious temperament, to read, translate, act as it were sponsor to the world for such a publication and still remain unaffected by the grandeur of those institutions of which he wrote? Impossible! Why, even men like Macaulay, Matthew Arnold and Carlyle were not insensible to the divine beauties of the Catholic religion, though led, we are inclined to suspect, more by their æsthetic than their supernatural instinct. Catholic theology to Matthew Arnold is like one of the great Middle Age cathedrals—in itself a study for a life.¹ The Church's real superiority for him "is in its charm for the imagination—its poetry. I persist in thinking," he says, "that Catholicism has, from this superiority a great future before it; that it will endure while all the Protestant sects (in which I do not include the Church of England) dissolve and perish."² This is the poet talking, and from a poetical standpoint. But for stronger and deeper reasons these sanctities of our holy religion must have appealed to Johnson, since besides this natural attraction which they exert upon the minds of men diametrically opposed to her, there would be in him the additional impulse of a knowledge that was almost a theologian's. With him the heart and intellect were affected, too, less sensibly perhaps, but more avowedly than the imagination.

To be sure, there is a passage in the preface to his translation of Lobo which appears, at first sight, to be the work of a man who was anything but friendly to the Catholic Church. But a careful study of the context will show that these strictures are intended more as a particular protest against "the sanguinary zeal" of the Patriarch Oviedo in his dealings with the natives than as a gratuitous declaration of general hostility. These lines were written, moreover, when Johnson was yet a young man with all the exuberance of inexperience. Like Ruskin, whose attitude towards Catholicism bears a striking resemblance to his own, Johnson came to know the Catholic Church better in his maturer years, when his repeated encomiums are a virtual recantation of earlier opinions. Indeed, many of them were specifically retracted, as, for example, the implied condemnation of the Inquisition in the above mentioned preface. This he took back during that long ride in the Harwich stage coach, when in answer to the "fat, elderly gentlewoman" who talked violently against the Roman Catholics and the horrors of the Inquisition,

¹ Vide "Pagan and Mediæval Religious Sentiment" (Arnold, "Mixed Essays").

² Vide "Irish Catholicism and British Liberalism" (Arnold, "Mixed Essays").

he maintained and defended both Catholics and Inquisition, to the utter astonishment of all the passengers, except Boswell. He, of course, was well aware of Johnson's "tenderness" for the Catholic Church. "False doctrine," claimed the doctor, "should be checked on its first appearance; the civil power should unite with the Church in punishing those who dare to attack the established religion, and such only were punished by the Inquisition."

V.

THE WITNESS TO CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.

From an abundance of like evidence, both internal and external, Dr. Johnson's position as to leading Catholic belief is clearly defined. Whatever the remote cause may have been, whether the Jesuit's book or even Sarpi's "History of the Council of Trent," which he likewise undertook to translate, but never finished, this much is certain, that Johnson possessed an exceptional knowledge of the Catholic Church and her distinctive doctrines, and that because of this close acquaintance he revered and esteemed her as one of the greatest forces in the world. Nor did this admiration remain dormant within him, never reducing itself to external act. On the contrary, his frequent exposition and defense of Catholic beliefs laid him open, even in his own day, to the suspicion of being a "Romanist." So widespread had this belief become that it is reported of one acquaintance, Mr. Langton, that he came to Johnson's grave fully persuaded that he had died a Roman Catholic.

It would indeed be difficult, as a recent writer has remarked, to decide definitely just what aspect of the Church appealed to Johnson most strongly, for his attitude seemed rather to be one of universal sympathy with the whole deposit of her faith and liturgy. Boswell tells us in his immortal biography:

I had hired a Bohemian as my servant while I remained in London, and, being much pleased with him, I asked Dr. Johnson whether his being a Roman Catholic should prevent my taking him with me to Scotland.

Johnson: Why, no, sir; if he has no objection, you can have none.

Boswell: So, sir, you are no great enemy to the Roman Catholic religion.

Johnson: No more, sir, than to the Presbyterian religion (Boswell was a Presbyterian).

Boswell: You are joking.

Johnson: No, sir; I really think so. Nay, sir, of the two, I prefer the Popish.

Boswell: How so, sir?

Johnson: Why, sir, the Presbyterians have no church, no apostolical ordination.

Boswell: And do you think that absolutely essential, sir?

Johnson: Why, sir, as it was an apostolical institution, I think it dangerous to be without it.

Boswell: What do you think, sir, of Purgatory, as believed by the Roman Catholics?

Johnson: Why, sir, it is a very harmless doctrine. They are of opinion that the generality of mankind are neither so obstinately wicked as to deserve everlasting punishment, nor so good as to merit being admitted into

the society of blessed spirits; and therefore that God is graciously pleased to allow of a middle state, where they may be purified by certain degrees of suffering. You see, sir, there is nothing unreasonable in this.

Boswell: But then, sir, their Masses for the dead?

Johnson: Why, sir, if it be once established that there are souls in Purgatory, it is as proper to pray for them as for our brethren of mankind who are yet in this life.

Johnson's acceptance of this sublime and consoling doctrine of Purgatory came to him, says the editor of the "Prayers and Meditations," "as it has come to many others—in the hour of his most poignant sorrow." He could not, would not hold the sapless creed of Wordsworth that the grave is the end-all of our affections, and that the pathetic prayers which fall from sorrowing lips are powerless to reach or benefit the dear departed ones. Johnson's diary, on the contrary, reveals the childlike hope and simplicity of his great heart:

Easter-day, 15th April, 1759.—. . . And, O Lord, so far as it may be lawful, I commend unto Thy fatherly goodness my father, brother, wife and mother, beseeching Thee to make them happy, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

Easter-day, Apr. 22, 1764.—. . . I went to church; came in at the first of the psalms, and endeavored to attend the service, which I went through without perturbation. After sermon I recommended Tetty (his dead wife) in a prayer by herself, and my dear father, mother, brother and Bathurst in another. I did it only once, in so far as it might be lawful for me.

The expressions "conditionally," "if it were lawful," "so far as it might be lawful for me," etc., tell their own tale. They are the last traces of his slowly expiring Protestant prejudices.

The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass being once attacked as "idolatrous," "Sir," he cried, "there is no idolatry in the Mass. They (Catholics) believe God to be there, and they worship Him."

Boswell: The worship of the saints?

Johnson: Sir, they do not worship saints: they invoke them; they only ask their prayers.

In answer to the question, "Does not the invocation of the saints suppose *omnipresence* in the saints?" Johnson replied, on another occasion: "No, sir; it supposes only *pluripresence*,³ and when spirits are divested of matter it seems probable that they should see with more extent than when in an embodied state. There is, therefore, no approach to an invasion of any of the divine attributes in the invocation of the saints. But I think it is will-worship and presumption. I see no command for it, and therefore think it is safer not to practice it."

These last few observations, together with a few others of a like nature regarding the practice of some of these doctrines, are, of

³ This distinction has called forth the following query from a Protestant editor: ". . . What is the difference, to our bounded reason, between 'pluripresence' and 'omnipresence?'" The only difference is that which exists between the meanings of the Latin words "*omnibus locis*" and "*pluribus locis*," and though the extension of "*pluribus*" may be indefinite, yet this much is certain, it never reached "*omnibus*."

course, to be expected. They are nothing more than an echo of that one insistent doubt which ran through Johnson's life regarding the Church of Rome—that "obstinate rationality," as he called it, and of which we shall see more later. At the mention of *confession*, "Why," he exclaimed, "I don't know but that is a good thing. The Scripture says 'Confess your faults, one to another,' and the priests confess as well as the laity. Then it must be considered that their absolution is only upon *repentance*, and often upon *penance* also. You think your sins may be forgiven without penance, upon repentance only."

"I thus ventured," says Boswell, "to mention all the common objections against the Roman Catholic Church that I might hear so great a man upon them. What he said is here accurately recorded."

To this, however, it has been objected that he once in an angry mood exclaimed: "In everything in which the Catholics differ from us they are wrong." But by this Johnson was merely fitting the major premise to a minor enunciated in his study on March 21, 1772, when he and Boswell talked confidentially about things Catholic. As it was decided between them that evening "that the Catholics differ from us only on non-essential points," it would follow immediately that the Catholics were wrong only in non-essential points! It must be borne in mind, however, that we do not vouch for the solidity nor the objective truth of these propositions and their conclusion. We prescind entirely from them as such. But Johnson thought them true, however, hence the conclusion, as it flows directly from the premises, is legitimately his and we cite it here as an indication of his mind.

The distance, then, between Johnson and the Catholic Church was by no means as great as some historians would have us believe. Nor does it militate against the force of our deduction that he once befriended and encouraged an unfortunate Benedictine monk who had been induced to apostatize from religion in order to enter the Church of England, for we are convinced that Johnson of his Christian charity would have done the same, indiscriminately, for a stray Mussulman or even a Scotchman, if his destitution were as pressing as the poor man's in question. Then again, Johnson's opinion of such "conversions" is significant and decisive. "A man," he said, "who is converted from Protestantism to Popery may be sincere; he parts with nothing; he is only superadding to what he already had. But a convert from Popery to Protestantism gives up so much of what he has held as sacred as anything that he retains; there is so much *laceration of mind* in such a conversion that it can hardly be sincere and lasting."

This passage has proved a veritable stumbling stone for many of Johnson's editors and devotees. They first hold up their hands in pious horror at the sentiment expressed. Then, the first shock over, they hasten to explain away this fatal candor on the part of their hero and absolve him from the awful suspicion of meaning what he says! But facts are eloquent, mercilessly so, and there is absolutely no necessity for commentary here to elucidate the doctor's meaning. He usually spoke without the slightest hesitation or obscurity, especially when there was question of the Catholic Church. The majority of men, moreover, prefer to form their opinions according to evidence submitted, not receive them second-hand from emendations, which besides being at time woefully inaccurate from an historical point of view, are far from exhibiting that philosophic calm and neutrality which so become the true commentator.

VI.

JOHNSON'S CATHOLIC PRACTICES.

The "old religion" is what Johnson loved to consider the Catholic Church, and he clung so tenaciously to some of her ancient traditions as to excite the sneers and merriment of certain moderns. They have laughed loudest and longest at his rigorously Catholic observance of Lent, with its fasts, abstinences and other such religious "mummeries." Incidents such as the following have furnished rich material for their sarcastic *badinage*:

"It was his custom," writes Boswell, "to observe certain days with a pious abstraction, viz., New Year's Day, the day of his wife's death, Good Friday, Easter Day and his own birthday. . . . On April 18 (being Good Friday) I found him at breakfast in his usual manner upon that day, drinking tea without milk and eating a cross bun to prevent faintness; . . . we went to St. Clement's Church as formerly."

They certainly have good reason to marvel at this who know not the meaning of the word "mortification," and as far as Johnson is concerned, they are perfectly safe in ridiculing him, since the old lion has been dead for over a century. But it reminds one, nevertheless, of a certain fable told by Æsop.

Equally puzzling to this same school must appear those pathetic prayers and resolutions which dot his diary and which are a valuable index of the strict ascetical discipline by which this man of the world endeavored to rule his life. In the "Journal" published after Johnson's life are to be found entries such as the following—entries which he doubtless intended for no human eyes except his own:

Having offered my prayers to God, I will now review the last year . . .
O God, grant that I may not misspend or lose the time which Thou shalt
yet allow me.

I profess my faith in Jesus: I declare my resolution to obey Him.
I implore in the highest act of worship (Holy Communion) grace to keep
those resolutions. I hope to rise to a new life this day.

Under another date we read (July 13, 1755):

"Having lived not without an habitual reverence for the Sabbath,
yet without that attention to its religious duties which Christianity
requires," he resolves:

1. To rise early, and, in order to do it, to go to sleep early on Saturday.
2. To use some extraordinary devotion in the morning.
3. To examine the tenor of my life, and particularly the last week; and
to mark my advance in religion or recession from it. (A suggestion of the
Ignatian method of self-examination?)
5. To go to church twice.
8. To wear off by meditation any worldly soil contracted during the
week.

These are fair specimens of those practices of Johnson which have
been cried down so vehemently by those whose very vehemence sug-
gests the real cause of their animosity. Their heat makes one sus-
pect that perhaps they felt a twinge of self-reproach and were uneasy
under the consciousness. One critic calls them "those pharisaic
meditations, with their Popish prayers for old Tetty's soul; their
contrite parade about lying in bed on a morning; drinking creamed
tea on a fast day; snoring at sermons, and having omitted to ponder
well Bel and the Dragon and Tobit and his dog." Others, more
sweepingly, characterize the whole business as "superstition—monk-
ish, mediæval superstition." "Superstition?" answers Dr. Horne, the
Bishop of Norwich. "What do you mean by 'superstition?' . . .
Who shall exactly ascertain to us what superstition is? The Roman-
ist is charged with it by the Church of England man; the Churchman
by the Presbyterian, the Presbyterian by the Independent, all by the
Deist, and the Deist by the Atheist. With some it is superstitious
to pray; with others to receive the Sacrament; with others to believe
in God. In some minds it springs from the most amiable disposi-
tion in the world—'a pious awe and fear to have offended,' a wish
rather to do too much than too little. Such a disposition one loves,
and wishes always to find in a friend; and it cannot be disagreeable
in the sight of Him who made us. It argues a sensibility of heart,
a tenderness of conscience and the fear of God. Let him who finds
it not in himself beware lest in flying from superstition he fall into
irreligion—and profaneness."

VII.

JOHNSON AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

While Johnson lived irreligion and blasphemy in any form never
dared to show their heads in his presence, for more than once they

had felt his iron heel and writhed under the crushing arguments of his virile Christianity. He saw and knew them all. He knew every plea that the champions of atheism, agnosticism, deism, materialism and skepticism could advance, but he counted their systems, individually and collectively, as mere dust when weighed in the balance with the pure gold of Christian philosophy. Against the creeping infidelity to which the eighteenth century was slowly succumbing, and in the midst of its political and religious chaos, where God, as Grattan said, "was a tolerated alien in His own creation," and where every man was his own little King or Parliament, Johnson stood forth a bulwark unshakable for the English nation. It was the time when one-half of continental Europe was applauding the brilliant deism of Voltaire and the other half was dreaming the socialistic dreams of Rousseau. The train laid against the Jesuits and religion had been exploded with spectacular effects by Pombal, Choiseul and Tanucci. The Great Frederick himself was scribbling licentious verses at his Berlin court. Old David Hume, in Scotland, was pointing the way to religious unbelief and skepticism. Gibbon, in England, had just begun his insidious gnawing at the foundations of Christianity,

Sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer,
The lord of irony, that master spell.

But in the midst of it all, in the midst of that turmoil of passionate unbelief and free-thinking which was the natural harbinger of the red saturnalia of 1793, the solitary figure of Johnson stands out in clear perspective. To him the better intellects of England looked as to a representative and exponent of their thought. Nor were they disappointed. Serene and undisturbed by the confusion around him, he still knelt in old St. Clement's Church and adored in spirit and truth that Supreme Being whose name was fast becoming a by-word among men and whose sacred temple was destined, at a not far distant date, to be desecrated by howling Communists and made to serve as the throne room of a painted "Goddess" of Reason!

Truly, it yet remains to be written how far humanity owes it to her sturdy Samuel and his silent, hidden influence, that the horrors of the French Revolution were never anticipated or repeated across the Straits of Dover—a truth which Carlyle doubtless appreciated when he said: "The Church of St. Clement Danes, where Johnson still worshiped in the era of Voltaire, is to me a venerable place."

Of course Johnson's philosophy of life, since it was the generalization of his own checkered experience, took on a somewhat sombre hue. His part in the great drama of life had been a sad one for fifty long years, and hence it is not surprising if at times he seems to have something in common with modern pessimism. With

Schopenhauer, he realized that man lives in the valley of the shadow of death, where encompassing armies of sorrows send their shafts against him from every side. But he differed from Schopenhauer and modern sentimentalists in this—that he had the heartiest contempt for useless whining over it. He was far, too, from accepting George Eliot's shameful solution: "There is but one remedy, my child, for the sad race of men—one grand simultaneous act of suicide." None of this for Johnson! He knew where to lift his eyes for the true remedy. His loadstar was in the eternal, and towards it he constantly tended, despite the fact that his spiritual vision was often dimmed by the intervening mists of melancholy.

The atonement of Jesus Christ and the propitiatory merits of His most precious blood were the two vital principles which above all he had "grappled to his soul" to be his joy in gladness and his comfort in desolation. On such topics he loved to dwell, and page after page of Boswell is taken up with sublime disquisitions on these eternal verities. It would be impracticable within the limits of this present paper to quote even one of these splendid panegyrics in full, where with all the dignity and power of language he discourses on "the great sacrifice of the sins of mankind," "the Paschal Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world" and how "the prophets only proclaimed the will and threatenings of God—Christ fulfilled His justice." Johnson's repeated and emphatic reference to a "universal sacrifice and perpetual propitiation" as the essential requisite of real Christianity cannot but suggest to the Catholic mind the adorable sacrifice of the altar, in which this requisite is formally attained. As for evidence, he used to declare that "we have not such evidence that Cæsar died in the capitol as that Jesus Christ died in the manner related." In short, it is impossible for even the most indifferent reader to peruse ten successive pages of Johnson's life without being struck at every turn of the leaf not only by the strong religious and Catholic cast of his thoughts, but also by their frequent and fearless expression. Like Socrates, he was preëminently a talker. If Gray was the man who never spoke out, then Johnson was assuredly the man who did speak out, and it is only natural that his tongue should utter what his heart felt. For this reason and in the face of so many instances to the contrary, we must confess our inability to understand the meaning of Professor Minto, of Aberdeen, when in his "English Prose Literature" he says: "Though profoundly convinced of the doctrines of religion, he (Johnson) seldom dilates on her 'august solemnities' or the grandeur of her hopes and fears."

It is not less evident also that Johnson was no theorizer or mere speculator in the matter of religious obligations and their bearing

on human conduct. Not only were the broad creeds to be promulgated, but men were to be formed to rectitude as well. To this end, as we have noted from his diary, and as a result of his minature weekly retreat, he had constantly at his disposal a fund of healthy advice for the not unfrequent clients who sought his opinion and direction. Nor was he at all sparing with reproof or correction when the circumstances called for them. These moral precepts, delivered familiarly to the multitudes, have been characterized as "the concentrated essence of common sense." A well-known example of it is his spirited reply to some sanctimonious formalists who were objecting over much to showy dress. "O!" he exclaimed, "let us be found when our Master calls us, ripping, not the lace from our waistcoats, but the spirit of contention from our souls and tongues. . . . Alas! sir, a man who cannot get to heaven in a green coat will not find his way thither the sooner in a gray one."

When there was some moral or fundamental principle at stake, however, he would lower his flag to nobody—not to rank, nor degree, nor station—and there is an amusing description in Piozzi's Memoir highly illustrative of this unswerving adherence to what he knew was right and just. He happened one evening to enter into conversation with a certain gentleman who chanced to be sitting next to him. The subject of divorce was casually introduced, whereupon the indignant moralist, surrounded by an admiring throng, harangued long and eloquently on the indissolubility of the marriage tie, invoking many an anathema upon the guilty heads of those who should dare dissolve what God's law has ordained should end only with the grave. But the *dénouement* was reached when he learned that the gentleman whom primarily he had been addressing was none other than the celebrated Lord Bolingbroke, whose divorce from the Lady Diana Spencer had furnished a dainty tidbit for London society. But it made not the slightest difference to Johnson. He would have told Henry VIII. the same to his teeth and willingly followed Fisher and More to the block for it. He even had the courage to do what few men of his time would dare to do—he spontaneously defended the *Jesuits*, and in an eloquent Latin conversation with the Abbé Roffette at Rouen, in 1775, he stigmatized the suppression which the enemies of God had temporarily effected as "a blow to the general power of the Church, and likely to be followed with many and dangerous innovations which might at length become fatal to religion itself, and shake even the foundations of Christianity." Equally fearless, too, was his generous vindication of the pathetic and much maligned Mary, Queen of Scots, whose innocent blood, staining the crown handed down by Elizabeth, pleaded with his upright heart for justice. Johnson's generosity for the

unfortunate Catholic Queen shines forth in the following sentence, taken from an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1760:

"It has now been fashionable," he wrote, "for near half a century to defame and vilify the house of Stuart and to exalt and magnify the reign of Elizabeth. The Stuarts have found few apologists, for the dead cannot pay for praise; and who will, without reward, oppose the tide of popularity? Yet there remains still among us, not wholly extinguished, a zeal for truth, a desire of establishing right in opposition to fashion."

It was this constant championship of truth that forced the hero worshiper of Chelsea to cry out in ecstasy as he enrolled Johnson in his litany of heroes: "Brave old Samuel! Ultimus Romanorum."

To this same spirit of downright honesty that ". . . would not flatter Neptune for his trident or Jove for his power to thunder" is also due in great measure not a few of the harsh judgments that have been expressed of Johnson both at home and abroad. Taine, for example, the great French critic, viewing the English Johnson through French glasses and according to Versailles criteria, could find little, if anything, to admire in him. On the contrary, he marveled exceedingly that the people across the channel should revere so superlatively "that honest pedant; . . . that most grotesque of literary behemoths!" A not improbable reason and explanation of this partisan view is not far to see, however, since from several places in his writings⁴ Taine shows unmistakably that his equanimity was disturbed by the severe but richly deserved criticisms which his compatriots, Voltaire and Rousseau, experienced at the hands of Johnson.

But even among his own countrymen there were not wanting some who sneered and cavilled at the "uncouth Hottentot," as they called Johnson. Shrinking from open combat with his massive intellect or intrepid soul, this school of scoffers had recourse to an expedient surely ignoble. Nature, as is sometimes her wont, had hidden her pearl of great price in a vessel whose pristine nobility had been sadly marred by twenty-five years of sharp distress and bitter privation. Against the huge, disease-scarred frame of Johnson, then, and his "tremendous" Grub street manners, these pragmatical wranglers directed their scornful shafts, forgetting, or wilfully ignoring the bitter truth that as Socrates was not less wise for all his ugliness, nor Horace less the Prince of Lyricists for his blinking eye, so Johnson was their intellectual master still, though forced by dire necessity to wipe his fingers on the back of a Newfoundland dog at the exit of a subterraneous cookshop, or standing dinnerless before the windows of a bakery, snuff the odors that were odors to

⁴ Taine, "English Literature," Book III., Cap. IX.—passim.

him, but nothing more! "He throws his meat anywhere but down his throat," was the aristocratic gibe of Lord Chesterfield. But what if he did? What if he did not boast to be of those who would rather put their right hand into the fire than be guilty of the slightest breach of epulary ethics? It were far better to sin against every arbitrary law of the drawing room and dining table than to outrage the eternal and immutable laws of God by a system of morality or rather occult Hedonism—such as the same worthy nobleman inculcates in his "Letters to His Son."

Johnson would have dashed both hands—yes, and feet, too—into the fire before writing such shameful "stuff" as is contained in some of these epistles, notably those to Paris. "There was no occasion," wrote Dr. Horne, "that Johnson should teach us to dance, to make bows or turn compliments; he could teach us better things." And he did teach us better things—nothing better than how to *die* like a Christian.

VIII.

LAST DAYS AND DEATH.

It is a well-known fact that Johnson, though eminently a religious man, did not, however, extract from religion the full measure of comfort which he knew was surely there. This was forbidden by the loathsome warden that sat brooding like a spectre in the corner of his heart, hypochondria. "Religion to Dr. Johnson," says Mr. Birrell, "was an awful thing. He never learned to take his ease on Zion." "The light from heaven shone upon him indeed," wrote Macaulay, "but not in a direct line or with its own pure splendor. The rays had to struggle through a disturbing medium; they reached him refracted, dulled and discolored by the thick gloom which had settled over his soul." The fault lay in the man, not in religion. Sincerely convinced of his human frailties, Johnson was led at times by his morbid temperament to magnify them unreasonably until they appeared to him to be greater than they actually were. Yet one shudders to think what might have been the result if God in His Providence had in nowise tempered this bitter melancholy with the sweetness of religious hope. England might have had another genius, to be sure, but an erring genius like Byron or our own Edgar Allen Poe. In estimating his own offenses, Johnson sometimes reasoned thus: "Every man knows his own sins and also what graces he has resisted. . . . I do not forget the merits of my Redeemer, but my Redeemer has said that He will set some on His right hand and some on His left. . . . Shall I, who have been a teacher of others, myself be a castaway?" This, in point of fact, is most salutary reasoning for a man, and was used to great ad-

vantage by St. Paul and the other saints. But that it was carried to excess by Johnson there can be no doubt, for he used to turn pale at the thought that God's justice might finally outweigh His mercy and consign his poor trembling soul to the torments of eternal hell. Whence arose that dread of death with him, which has passed into a proverb. But God's ways are unsearchable, and so it came to pass that when the all-important hour drew near and the Angel of Death came knocking at his heart, then all was changed. In his seventy-fifth year the final summons came, when, as if by magic, all the doubts and fears and apprehensions fled away, leaving the transformed Johnson to die like a man and fall like one of the princes. "A deathbed's a detector of the heart," wrote Young, and hence whatever we may have seen or known of him heretofore, it is only on his singularly beautiful deathbed that we catch a fleeting glimpse of the real Samuel Johnson.

Freed at last from the entanglement of his life-long foe, hypochondria, all the hidden beauties of his character shone forth unimpeded. From his bed of agony he was kind, gentle and patient to all, causing those who called him "bear" before now to turn aside and weep. All England—lords, gentlemen and paupers—stood by his bedside to receive a parting word or blessing, while the most celebrated physicians deemed it their honor to attend him, but an insult to be offered money for it. And right here modern medicine, with its false altruism, may learn a lesson from the dying philosopher and stand rebuked for its atrocious and pagan practice of so drugging sufferers as to launch them oftentimes into eternity unconscious. Having charged Dr. Brocklesby upon his integrity as an honest man to respond frankly to the question whether he could recover or not—"Give me," he said, "a direct answer." Upon being told that it was impossible, "Then," he said, "I will take no more physics, not even my opiates, for I have prayed that I may render up my soul to God unclouded." His last great prayer made upon his knees a few days before he died is not unworthy of insertion here, and is a proof that his vigorous intellect was unclouded to the last.

"Almighty and most merciful Father, I am now, as to human eyes it seems, about to commemorate for the last time the death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, Our Saviour and Redeemer. Grant, O Lord, that my whole hope and confidence may be in His merits and in Thy mercy; forgive and accept my late conversion; enforce and accept my imperfect repentance; make this commemoration of Him available to the confirmation of my faith, the establishment of my hope and the enlargement of my charity, and make the death of Thy Son Jesus effectual to my redemption. Have mercy upon me and pardon the multitude of my offenses. Bless my friends, have mercy upon

all men. Support me by the grace of Thy Holy Spirit in the day of weakness and at the hour of death, and receive me at my death to everlasting happiness for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen."

With such sentiments in his heart and the sacred name of God upon his lips, the aged moralist, on the 13th day of December, 1784, yielded back his well-tried soul to its Omnipotent Creator with all the peace and tender confidence of a child falling to sleep on its mother's bosom.

Many an eye was wet in England when the news spread around next morning that Johnson was dead. From Scotland came the tribute of Courtenay's poetical eulogium, and even Ireland mourned a distant champion who had defended her in the very camp of the oppressor. Many an outcast and hidden sufferer in London's seething cauldron of life would miss his kindly face and unassuming charity, for Johnson, as he had been no stranger to their sorrows during his own years of famine, was not unmindful of them during his years of royal plenty. Of his three hundred pounds of pension per annum it is estimated that he never spent over seventy or eighty on himself; the rest he lent to God by giving it to the poor. Hence they wept for him. Even Burke, the man of power and action, could scarcely hold back the burning tears as he stood by the deathbed of Johnson. The vicissitudes of twenty-seven years had never once interrupted their mutual esteem and steady friendship, so that now, as the veteran orator gazed upon the cold, still form before him, or summoned up remembrance of the many happy evenings spent under the genial tyranny of the illustrious dictator in the famous "club" of famous men, it must have made him feel like one Psammetitus at the gates of Memphis. Faithful to the end, Burke followed the slow funeral cortege of Johnson to England's Hall of Fame and helped to lay him away in the south transept, near the foot of Shakespeare's monument and close to the coffins of his friends, Goldsmith and Garrick.

IX.

THE ETERNAL "WHY?"

Before bringing this brief sketch of a huge subject to a close there is one question which occurs to every thoughtful Catholic mind and which is worthy of our most serious attention. It is this: "If all that has been advanced concerning Johnson's pronouncedly Catholic tendencies be true, why was he not *actually* a Catholic? Why did he pause upon the threshold of the Church, content to be of one heart with her, though not of one communion?" This is, indeed, a just and natural query, and one that can as honestly be asked of

hundreds of sincere non-Catholics to-day. By way of answer, we shall suggest nothing save what Johnson himself declared to be the reason, for the matter is too grave to admit of mere idle speculation. In the evening of his life, when age and maturity lend additional weight to wisdom already reverent, he declared with full deliberation: "I would be a Papist if I could. I have fear enough, but an *obstinate rationality* prevents me. . . . No reasoning Papist believes every article of their faith. . . . A good man of a timorous disposition, in great doubt of his acceptance with God, and pretty credulous, may be glad to be of a Church where there are so many helps to get to heaven. . . . I shall never be a Papist unless on the near approach of death, of which I have a very great terror. I wonder that women are not all Papists."

Alas! alas! Even the great soul and intellect of Johnson fell into that vulgar error which is really proper to smaller minds—that some articles of Catholic faith, because they are above reason, are therefore *contrary* to reason. It is the ghost of Banquo again. How often must it be reiterated—and what a pity it is that Johnson had no wise spiritual director to point it out to him—that reasoning Catholics *do believe* each and every essential tenet of their religion, though they may *not understand* them? With this distinction, then, Johnson's proposition becomes: "No reasoning Papist *understands* every article of their faith," than which there was never truer proposition. For, if our finite intellects were to become the only norm of credibility, then there would be an end to mysteries and God would cease to be Infinite. Yet our assent, even in the mysterious, is never blind, for there is always the solid evidence of divine relation. Hence when we believe where we do not understand, "we are not," in the words of a modern philosopher, "slaying reason on the altar of faith. The same God who stayed the hand of Abraham when he would sacrifice his son, because He was satisfied with the willingness of the patriarch to offer up his first born, is satisfied with us when we bow down before the truths which are above our comprehension. When we show ourselves ready to sacrifice our reason, which we love as dearly as Abraham loved Isaac, He is pleased to stay our hands and never makes it necessary for us to make the actual sacrifice." Augustine and Bernard and Jerome, even the matchless Aquinas, did not repute it unreasonable to bow their heads at times over open pages of Revelation and say, with the simplicity of a Breton peasant: "We believe, O Lord! Help Thou our unbelief."

"An obstinate rationality." This then was the barrier, in reality only a phantom, which prevented Johnson from following where heart and where inclination were leading him. It had its origin in

the peculiar mould of his private character, where loyalty to King and country were second only to his loyalty to God. From this conjunction sprung his difficulties and perplexing "rationality" concerning Catholicism. He may have had the *wish* to believe, but could not, it would appear, square some of the Church's doctrines, first with his reason, secondly with his loyalty to the Crown of England, and consequently to all that its authority sanctioned or prescribed. Nor is this at all surprising, for many another Englishman has met the identical *crux* on his journey from Canterbury to Rome. The gracious Newman, an intellectual peer of Johnson, felt in his early years the first of these two difficulties most keenly; yet in the full vigor of his mental power, after having passed through every intervening area of speculative aridity, he came at last to know the solidity and fruitfulness of the Catholic ideal. His state of mind during the great struggle between "reason and affection" was an exact counterpart of Johnson's, with this exception, however, that Newman's "kindly light" was destined eventually to lead him safely through the gloom of doubt into the clear, white light of peace and tranquil belief, whereas with Johnson this consummation was never to be realized. Newman came, saw and was conquered. Johnson came, saw and—"the rest is silence."

O! that thy creed were sound,
For thou dost soothe the heart, O Church of Rome,

might just as well have been written by Johnson as by Newman. Their stories run so much the same that one cannot help but think that Johnson, had he lived a century later, would have been closely allied with Newman as a leader in the Spiritual Renaissance occasioned by the Tractarian Movement in 1833.

Johnson's chief stumbling stones, if we may judge by elimination and analogy, were probably the Blessed Virgin, Papal infallibility and perhaps transubstantiation. As to the first, if he found repugnance there, it was doubtless because he confounded what was of defined faith with that which is pure devotion, forgetting, as Cardinal Newman says, that "faith and devotion are as distinct in fact as in idea. . . . There is a healthy devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and there is an artificial; it is possible to love her as a mother, to honor her as a Virgin, to seek her as a patron and to exalt her as a Queen, without any injury to solid piety and Christian good sense."⁵

The Saviour of the world is never obscured because Mary, His Mother, is placed in the foreground.

Papal infallibility Johnson naturally joined with temporal sovereignty and divided allegiance, whereupon his stout British heart

⁵ Letter to Dr. Pusey on occasion of his Eirenicon of 1864 (3-5).

and Tory principles rose up in rebellion. Like Gladstone, he may have imagined that "Catholics, if they act consistently with their principles, cannot be loyal subjects." Richard Lalor Sheil answered that unjust imputation from the floor of the House of Commons on February 22, 1837, when he called upon Arthur, Duke of Wellington, to say if Catholic loyalty had been found wanting at the awful moment when the destinies of England and all Europe hung trembling in the balance at Waterloo.

The adorable mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ Johnson accepted in the sense and spirit of the Anglican Church of his day—*i. e.*, as a memorial of the Saviour, not really His Body and Blood. There is some uncertainty here, however, for from a passage in the "Journal of a Trip to the Hebrides" we gather that the one obstacle to his perfect assent to transubstantiation was the possibility of the words "This is My Body," etc., being figurative in sense, not literal. Hence we may infer that otherwise he would have believed unreservedly, for it was by no means the miraculous in the Eucharist that appalled Johnson. As it was, he was more than once suspected of un-Anglican and heterodox opinions, as was insinuated by Courtenay in his "Poetical Review" when he wrote:

On Popish grounds he takes his high church station,
To sound mysterious tenets through the nation.

Thus we see that Dr. Johnson was, in fact, very close to the Catholic Church. The chasm was narrow and might easily have been spanned by the right man at the right moment—a striking example that keenness of intellect, vast and various knowledge lodged in a great soul eager for the truth are, when left to themselves without illumination, still very far from that "perfect gift" which we call *faith*. And even as it is, there still remains one circumstance of Johnson's deathbed which has puzzled more than one reader of his life, and regarding which the usually vigilant and explanatory editor remains as mute as Cassandra. And it is precisely because of this incident that one must hesitate before deciding categorically just how the last chapter of Johnson's religious life should be written. About two weeks before his death the customary will and testament was executed. During the dictation of it Sir John Hawkins asked the doctor whether he would choose to make any introductory declaration respecting his faith. The doctor said he would. Sir John further asked him if he would make any declaration of his being of the Church of England, to which the doctor said, "No." What does this mean? It is significant, not to say startling. Given a man who is either an Episcopalian or a Catholic (for with Johnson there was no question of any other alternative), and who refuses upon his deathbed to be recorded as

belonging to the Church of England, what is the most natural and reasonable inference to be drawn therefrom? Add to this Johnson's previous testimony prophesying just such a contingency: "I shall never be a Papist, unless *on the near approach of death*," and the inference becomes not only rational, but even necessary.

Who can tell? Perhaps even then, at the eleventh hour, the light was beginning; but no, we have no right to judge the interior workings of his soul. That is the prerogative of God, who alone can read the secret hearts of men. Suffice it to say that Johnson revered his conscience as his King, and as far as we can tell he followed its dictates sincerely whithersoever they led him. That they were leading him slowly yet surely towards the Catholic Church, or at least away from Anglicanism, this episode would seem to indicate. But there are some other strange remarks of his recorded for the following day, which would seem to point that he still retained strong Anglican persuasions. And of course he died professedly an Anglican, with his old friend, Rev. Mr. Strahan, administering the rites of the Church of England. Yet there is just enough uncertainty about the whole affair to heighten and intensify our curiosity.

It is precisely this dash of the mysterious that lends such deep and unusual interest to Johnson's passage from time to eternity. He is one of the few great men of history whom we should like to follow beyond the grave, for the thoughts we think of him are thoughts that must pierce the barrier of death if they would be fully satisfied. There was a great void in Johnson's life—a something missing, for which his blameless but agitated and scrupulous soul longed and yearned. Would that he had found it! But whether he finally found it or not, we still firmly believe, as has been said of Hamlet, that he could front the dread tribunals of eternity with a radically inviolate conscience, for he was sincerity personified. Though walking by sight, not by faith, yet Johnson was not the man to sin against that light if it came.

Our last impression of Samuel Johnson as he fades from mortal vision is the epitome of his life story. He stands on the far side of that ugly chasm of heresy dug by Henry VIII., but his hands are stretched yearningly towards the peaceful, unattained slopes on the opposite bank.

Tendebatque manus ripae ulterioris amore.

EDMUND A. WALSH, S. J.

THE CLERICAL SCANDALS IN ITALY.

IN ITS issue of January 2 the *Christian*¹ publishes an article entitled as above under the signature of the Rev. A. Robertson, D. D., Venice.

The gravity of the statements therein set forth, the number of people concerned, the high position of the classes involved, the national importance of the questions raised, the writer's exceptional opportunities of acquiring first-hand reliable information, the tone of absolute conviction pervading his remarks, not to mention his character as minister of the Gospel of truth—all these considerations imperatively demand that more than a passing notice should be devoted to the article in question, and accordingly I purpose to subject it to a detailed examination.

Let me first of all set forth, as briefly as possible, the main features of Dr. Robertson's article:

He begins by stating that recently in the Italian Chamber a question was asked by Signor Daneo, one of the members, regarding the necessity of introducing certain reforms into the criminal code so as to enable "the Public Prosecutor to proceed against those who commit crime to the damage of poor children in orphanages as well as against minors in general. The Minister of Public Justice, replying, acknowledged the pertinency of the question and the necessity of action, and promised that the matter should be considered and studied in the manner indicated by the question." Signor Daneo in expressing his pleasure at the answer went on to say that "it would give a legitimate satisfaction to the public conscience, scandalized by the recent immoral deeds that have corrupted many young existences. For it is a thing radically immoral that the guilty should be able with money to purchase immunity from punishment."

So far Dr. Robertson acts the part of chronicler; but he now proceeds to ask what is the underlying meaning "of this question and answer and the comment thereon?" He furnishes his own reply:

"The whole," he says, "has reference to the scandals that arose lately in Italy—the crimes committed by priests in infant schools and orphanages that excited the indignation and fury of the whole Italian nation."

It is true, he admits, that "these deeds of guilt and shame were denied," and that in proof of the denial it was pointed out that "not a few priests against whom criminal charges had been brought and who had been arrested and put in prison had been liberated." But he goes on immediately to add:

¹ *The Christian*, a weekly record of Christian life and testimony, evangelical effort and missionary enterprise. London, 12 Paternoster Buildings, E. C.

"It has now come out (indeed, it was well known at the time) that in the case of many thus dealt with, liberation was not granted because they were innocent—innocence or guilt did not enter into the consideration. Such were liberated for a different reason. They were liberated, as the Parliamentary report shows, because of a defect in the law, of which (helped in all probability by the Church) they were not slow to take advantage."

He next proceeds to explain the nature of that defect and its application to the case in question. As the law at present stands the Public Prosecutor cannot initiate a prosecution for outrages committed against children and minors—such prosecution lies in the hands of their parents or guardians; and if these once withdraw a prosecution, even after they have initiated it, the whole process at once falls to the ground. The application is easy to see: The priests had been arrested and prosecuted at the instance of the parents and guardians of the children who had been outraged, but, lo and behold! "these same parents and guardians withdrew the prosecutions," and the cases as a matter of course "fell to the ground." Now what was the result?

"The priests were then liberated, not because they were innocent—that did not enter into the question; they might be innocent or they might be guilty—but they were liberated because the parents and guardians declined to prosecute. And why did they decline to prosecute? We get the answer in the closing sentence of the Parliamentary report which I have quoted, which says: 'For it is a thing radically immoral that the guilty should be allowed *with money* to purchase immunity from punishment.'

"The plain inference (such is his comment on all this) is that the parents and guardians of the outraged children in many cases received money to withdraw their prosecutions. Such had been bribed or to use the common, though vulgar, expression, *squared*."

Now who did the squaring? he asks. Not the priests themselves, for they were poor men. But Dr. Robertson thinks "it is not difficult to find an answer." Of course it was the Church, which has an old trick of compounding crimes by money. But the practice of purchasing exemption must cease. Such was the demand made in the Italian Parliament, and with a view to this the penal code must be altered to meet the case of parents or guardians declining to prosecute.

"Had this been the law," he concludes, "the result of the apprehension of vicious priests would have been very different from what it is, and the false boast of the Church as to their innocence would have been taken away."

Yet, he laments, "in spite of all this exposure in Parliament, in

the press and among the people," Pius X. had "the shameless audacity" recently to speak of such exposure as "persecution."

"Can there be any hope of a Church whose 'infallible' head dares to misrepresent facts in such a way? It is as if one reviled and condemned a judge and jury for investigating crime whilst justifying the criminal. It is worse (for) the Pope virtually says it is persecution of the Church of Christ to punish clerical crime!"

I am sorry to have had to trouble the reader with so much of Dr. Robertson; but, as will readily be seen, it was absolutely necessary to let him tell his own tale and make his own statements in his own words. Now briefly expressed and in logical sequence these statements are as follows:

(a) That Italy was lately stirred to fury and indignation by several grave clerical scandals.

(b) That these scandals consisted in "crimes committed by priests in infant schools and orphanages."

(c) That "not a few" of the accused priests were liberated.

(d) That this was done not because of their innocence, but was due to the fact that the parents and guardians of the outraged children had been *squared* and induced to withdraw their accusations, thus rendering the Crown powerless to proceed.

(e) That proof of this statement is to be found in a recent "Parliamentary report."

(f) And, finally, had it not been for a defect in the law "the result of the apprehension of vicious priests would have been very different from what it is."

There can be no denying that we have here a set of most convincing statements, if we only make the one small proviso, "supposing they are true." Now are they true? That is the one really important question, and it is the question that must now be faced, not by indulging in flights of imagination, not by playing upon the prejudices or ignorance or credulity of the reader, but simply by setting forth the facts as established in the law courts or duly recorded in the public press.

(a)

I need not devote much time to the statement that several "grave clerical scandals arose lately in Italy." Even now, after the lapse of more than half a year, most readers will have some vague recollection of the stories "of deeds of guilt and shame" that "excited the indignation and fury of the whole Italian nation" last summer, and led to a reign of terror in which unoffending citizens and residents in Italy were ruthlessly assailed, their property wrecked or destroyed and their very lives exposed to danger.

The facts regarding the publication of the scandals are as follows:

Towards the end of last July all Italy was horrified to read that abominable and nameless scandals had been discovered at Milan in a female orphanage conducted by a congregation of nuns, and that the authors of these scandals were, with the connivance of the nuns, two priests, Don Riva, of the Diocese of Turin, and Don Longo, of the Diocese of Milan, the latter of whom, it was discovered, had gone to America some short time before and was actually there at that moment.

It would be impossible to repeat the accusations brought against the accused parties—no decent journal outside Italy could even dream of publishing them, so nameless were the filthy details multiplied on hundreds of Italian papers from end to end of the peninsula. Suffice it to say that the children of the Fumagalli Institute (such was the name of the superioress) were proclaimed to be infected with venereal disease and to reveal physiological conditions that clearly proved they had been tampered with by some foul, inhuman wretch. That monster was declared to be Don Riva, the spiritual director of the institute, and the evidence furnished against him was so strong, so clear and so convincing that for many a day—and that day is not yet at an end—the name of Don Riva has been a byword and a reproach and a synonym for all that is bad and vile and monstrous in man.

A few days later, while the whole country was seething with indignation at the atrocities of Milan, another and still graver scandal came to startle even calm minds and to arouse the fury of the people to a pitch hitherto unknown perhaps in the whole history of Italy. The sub-prefect of Savona, the official directly responsible for the maintenance of law and order in his district (his office corresponds more or less to that of a county inspector of police), ordered a minute inspection of a college kept by the Salesian Fathers, a teaching institute diffused over all Italy and not unknown in England and America.

Acting on information received, he despatched on the morning of July 29 an inspector with a posse of police, who took possession of the school, bore off teachers and pupils to the barracks, subjected both to a searching investigation, and had several of the boys medically examined by a certain Dr. Ferrari, with the result that he was able to declare that various boys had shown indications of having been violated, and that in the preliminary inquisition conducted by the police several boys had confessed that the authors of the abominations perpetrated on their persons were the priests who conducted the college. At the same time the sub-prefect handed to the press for publication the contents of a diary, written day after day by one

of the pupils, a boy named Besson, giving a minute and detailed account of all he saw transpiring under his own eyes in the college. What that was cannot be repeated here; let it suffice to say that it leaves Sodom and Gomorrah in the shade, and that it is one sickening catalogue of sacrileges, orgies, profanations and crimes without a name, organized and perpetrated by the priests of the college with the active coöperation of the nuns of a neighboring convent, in the presence and to the irreparable damage of some hundreds of youths who attended the school.

So unconditional and unreserved were the charges, so clear did the proofs appear and so abominable were the facts revealed by the sub-prefect's investigation and by the diary of Besson, that, improbable as it all was on the face of it, no one dreamt of questioning its truth. It was unreservedly accepted as genuine by all classes—Catholic as well as anti-Catholic—and the flames of popular fury were kindled once more and burst into a devouring flame that respected neither property nor person. Riot followed riot, insult followed insult, outrage followed outrage—and all as a protest against the unutterable wickedness of those vile, inhuman monsters, the priests, monks and nuns! Matters reached a climax at Spezia, where on the evening of the 1st of August an infuriated crowd of Socialists and Anarchists raged unrestrained through the principal streets, to the tune of "down with the priests—down with the Vatican." In their mad career they attacked several churches, amongst others that of St. Antonio, which was completely sacked, the seats and chairs and vestments being set on fire, after which an attempt was made to burn down the church at four different points. But the fiercest attack was that made on the Church of the Madonna della Neve, belonging to the Salesians. The rioters attempted to break down the door of the edifice; they were opposed by the police. A melee ensued, in which stones were freely thrown. Some arrests being made, the crowd endeavored to effect the liberation of those arrested, and in order to succeed hurled down tiles from the roofs of the houses on the heads of the soldiers, wounding several of them. Finally the police saw there was nothing for it but to fire on the crowd. They did so, killing one and wounding two, and for several days to come the city was placed under martial law. Similar deplorable incidents, though fortunately without loss of life, took place at Sampierdarena, Alassio, Savona, Fossano, Collesalveti and elsewhere, in all of which places the Salesians were subjected to outrage, insult and violent attack.

A very cyclone of clerical scandals at once swept over the country. Hardly a day passed that the people had not some fresh deed of guilt and shame to set down to the credit of priests and monks and

nuns. True, indeed, thinking people began to suspect that the revelations were too many, too improbable and especially too simultaneous to be genuine, and that the evidence produced in each case, when properly sifted, was far from satisfactory. But public opinion in general was aroused; suspicion and discredit had been sown broadcast; meetings and demonstrations had been multiplied, and it was everywhere taken for granted and loudly proclaimed that the charges were proved to be true beyond any shadow of doubt and that the guilty parties were precisely those priests, monks and nuns who had hitherto had so much to do with the education of the Catholic youth of the country. An energetic agitation with a view to the suppression of religion in the schools of the kingdom was at once organized and actively promoted by the Freemason and Socialist parties.

In order to form some idea of the impression made by the scandals thus revealed, it will be useful to refer briefly to three documents that emanated from three distinct and important public bodies in Italy in connection with the revelations.

The first is a circular, dated August 7, addressed to the Italian Freemasons by their Grand Master, Ettore Ferrari, containing instructions regarding the excitement then agitating the public mind as a result of the revelations referred to. The writer states that it was not true that the excitement was due to the initiative or encouragement of Freemasonry, but that it was "the irresistible and spontaneous revolt of the public conscience against the abominations that had been revealed." True it is, he writes, that complaints are being made that some who were clearly innocent had been treated as criminals of the deepest dye, but while regretting that such should be the case, he points out that this only proves the necessity of inspiring the people with a profound sense of justice—a sense that can only be hoped for by substituting sound educational institutions in the place of those now conducted by those "corrupt and corrupting bodies," the religious congregations. This must be their aim, this the object of their most active propaganda.

The second document appeared a few days later. It was a secret circular addressed by the Minister of Public Instruction, Rava (notoriously a Freemason), to the educational authorities of Italy, the opening words of which are: "The horrible deeds perpetrated in certain educational institutions are now notorious." In consequence of these facts he calls upon the educational authorities to extend their most watchful vigilance over "all such institutions indiscriminately, whether public or private, but especially over the latter . . . since it has been made clear that it is precisely in such that the gravest infractions of order and morality take place."

The third document is a circular issued by the Central Socialist

committee to the various branches of that party, calling on them to organize a grand anti-clerical demonstration for the 20th of September and to force on the government a programme including amongst other things the following points:

1. The immediate inspection of all charitable institutions carried on by priests, monks and nuns.
2. A new law to prevent the same from taking charge of children and minors.
3. The abolition of religious instruction in elementary schools.
4. Abolition of religious orders and congregations.
5. Complete separation of Church and State.

So much for the scandals in a general way. Let us now turn to particulars. They will be found interesting, if somewhat revolting.

(b)

"The deeds of guilt and shame," "the crimes committed by priests in infant schools and orphanages," taken one by one almost in the order they were published are as follows:²

1. At Milan two priests, Don Riva and Don Longo, were charged with having outraged various little girls belonging to an orphanage conducted by nuns. This case has already been referred to at some length.
2. At Varazze two priests were charged, under circumstances already narrated, with the most horrible abominations.
3. At Alassio a cleric of the Salesian college there was charged with a somewhat similar crime, the details of which were published at great length in the various papers.
4. At Venice a Franciscan friar was accused of having fled because his criminal relations towards the superioress of St. Francesco della Vigna had been discovered.
5. At San Martino a priest, the Rev. Lucchini, was accused by several little girls of having outraged them.
6. At Pisa a priest, the Rev. Marcucci, was condemned for public immorality.
7. At Trani the nuns of an educational institute were accused of collecting girls and bringing them to the manufacturing centres of North Italy, where they had "sweated" and barbarously ill treated them.
8. At Bolzanetto the skeleton of an infant was found buried in the garden attached to an old convent.
9. At Sampierdarena several young lads made definite accusations

² The list is practically that summarized by the December *Civiltà Cattolica* from information supplied by the *Zentral-Auskunftstelle der kath. Presse*, Koblenz.

against a priest, the Rev. Olcese, of having committed nameless crimes in their regard.

10. At Fossano the Salesian college was closed on account of horrible scandals therein discovered.

11. At Colle Salvetti a youth was corrupted by one of the Salesians.

12. At Ferrara a little girl was the victim of certain Ursuline nuns of that city.

13. At Palermo various definite charges were made against the members of a religious community existing in that city.

14. At Genoa the chaplain of the Ursuline community was accused of misdemeanors.

15. At Cotrone the police had to be called in to save the children of a certain orphanage from being savagely beaten with sticks by the barbarous nuns in charge.

16. At Pistoia a priest, the Rev. Sella, was accused of definite crimes.

17. At Vomero the Franciscan friars were accused of having performed an operation on a woman to whom they had previously administered narcotics.

18. At Adria a violent anti-clerical demonstration was organized as a protest against a nun who had run away with a medical man.

19. At Ancona accusations of immorality were made against the Children of Mary in the Good Shepherd house of correction.

20. At Pittigliano Canon Capitano was arrested on the charge of immorality.

21. At Castellamare a scandal was reported to exist in the relations between the chaplain and the superioress of the hospital.

22. At Faenza the police were informed that a certain friar was being imprisoned and barbarously treated by the other friars of the monastery.

23. At Stezzano a priest was accused of offenses against public morality.

24. At Rome the nuns in charge of the Capozzi Institute were accused of immorality in respect of one of the orphans, a girl named Ida Sprondrati.

25. At Rome the nuns were accused of complicity in scandals that came to light in connection with the house of correction "Regina Elena."

26. At Rome the monks in charge of the Institute Vigna Pia were accused of cruelly neglecting and ill-treating the pupils of that school.

27. At Rome charges of neglect, ill treatment and sexual perversion were made against those responsible for the orphanage of St.

Philippo, with the result that an investigation was held and the school closed.

I must really beg the reader's pardon for imposing this long and shameful catalogue on his patience, but, as will readily be seen, it was absolutely necessary to have a clear notion and a detailed list of the various cases in order to be able to form an unprejudiced judgment on the culpability of the accused and on the crimes that led to their condemnation or exoneration in each case.

(c)

But "these deeds of guilt and shame were denied by the Church, and in proof of their denial they (the Church) pointed to the fact that not a few priests, against whom criminal charges had been brought, and who had been arrested and put in prison, had been liberated." It now transpires, according to Dr. Robertson, that "in the case of many thus dealt with" their liberation from prison "was not granted because they were innocent," but "for a far different reason."

At the present moment I merely wish to draw attention to the vague way in which a number of people are counted in the foregoing statement. "Not a few" of those arrested were liberated; but "many" of these "not a few" owed their discharge to other reasons than their innocence. As we shall see in a moment, of all the accused the only ones who have not been liberated months ago were those connected with the Fumagalli case at Milan, that is to say, Don Riva, Don Longo, the superioress of the institution and one of her assistants. "Not a few," then, really means all except the two priests mentioned just now, though I should be inclined to imagine that "not a few" readers of Dr. Robertson's article would take a far different meaning from his words.

(d)

"In the case of many thus dealt with" their liberation, Dr. Robertson states, was not due to the fact that they were innocent, but to the fact that "the parents and guardians withdrew their prosecutions" and consequently "the cases fell to the ground" owing to a flaw in the Italian criminal code which does not permit the Crown to proceed for outrages on minors or children unless the parents and guardians consent to prosecute.

There is only one way of arriving at an estimate of the correctness of this statement, and that is by studying the result of each accusation and by examining how such result was arrived at. We have already given a substantially complete list of the accusations in question; let us now take them up one by one in the order in which

they occur, and let us see what proceedings were taken in each case, what was the result, and especially how far it is true that acquittal was due to the fact that the charges were withdrawn by the parents or guardians.

1. The first case on the list, as well as the first in time, is that of the Fumagalli Institute at Milan. As already stated, the charge made in this case, when briefly told, amounts to this, that a certain nun named Fumagalli, who was the foundress and superioress of a religious congregation having female orphanages at Turin, Milan and elsewhere, had permitted the violation of certain of the orphans, who on being medically examined displayed evident traces of venereal disease and other physiological conditions which clearly showed they had been outraged; and that the authors of the abominable crime were two priests, Don Riva and Don Longo, the former of whom was spiritual director of the institute at Milan.

As the case is still *sub judice*, I do not, of course, wish to venture any opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the parties accused, beyond recalling to mind that the most elementary principles of justice dictate that they shall be regarded as innocent till such time as their guilt shall have been proved. It can be no harm, however, to mention a few facts in connection with the case that have been ascertained beyond all shadow of doubt.

The first and most important fact is that the person chiefly concerned was not only not a nun at all, but had even been repudiated as such, publicly and officially, on more than one occasion by the ecclesiastical authorities, who even went so far as to report to the police that she was wearing a religious habit and parading as a nun, without any right to the name or dress.³

Thus in 1891 the Archbishop of Turin, Cardinal Alimonda, in an official interview with the quaestor of that city, stated that "it was his desire that the Fumagalli Institute should be suppressed."

In 1893 his successor, Archbishop Riccardi, issued the following decree to the clergy and laity of his diocese: "I hereby direct Giuseppina Fumagalli to lay aside the religious habit she now wears, and to see that those young women whom she has unlawfully clothed as nuns shall do the same. Should she disobey, I hereby warn the faithful that she is formally repudiated." Not only this, but the diocesan authorities drew the attention of the civil authorities to the suspicious character of her institute.

In 1903 the present Archbishop of Turin, Cardinal Richelmy, who had strictly maintained his predecessor's regulation on this point,

³ The official documents in connection with this and the points that follow regarding the attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities towards her may be found *in extenso* in the *Corriere d'Italia* of July 28, 1907.

being one day about to take part in some public function in one of the churches, and learning that Fumagalli was present, he insisted on her leaving the sacred edifice without further delay.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Milan publicly and personally refused to give her Holy Communion one day in the Cathedral. How grave and significant a step this was a Catholic will readily recognize.

In 1903 he furthermore directed the clergy of his diocese to refuse the sacraments to her and to her companions or adherents.

Not only was she no nun; not only was she publicly repudiated as such by the ecclesiastical authorities, but while she was condemned and denounced by them as an impostor masquerading in nun's dress, she was publicly supported by the anti-Catholic papers, such as the *Gazzetta del Popolo*, the *Lombardia*, the *Adriatico* and others, who applauded her because she was in conflict with them and lauded her to the skies as "a holy nun persecuted by the Church."

More still. When the ecclesiastical authorities condemned her and her institute, the police officials not only gave them no assistance, but permitted her to wear the religious garb, receive children into her institute and collect alms for that purpose. It may be news to many that according to Italian law any one who pleases may dress and appear publicly as a priest or a monk.

Regarding the various children said to have been outraged and to present evident traces of the fact, the following statement appeared a few days later in the *Sera* (July 30), a paper by no means friendly to the Church: "As a result of medical inspection it turns out that none of the children said to have been outraged show symptoms of venereal disease . . . and that all of them have been found to present physiologically normal conditions."

This is not all. One of the so-called nuns, shortly after the first violence of the storm had passed, confessed that Don Riva was absolutely extraneous to anything that might have happened, and that whatever crimes had been perpetrated were the work of another person who was in the habit of frequenting the institute. Two other statements of a more or less similar character have been made. It is, however, for the proper tribunal to judge the value of such statements. Till such decision has been given we can only suspend our judgment.

Meanwhile Don Riva lies in prison awaiting the long-deferred process. Since his arrest he has incessantly protested his innocence, and so strongly has the tide of public opinion changed that even the anti-Catholic papers now admit that his guilt is far from certain and that it is quite probable that he may be exonerated. As for Don Longo, he, too, is in prison. He was in America when news of the vile charges made against him reached him, and he at once returned

to Italy to answer them. Whatever we may think of his guilt or innocence, this does not seem like the action of a guilty man.

Of all the various cases, this is the only one in which the accused are still in prison and have still to stand trial. And hence, strictly speaking, they cannot be counted amongst the "not a few" who, according to Dr. Robertson, secured their release and acquittal by *squaring*. Let us now see who these are.

2. The Salesians of Varazze were accused specifically on three distinct counts: (a) That one of them had in presence of the whole school burned the King and Garibaldi in effigy. (b) That another of them so far forgot himself as to conduct his class seated semi-nude between two of his pupils, who were completely nude; and (c) that the Salesians had been accustomed to celebrate "*a Black Mass*" and to practice the wildest and most abominable orgies in the company of the Salesian nuns of the same city—orgies that few journalists outside Italy could have the hardihood to describe.

As already related, the sub-prefect of Verona, acting on a denunciation made by a youth of fourteen named Besson, the supposed son of a widow, but of unknown paternity, had the whole school, both teachers and pupils, arrested and hastily hurried to the barracks, where they were subjected to an investigation surpassing in its barbarity the wildest dreams of fiction. "The youths were tortured by brutal questions so as to extract from their lips the mysteries of a *Black Mass*, which the poor boys understood to mean the Mass of the Dead; the smaller boys were caressed by the mother of the lad Besson, in order to induce them to confess; the larger lads had their ears pulled, received blows, were even threatened with prison by those who should represent the authority of the law, so as to terrify them and induce them to confirm all that was said as true."⁴ In terror the poor boys said many things the meaning of which they did not even understand; their half intelligible words were taken as "confirmation strong as Holy Writ;" to crown all, a certain Dr. Ferrari, who had been called in by the sub-prefect to medically inspect the boys said to have been outraged, declared that the inspection revealed the fact that some of them had been brutally violated, and for a moment the lad Besson and his mother (or guardian or whatever else she was) were idolized as heroes, while the Salesians of Varazze passed into the realms of legend as veritable monsters, who knew no law and recognized no claim but that of their own base passions.

Two were at once committed to prison, and in addition to these the papers told in startling tones that two others, Don Rolla and Don Musso, had fled on the first intimation of an inquiry; that their

⁴ *Civiltà Cattolica*, August, 1907.

whereabouts was being carefully concealed, and shocking revelations were hinted at in connection with their names.

In the midst of the riots and madness that followed, calmer souls soon found food for reflection in the offer made by the superior general of the Salesians, Father Rua, to place all the colleges of the order freely at the disposal of the authorities, with a view to a full and unreserved inquiry; and as day followed day it was found that the evidence, instead of becoming stronger and clearer, was only growing weaker and less reliable.

On the first publication of the scandal three sources of evidence were alleged by the sub-prefect. These were: The results of the medical inspection made by Dr. Ferrari on several of the boys; the confessions of the boys themselves, and, thirdly—the most important of all—the diary of the boy Besson. It will be necessary to refer to each of these.

First as to the confessions made by the boys. In themselves they were anything at all but coherent or conclusive; but when there was added to this consideration the manner in which the boys had been treated by the sub-prefect and his officers, their confessions were by common consent rendered utterly valueless.

We have already seen the manner in which the investigation of the boys was conducted. The following statement, made by the father of one of them, will make this clearer still. It is reported by the *Caffaro*, a notoriously anti-Catholic paper, and is to the effect that the health of one of the boys had suffered considerably, and on being asked the reason the father replied: "He was one of the boarders of Varazze, but owing to the furious intimidation and pressure brought to bear on him he had been compelled to testify against the good fathers; but he now protests that he had testified to what was false, and he trembles and weeps incessantly." Another incident—an incident that admits of no doubt—occurred in the examination of another of the pupils, a nephew of Count Naselli, of Savona, who on his frankly and fearlessly declaring that Besson's statements were completely false, was boxed on the ears by the police.

Regarding the results of the medical inspection made by Dr. Ferrari, the *Momento*, of Turin, reports that the four boys who he had declared showed signs of violence were subjected to further inspection by other medical men. One lad was examined by two medical men, who found no traces whatever of violence, with the result that one of the imprisoned Salesians was immediately released. The second boy was examined by a medical man at Genoa, with like result. The parents of a third were fully bent on proceeding against the Salesians, and as a preliminary had him inspected by two other doctors, who declared that it was utterly impossible that the youth

could have been the object of any violence of the kind. In the case of the fourth and last youth who had been specially indicated by Dr. Ferrari as a victim of the Salesians, his parents had him examined a second time by another doctor, who declared he was perfectly sound; but, not satisfied with this, they had him examined a third time by a specialist, Dr. Rizzo, of Genoa, who confirmed the last statement in the most absolute manner and added that he could not understand or account for Dr. Ferrari's assertion.

As for the evidence of the boy Besson, it is agreed on all sides that it has all melted into thin air, while his famous diary has been scientifically proclaimed to be the production of a hysterical and suggestioned youth, aided, probably, by other minds who well knew what they were doing. The very enormity and extreme improbability of his statements were quite enough to render them suspected. But on close examination the lad, though extremely clever for one of his age, utterly broke down; he contradicted himself; he gave as present at the orgies persons who were hundreds of miles away at the time; he stated that the various enormities he describes took place in the presence of the whole college of several hundred boys, yet not one of these saw the faintest shadow of anything he affirmed he saw; he writes that his diary was a register day by day of all that happened in the college, yet he was an extern pupil and was only in the college three times during the whole year, as the college books clearly prove; he says hundreds were present at the *Black Mass* in a room that could not contain fifty; he wrote that he had seen these same hundreds of priests, monks, nuns and pupils assembled together, though not another person in the same city, not even the police, had noticed any such assemblies; in a word, so incoherent, so absurd, so contradictory, so utterly unsupported were his statements that a correspondent of the Socialist *Tempo*, who had studied him closely and at length, reported as follows: "The narrative is simply incredible, and I must confess that the doubt assails me whether the lad's imagination is not possessed by a terrible obsession." But it is idle to speak further of the lad and his hallucinations; there is no one who now believes in either one or the other, except perhaps the poor dupes of gutter journals like the Socialist *Avanti*, which in its issue of August 14 (after all the evidence had been sifted as above) wrote *a propos* of the scandals: "The Catholic Church, as long as it has been the Catholic Church, has ever been the forge of all filthiness, the engineer of all infamy"—journals that day after day and week after week devoted column on column and page on page to the foulest details of the filthiest charges, and when the charges had been shown to be utterly baseless, these same journals never for a moment dreamt of setting the fact before their poor dupes, who to

this day go their way fully convinced that the Salesians of Varazze are as bad as they were painted.

It will be remembered that four Salesians were specially singled out for public odium. These were Don Musso, Don Desperati, Don Rolla and Don Lattuade. Don Musso, it was reported, had fled on the first signs of the storm and could nowhere be found. But it transpired that he was then simply on a visit to his family, whither he had gone before the revelations (*Corriere d'Italia*, 6th August); Don Rolla, it turned out, never existed (*Corriere*, August 8); Don Desperati was not a priest at all, but a simple teacher in the college; Don Lattuade was not a priest, but simply the custodian of the pupils' hats and coats. The latter two were, as I have said, arrested; but Lattuade was liberated as soon as honest medical inspection had shown that none of the boys had been violated, while Desperati was retained in prison for some time longer, though on no graver charge than that he had appeared semi-nude before his class; but he, too, has been discharged and has quietly returned to the college. The results of the inquiry are thus summarized by the *Stampa* of August 23: "What is the result of the magisterial inquiry into the Varazze affair? After infinite investigations, interrogations and perquisitions, the authorities have come to the conviction that every single thing denounced by the lad Besson is absolutely false and without foundation."

Two or three of the closing scenes of this sad drama deserve mention.

The first was a reunion of 4,000 ex-pupils of the Salesians at Torino (September 29) as a protest against the violence and injustice done their old teachers. After the religious function about 10,000 persons gathered round the tomb of the founder, Don Bosco, as a sign of their confidence in the order he had left behind him to carry on his work.

The second was the reopening of the college that had been ruthlessly and arbitrarily closed by the blind rage of the sub-prefect. Even after the evidence had made it as clear as noonday that the accusations were groundless, the authorities still kept the college closed. But this was no longer possible after the reopening had been unanimously voted by the Provincial School Board of Genoa and by the Municipal Council of Varazze, and accordingly the Minister of Education at length gave the requisite order and the Salesians returned once more to continue the work from which they had been so cruelly removed.

One word more regarding the only victim of the Varazze scandal. It is the sub-prefect, Silva, who by government decree of November 6 was reduced in rank and transferred as a simple assistant to Gros-

seto, where all lovers of justice will hope he may have the leisure and the will to repent his ardent zeal in the cause of anarchy.⁵

I have had to dwell at considerable length on the case of the Salesians at Varazze because of all the scandals it was by far the most important and exercised the deepest influence on the public mind. The scandals that followed fast and furious were of secondary importance or may at best be regarded as the outcome or echo of the excited state of public feeling produced by the Fumagalli and Salesian affairs; and hence, while it will be necessary to take them up one by one, there will be no need to dwell on each of them in detail. It will be quite enough in most cases to specify the result of each charge.

3. At first sight the accusations made against the Salesians of Alassio were almost as grave as in the case of Varazze, just as they were of much the same nature. On inquiry, however, it was discovered that the scandals in question assumed very small dimensions, and had not even the quality of novelty to recommend them, but consisted in an incident that occurred more than a year previously (May, 1906), when the mother of one of the boarders charged two of the teachers with acts of immorality towards her son. The persons accused (who were extern teachers, not Salesians) had been at once dismissed. The Royal Inspector of Schools had investigated the case, and having ascertained that the acts complained of were of a trivial character, calling for no action on his part, had reported accordingly to the School Board of the Province of Genoa, stating that he considered the measures taken by the director of the college to be quite sufficient, and simply recommending greater surveillance, but adding that everything else was in perfect order. The School Board unanimously adopted his report, which was approved by the Ministry of Education. On learning

⁵ In view of the implied statement that the acquittal of the accused Salesians was accomplished through bribery, I considered it advisable to communicate with the president of the college at Varazze, which was the purpose of the following questions and accusations, I herewith give the questions I asked, together with the answers furnished by the president:

(1) Is it true that bribery was resorted to in order to secure the acquittal of the accused? "The statement is *absolutely false*."

(2) Is it true that on the first report of the scandals the superior general of the Salesians wrote to the civil authorities, offering to throw open all the schools of the order in Italy to a public, official and unreserved inquiry? "It is *most true*."

(3) Is it true that legal proceedings were instituted by the Salesians of Varazze against the papers that had published the accusations against them? "Secure in our innocence, we had begun legal proceedings against such papers, even before the results of the police inquiry were made known."

(4) Is it true that these legal proceedings have been since withdrawn? "Not only is this not true, but much more extensive law proceedings have been since initiated."

the exact state of affairs the boy's parents withdrew the charge they had made against the Salesians, with whom they continued to remain on the most friendly terms. (*The Stampa*, of Turin, August 1.)

4. In the case of the friar accused of having fled from Venice because the superioress of a neighboring Franciscan convent had begun to show evident signs of the result of his criminal intercourse with her, it transpired that "the calumniated superioress died the previous April, at the age of seventy-one, and that her successor, the actual superioress, was no less than seventy-five years of age," while as for the poor friar, he had, in the course of the usual triennial chapter, been simply transferred from Venice and made head of the important house of the order at Feltre. (*Corriere d'Italia*, August 1.)

5. In the case of Don Lucchini, at Rovigo, the two little girls who had made the accusations reported against him in the *Gazzettino* and *Adriatico* were examined (July 28), in the presence of the police and of various other persons, with reference to the charges they had made. In reply to the police officer who questioned them they flatly contradicted their former statement, adding that the charge they had made against Don Lucchini "had been suggested to them by the correspondent of the *Gazzettino*." (*Avvenire d'Italia*, July 29.)

6. Regarding the "priest" (Marcucci) who was condemned to fifteen months at Pisa for acts against public decency, it will be enough to state that he turns out to be a lay professor in one of the lay schools. (*Corriere d'Italia*, July 28.)

7. At Trani the nuns were accused of having gathered together a number of girls, whom they induced on false pretences to accompany them to one of the manufacturing towns of Piedmont, where they placed them in a manufacturing establishment, in which they were treated as white slaves, were sweated and condemned to lead a miserable, half-starved existence, from which they were vainly trying to escape and return home. The real facts were that the girls in question were simply working girls, who boarded with and lived under the charge of the nuns, but worked in a silk factory hard by. Regarding their treatment it will be enough to give the wire sent (July 30) by the police authorities at Ivrea to the police at Trani, who had requested direct official information: "The Ceriana silk factory is very respectable and highly esteemed both for its commercial importance and for the excellent treatment given all the employees; as for the girls (referred to), on being directly questioned on the matter by the police officer, they replied that they are quite happy and do not desire to return home."

8. The skeleton of a newly-born infant found buried in a convent garden at Bolzanetto was pronounced by a doctor whom the police had called in to examine it to be "nothing else than that of a poor

dog that had been dead for some time." (*Corriere d'Italia*, August 4.)

9. The *Cittadino*, of Genoa (August 5), reports that the imputations made against Don Olcese, of Sampierdarena, seem to be nothing more than a mere canard.

10. Regarding the asserted horrible scandals at Fossano, "a threat of law proceedings has compelled those who published the charges to admit that no unbecoming act was committed" in the Salesian school there. (*Corriere d'Italia*, August 6.)

11. The Salesian accused of having corrupted a boy in the Salesian school at Colle Salvetti was proved to have done nothing more than administer a gentle dose of the birch rod to him. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, December 7.)

12. In the case of the young lady boarder at Ferrara who, it was reported, had been confined to bed for several years in consequence of her having been victimized by the Ursuline nuns who conducted the boarding school, the physician of that school wrote to the papers (August 9) "denying in the most absolute manner" that there was or had been any such case in the school.

13. The religious of Palermo accused by the *Sicilia Socialista* have taken a libel action against that paper. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, December 7.)

14. The *Lavoro*, of Genoa, which had published scandals connected with the name of the chaplain of the convent of the Immacolatine, was compelled to eat its words. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, December 7.)

15. At Cotrone the police who were called into the orphanage there to protect the orphans against the cruelty of the nuns found after a severe investigation that there was absolutely no cause of complaint. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, December 7.)

16. As a result of the publication of scandals by the *Avvenire*, of Pistoia, the priest accused, Rev. Sella, has taken an action for libel against that paper. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, December 7.)

17. A similar libel action has been taken against the *Propaganda* by the Franciscan friars of Vomero (Naples), whom it had accused of having administered narcotics to a woman and of performing a surgical operation on her. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, December 7.)

18. At Adria it turns out that the nun who was reported to have run away with a doctor had simply gone to Ferrara to make the spiritual retreat usually made each year in convents. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, December 7.)

19. In the police investigations held at Ancona with reference to the charges of immorality made against the Good Shepherd nuns it was proved that the accusations had been fabricated by a young

lad out of revenge, because he had been reprimanded for various breaches of discipline. (*Corriere d'Italia*, September 15.)

20. Canon Capitano, of Pittigliano, who was arrested and imprisoned at Grosseto on a charge of corruption of minors, was not, as had been reported by the *Tribuna*, director of the infant orphanage; neither he nor any other priest had anything to do with it. (*Corriere d'Italia*, August 12.) After a minute investigation he was completely exonerated, there being no ground for the accusation against him. (*Ibid*, August 14, and *Civiltà Cattolica*, December 7.)

21. Regarding the accusations made against the good name of the superioress of a workhouse at Castellamare, the Socialist organ which had printed the accusations was threatened with proceedings for libel and had to publish an apology, in which the editor confessed that he had been deceived in his information and that "we have discovered that our allusions to the said superioress are absolutely groundless." (September 13.)

22. The friar reported to the police to be imprisoned and barbarously treated in the Franciscan convent at Faenza was found to be actually at Massa Lombarda, where he had been for several months quietly and freely minding his own business. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, December 7.)

23. In the case of the priest accused of public immorality at Stezzano, the whole affair was proved to be a downright calumny. In the course of the legal proceedings that ensued, the calumniator escaped being convicted simply because his name could not be discovered. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, December 7.)

24. In the case of the scandals in connection with the Capozzi Institute at Rome it was at once discovered that the institute had nothing to do with any religious congregation; that the directress was not a nun, and that no nuns of any kind were connected with it. (*Corriere d'Italia*, August 3.) At the same time it is only due to the good name of the directress to state that the commission appointed to investigate the case proclaimed her "complete and perfect innocence." (October 18.)

25. The scandals attributed to the nuns della Provvidenza at Rome were proved to have really taken place in the House of Refuge Regina Elena, a lay institute, with which nuns had absolutely no connection of any kind since August, 1906. And it may be well to remark that of all the scandals published in July and August, 1907, the only one proved to exist was that in connection with this lay institute, the directress of which was severely punished for neglect of proper surveillance, in consequence of which a girl named Annucci had been corrupted in the institute. (*Corriere d'Italia*, August 5.)

26. A magisterial inquiry was made into the charges against the conductors of the Vigna Pia at Rome, as a result of which the accusations were withdrawn on it being proved that in one solitary instance alone one of the teachers had administered punishment too severely, but that he had been immediately dismissed—and all this several months before the scandals.

27. The case of the St. Filippo Institute comes last in order of time, though it is by no means the least interesting of the scandals. The institute, which was founded some dozen years ago for derelict orphan boys, has for the past ten years been supported at his own expense and personally directed by Signor Leonori, a Roman architect, who is well and favorably known in England, Ireland, America and Egypt, where he has executed several important architectural works. Those who know him in Rome—and they are many—feel honored by his acquaintance, while I am personally able to say that I have long regarded him as the highest and best type of Christian gentleman I have ever had the pleasure of meeting.

During the years he has had charge of the St. Filippo Institute several boys, who, were it not for his charity and efficacious help, would be now in the streets or in prison, have passed through his hands and are occupying honest positions in various walks of life. Signor Leonori is well-to-do, but not rich. He has little to depend upon but his profession, but be it little or much, all has gone to the orphanage. That the institute was the most perfect in the world, he himself would doubtless be the last to assert or claim. His one object was to take those boys off the streets, give them a Christian education and enable them to win their way in an honest position in life. Hence he never pretended that the residence he had for them was palatial or that the lads were to dwell in marble halls, with vassals and serfs to wait on them; if he could only keep them neatly clad and wholesomely fed he was quite satisfied. How well he succeeded I was enabled to observe about two years ago on the occasion of his father's funeral. Amongst the hundreds of sympathizers of all grades and classes present in the church during the funeral service there was one group that surrounded the bier and attracted keen attention. This was the St. Filippo school to the number of about thirty boys, neatly clad in their gray jackets and looking as healthy as boys of their class can be supposed to look. And I well remember the remark made by some one on that occasion to the effect that few more touching tributes of respect to the memory of the dead gentleman and to his family could be imagined than the presence round the bier of those thirty youths thus charitably snatched from poverty or crime.

Signor Leonori was not a priest, but in the eyes of the scandal-

mongers he was just as bad—he was a Christian gentleman, whose delight it was to do good. And accordingly one fine day in August the police, acting on an anonymous denunciation, swooped down on the school, closed it up and in the interests of morality carried off the boys to that lay Institute Regina Elena, where, as already shown, real scandals had been proved to exist a very short time previously.

At once the gutter papers gave way to their imagination, and for days and days the foulest accusations and insinuations, the mildest of which was that of sexual perversion, were published broadcast over Rome and Italy. It will be as needless as impossible to enter into the nature of these. It is enough to give the result of the long and exhausting police inquiry which was published on September 30. Signor Leonori was acquitted "because of the absolute absence of any evidence against him."⁶

But, urges Dr. Robertson, we have it on the authority of a "Parliamentary report" that the real reason the priests were liberated was because the parents or guardians of the outraged children had been *squared* by the Church to withdraw the charges and decline to prosecute.

I may confess that I was very much puzzled to account for this statement. I knew that no Parliamentary commission or Parliamentary inquiry had been held on the subject of the scandals, and consequently I took it for granted that no Parliamentary report could have been issued with regard to the matter. I did remember, however, that during one of the sittings of Parliament a question had been put by Signor Daneo and an answer given more or less in the tenor of the passage cited by Dr. Robertson from his "Parliamentary report." On consulting the newspaper files I found⁷ such was actually the fact; and not only this, but that the statements

⁶ In spite of this fact, the St. Filippo Institute is still closed, and the poor lads who had found a home and bright prospects therein have been scattered to the four winds of heaven. The original reason assigned for closing the school was given out by the police authorities to be "repeated immoral deeds," which, they said, had been verified in connection with its management. But though the magisterial inquiry has shown this charge to be utterly groundless, the school remains definitely closed, official etiquette preventing the executive from admitting that the police had made a gross mistake, if not something worse. In connection with the fate of the poor lads whom Signor Leonori was saving from destruction, one particular incident deserves mention. A few years ago an individual presented himself at the institute and demanded one of the boys, who, he said, was his son. Signor Leonori refused to give up the boy, and referred him to the police, who reported the claim to be false, and authorized Signor Leonori to retain the boy. But on the closing of the school the same individual, who, by the way, had spent most of the interval in prison, presented his claim once more, and not in vain this time—the interests of morality, we may suppose, so demanding!

⁷ The *Tribuna*, December 10.

given by Dr. Robertson were nothing more than expressions contained in that question and answer in Parliament—a far different thing from a “Parliamentary report.” Hence when Dr. Robertson gives the words he quotes as words of a “Parliamentary report” he must be understood to mean nothing more than that they are taken from the newspaper report of a sitting of Parliament, though it would be interesting to guess how many of his readers could take that meaning from his words.

There can be little need to draw attention to the enormous difference this makes in the value to be attached to Signor Daneo’s remarks on that occasion; but lest there should be any misunderstanding it will be well to take an analogous case.

On reading the newspaper report of any particular sitting of the House of Commons some day I come across something like this: “The Chief Secretary for Ireland, replying to Mr. MacVeagh, expressed his sympathy with the matter referred to, and stated that he fully agreed that the question of jury-packing was one calling for immediate action, and that it was actually occupying the attention of the Government, who were fully alive to the necessity of a much needed reform in the administration of the law in Ireland in this respect.

“Mr. MacVeagh in expressing his satisfaction remarked that the proposed action of the Government was calculated to remove a grave wrong. For it was nothing short of a shame and a scandal that those who were accused on even trumped-up charges in Ireland should, because of their religion or politics, be denied the most elementary right conferred by the British Constitution—the right to be tried by a jury chosen fairly and above board.”

It is quite possible that some such expressions as these have been used in the House of Commons. But that makes no difference. Let us simply suppose they have and that the above is a correct version of a question and answer in Parliament. Now suppose further that after the lapse of about a fortnight a writer were to quote Mr. MacVeagh’s words on that occasion as being taken from a “Parliamentary report,” it is not too much to say that the public would be very much surprised, and no one more so than Mr. MacVeagh himself.

Italian members of Parliament are no more infallible in their questions and remarks than Irish members, and consequently we must decline to attach more importance to Signor Daneo’s words than they really deserve—and that is just as much or just as little as the private opinion of any ordinary mortal.

It is, I believe, quite true that the law is such as Signor Daneo says, but this is still a long way off from being a proof that those

who have been charged with such crimes and are acquitted owe their liberty to that particular defect in the law. If the accused are innocent, as we have shown to be the fact in the cases already discussed at such length, it is much easier and more just to take it for granted that they were acquitted because they were innocent than because the law was defective.

After all that has been already set forth, there should be no need to dwell on Dr. Robertson's statement that "had this been the law, the result of the apprehension of vicious priests would have been very different from what it is," except to observe that if we take it for granted they were vicious we should, perhaps, take it for granted they were guilty; and if we take it for granted they were guilty, we are thereby taking for granted precisely that which should first of all be proved, since every law, both human and Divine, demands that a man be considered innocent until he is proved to be guilty. A few days ago I happened to read a newspaper report headed "*A Yorkshire Horror.*" The accused parties were charged with barbarously ill-treating two little girls whom they had adopted. The case seemed to excite much attention and considerable manifestations of popular indignation, so much so that at the opening of the second day's trial "the chairman of the bench, Sir John Grant Lawson, remarked that the magistrates wished to express their opinion that it was a great disgrace that an attack should be made on the defendants. They had not been found guilty, and it was only fair to assume people innocent until they were proved guilty. The bench hoped those in court and outside would see that the defendants had fair play."

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That the tempest aroused by the scandals, baseless though they were, has completely ceased, no one who knows Italy will venture to assert. The devouring flames of savage fury that swept the country last August have indeed been smothered for the present, but finally extinguished—no. The storm has subsided, but the attentive mariner may still detect the mutterings of the troubled elements and may still read the signs that tell him he is still far from the harbor and from rest. True, indeed, the calmer and better instructed classes in general know very well that the angry passions aroused were the direct aim and outcome of a well planned anti-Catholic campaign, carried out through the agency of a section of the press for whom truth does not count and whose one standard is expediency. But it must be remembered that in times of great popular emotion the influence of such classes counts for little—at such a time it is the demagogue who truly sways the crowd of the rank and file. Such

is exactly what is happening in the present case. The press spared no pains to propagate the scandals and print them deep in the minds of the people at large; column after column, under the most glaring headings, was devoted to graphic and impressive descriptions of clerical scandals, which were all given as proved up to the hilt and as admitting of not the smallest shadow of doubt. It is true, indeed, that after the first wild outburst of panic the more respectable journals, such as the *Corriere della Sera* and the *Giornale d'Italia*, tried to make honorable amends for their incautious haste in accepting fable as fact; but the popular papers—the papers written for and read by the crowd—wanted no proof to the contrary. And the result is that even now, when the charges have been exploded, the people at large go on believing that all the deeds alleged were true and that those priests and monks and nuns are veritable monsters of iniquity, vampires devouring the land. And the pity of it is that even the little children in the streets have learned to insult the passing priest or religious by reference to the Salesians or other names that have been covered with opprobrium during the revelations, and they will grow up impressed with the memory of some ghastly horror—what is was they do not know nor will they care—inflicted on Italy by the clergy in the year of grace 1907.

I mention this point to show the utter dishonesty of the journals in question. They are responsible for the impression left on the popular mind. An honest report of the result of each charge would have rectified that impression, yet up to this very day that honest report has been carefully excluded from their columns, or, if admitted, has been relegated to microscopic type and obscure corners amongst the items of no importance.⁸

The consequences of a situation thus dishonestly created through the agency of a press allowed to run wild have been carefully and, I think, justly discussed by a writer in the December number of the *Rassegna Nazionale*, an independent and important Italian review of anything but strong clerical sympathies. The writer finds that the attitude of the government has been altogether too passive and remissive. It might, he allows, seem at first sight as if the government had fully done its duty when it had punished those who had been guilty of acts of violence, insult or outrage towards the ministers of religion, "but the very frequency of these regrettable incidents proves that they are due to a single common cause, which it is the duty of a government worthy of the name to discover and

⁸ Thus the *Messaggero*, which had devoted several of its most important columns, under glaring headings, to the publication of the vilest and most sensational insinuations and accusations against Signor Leonori, could only afford nineteen lines of its fourth page to the result of the magisterial inquiry, which it printed without note or comment.

repress. Nor is it a very difficult task to identify this cause in the unrestrained propaganda that is endeavoring to stir up against religion and its ministers the basest passions of the people by simply saturating them with feelings of hatred.

"It is always the same—allow the seeds of hatred towards owners and capitalists to be sown day by day in the mind and heart of the people, and you will reap strikes and labor agitations and the explosion of brutal anger, venting itself in the destruction of machinery or of crops—perhaps, too, in dynamite outrages such as that recently committed against Signor Magni; allow contempt of authority to be instilled, and you will reap acts of rebellion against the forces of law and order and deeds of violence against the army officials, as recently at Alessandria; allow disrespect and hatred to be inculcated towards the ministers of religion, and you will reap insult offered to priests and outrages perpetrated against the Princes of the Church; allow hatred and contempt for the established order of things, and you will one day reap the result in the criminal act of some fanatic, intoxicated with perverse ideas, who strikes at him who represents and personifies such institutions.

" . . . We cannot but insist on the absolute necessity of opposing this insane propaganda that is tending to destroy all; that spreads the poison of hatred for all persons and all things; that is assailing Church and State, authority and property, and that is aiming at the complete overthrow of all existing social institutions."

Now this can be done only one way—"by tracing the evil to its root and then unsparingly smiting it—preventing the wind from being sown to-day if we do not wish to reap the whirlwind to-morrow."

Owing to the political conditions of Italy for various years, each government was driven almost by force of necessity to live in an atmosphere of apparent hostility to the Church, so much so that a politician "who did not wish to lose his popularity had to do his best to avoid appearing in any way attached to the Church or to religious principles. In these circumstances it is not surprising if it was easy for interested parties to render productive the seeds of hatred towards religion and its ministers which had been scattered so profusely over the minds of the people and of the ignorant masses. To such an extent was this the case that a sect which desired to hide its own shortsighted, interested aims, and a party like that of the Radicals, which has no political cohesiveness, either in principles or in aims, have been able to live and assign a reason for their existence simply by raising the banner of anti-clericalism as their own, while other parties or politicians, finding themselves under the necessity of diverting public attention from the failure of their work and their

theories, have found no better means than that of creating the clerical danger in order to be able to pretend to combat it.

"This is precisely what is actually happening in the case of the Socialist party, who, deprived of all influence by their frequent failures in labor agitations and strikes, and finding themselves losing popularity, are trying to hide the defeat of their own social programme and to have their failure to keep their promises forgotten by rushing into the anti-clerical campaign and even putting themselves at its head. To this motive should be added another—the necessity, that is, of fighting the Catholics after the latter, entering into the administrative and political life, had shown themselves to be a force of the first order in defense of existing institutions against the various subversive parties.

"Hence it is that the Socialists have not hesitated to put themselves at the head of the anti-clerical movement (which more exactly should be called anti-religious), in spite of the fact that the logic of their principles compels them in theory to declare themselves indifferent in matters of religion. To try to justify this illogical attitude, they have been forced to proclaim that they combat religion simply because superstition and priestcraft must be trampled under foot, though they fail to remember that this view should lead them to combat all religions, whereas, on the contrary, we see them act hand and glove with many Jews and Protestants and coquet with their beliefs."

How just are these observations the reader will be able to see by referring to the three circulars already given, which were sent out on the first publication of the scandals.

A final word as to one other result of the case caused by "the disgusting accounts given with all the revolting details of a sensualism the most refined and the most contrary to the sacred laws of nature—details furnished in the very broadest and most undisguised language, thus teaching them to a multitude of souls who previously had not even suspected the possibility of such things, and, so to say, opening a new school of bestial license for boys and girls, into whose hands the daily paper unfailingly falls, and is all the more eagerly read by them the more it excites their morbid curiosity and the more it opens up the way to hitherto unknown sensual gratification by the unheard-of publication of that horrid, lecherous, descriptive catalogue of abominations which had never been seen or heard of before."⁹ With good reason could a writer in the *Temps* declare that a "sinister cloud of immorality had been spread over all Italy."

Even were each and every one of the scandals true in every particular, it would still be difficult to justify the length to which the

⁹ *Civiltà Cattolica*, September, 1907.

campaign has been carried. "Consider all states of life one by one," wrote Luther; "not one of them does God abandon to such an extent as to leave it without some good and honest man to make up for the scandals of the rest. Thus the good priests more than counter-balance the bad; unworthy monks are honored because of the worthy. But here we have thoughtless men rising up against the entire body as if they themselves were pure and stainless, whereas, interiorly and exteriorly, they are nothing better than a common market and exhibition of hogs and sows."¹⁰

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THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY: A STUDY IN DECADENCE AND RENASCENCE.

THOUGH the word Renaissance usually signifies the revival of letters in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it would be a mistake to suppose that there had never before been a movement in Western Europe to which the term may with justice be applied. The literary revival which occurred in Francia during the eighth century, though followed by a period which we are wont to style "the Dark Ages," well deserves to be called a Renaissance. The fullness of growth which it actually attained may have been less than was promised in its youth; but this was due to external forces acting against those which promoted the revival; and for this very reason the significance of the movement is for us the greater. No movement, in fact, could better illustrate how much the rapid progress of science in these latter days owes to the stability of the political situation in which we Europeans find ourselves.

Mr. Balfour has recently said of "decadence" in his Henry-Sidgwick memorial lecture at Cambridge that it "never acts in isolation, but is always complicated by, and often acts through, more obvious causes." This is true not only of "decadence," but of "Renaissance," and is especially true in the case of a literary Renaissance. Literature gives voice to the spirit of the age, while the spirit of the age is, on the other hand, largely formed according to the ideas of its literary men. A Renaissance in literature never "acts alone;" it is almost always either preceded or followed by great political events. The writings of Rousseau, Voltaire and the encyclopædists kindled in France the revolution of 1789. The destruction of the Eastern

¹⁰ *Ep ad Rom.*, folio 281.

Empire and the discovery of America gave rise to the humanist revival of the sixteenth century, and this was followed by the Protestant Reformation. Earlier still we find the birth of scholasticism and the rise of the universities occurring just at the time when the petty states of Europe were fast consolidating into nations, and when the cities of Italy and France were winning for themselves the charters by which their privileges were defined and secured.

The Renaissance of the eighth century and the decadence which immediately preceded it were no exceptions to the rule. Both were intimately connected with the political history of the age in which they occurred.

From the fifth century, when the Western Empire of the Romans finally broke up, down to the eighth century, when our revival of learning began, Europe had been the scene of a quick succession of changes, political and geographical. The Visigoths, the Emperors at Constantinople and the Lombards had followed one another as the dominant power in Italy. The Vandal kingdom in Africa had been conquered by Justinian and lost again to the Saracens. Spain, too, had just fallen under the yoke of Mohammed. The Eastern Empire and the Kingdom of the Franks alone had withstood with any success the attacks of invaders. Yet even to the latter peace was an utter stranger. At Constantinople revolutions occurred periodically in the beginning of every century; and, though new life was thus infused into the government, the Empire's boundaries were continually shrinking under the constant pressure of Saracen, Slav, Bulgarian and Avar. While in Francia from the very foundation of the kingdom there had been wars—foreign wars with Spain, Italy and the unconquered tribes of the Eastern frontier, and in the intervals civil wars, due in part to the unfortunate custom of "partitioning" the realm, and in part to the perpetual feud between Austrasia and Neustria. The Franks, whose territories were to be the home of the First Renaissance, at present surpassed their neighbors only in the violence of their intrigues and the frequency of their warfare. Few histories are more horrible than that of Merovingian France.

No wonder, then, that a decadence of literature and learning should have occurred in a land so taken up with war and strife. No wonder that the municipal schools of what had once been the most flourishing of the Roman provinces before long ceased to exist. In one or two places letters were still studied. The monasteries of Luxeuil, St. Gall and Bobbio were still famous, and we hear of one Bishop who knew both Greek and Hebrew, and of another who complained that too much time was given to the study of Plato, Homer, Menander and Herodotus. But there were exceptions,

remarkable only by contrast with the general depravity and ignorance. For the most part, learning, secular and sacred, was neglected and forgotten. Monasticism, indeed, was spreading. Some two hundred monasteries already existed in the seventh century, and to many of them, as well as to the cathedrals, a school was attached. But neither monasteries nor episcopal schools could compete against the jealousy of nobles and the tyranny of Kings; nor could they, unaided, battle with the hard, uncultured spirit of a restless and warlike people. There was no one to teach and no one who cared to be taught. Regardless of the baneful consequences of such a patronage to the Church, the King and his Ministers filled bishoprics and abbeys with worthless favorites of the court. Bishops lived like secular lords, hunting, going to war, even taking part in plundering raids upon their neighbors. Abbots were illiterate, worldly and often so tyrannical in their methods of government that a decree was issued forbidding them to mutilate their monks. Under such circumstances to become a monk might afford men a refuge from the miseries of endless bloodshed and strife, and to join the ranks of the secular clergy might be an easy way to escape the burdens of the servile classes, but with superiors such as the crown and the nobility then chose to thrust upon them, neither priest nor monk was likely to do much to instruct the ignorant or elevate the minds of the people.

What I have said of France may be said also of Italy, where the Lombards were the ruling race, and of the East, where the Empire of Constantine still survived. The Lombards, though Christians in name, were still rude, uncivilized and a constant terror to the poor subject Italians, whom they regarded merely as objects of plunder. Learning on any large scale was impossible. But, just as in France we find an occasional break in the dull monotony of ignorance, so in Italy here and there a monastery stood with its library and its small company of student monks; and sometimes young men, filled with enthusiasm, would travel eastward in search of wisdom. Greek civilization, indeed, was much more familiar to the Italian than to the Frank. Southern Italy still belonged to Constantinople. The Balkan Peninsula was ecclesiastically under the jurisdiction of Rome, and in Rome itself there were Greek monasteries. But, alas, what good could come of this? The East itself was passing through a period of darkness, not only as regards her political, but also as regards her literary history. For her the seventh century produced no prose-literature save polemics; no poetry, with the single exception of George of Pisidia's *Heracliad*; no science, no philosophy, no art. Her very coins were ugly; their inscriptions illegible. At the end of the century there was not a

single Greek who could be called a man of letters. The constitution and character of the Grecian people, if it is permissible to treat so heterogeneous a race on the analogy of a natural organism, had attained its maximum of development, social, political and artistic, centuries before, and had decayed. By the removal of the Latin capital to Byzantium, new life had been grafted on the old stem, and its decay arrested for a moment. But it was only for a moment. The Empire of Constantine manifested from the outset a tendency to disintegration, and in addition to this, like a weak and decrepid organism susceptible of every disease, was exposed to the ravages of Vandal, Hun and Goth. A people, however, capable of acquiring a degree of civilization and of culture as refined as that of the Greeks die but slowly. And the barbarian blood, which revolution after revolution poured into its veins, began after a time to act as a medicine, causing spasmodic outbursts of vigor and life; so that, faint as was the pulse-beat which now throbbed through the Empire of the East, it still had energy enough to produce a spontaneous, if passing, revival.

The state of the West was thus very different from that of the East. Constantinople was decadent with the "decadence of senility;" Western Europe was decadent, because men were either too engrossed in warfare to have time for higher pursuits, or too uncivilized to appreciate them. The Franks were still a young nation, which in its childhood had been subjected to the stern discipline of Rome and had acquired under foreign tuition no little proficiency in art and literature. But the strong hand which guided them had at length become weak, and with its withdrawal the pent-up physical energy of the brilliant but only half-formed Frank burst forth in unrestrained activity. From the time of Chlodovech to that of Charles Martel the nation gave itself up to a wild and lawless life. Its complex organism had developed too rapidly and was as yet fatally weak. Its parts were ill adjusted, their co-ordination incomplete. Above all, the control of a strong central government was entirely wanting.

Under such circumstances a decadence was inevitable; but it was by no means the decadence of old age. It resembled rather the deterioration of a youthful student, who, under the influence of external pressure, has given himself to intellectual pursuits, but, suddenly finding himself to be his own master, at once forgets his former habits in the delight of a licentious freedom. It was, moreover, a decadence which would cease, given a strong government to control the unruly passions of the race and tutors capable of arousing once more in the minds of men an esteem of learning and morality. Both conditions were fulfilled in the eighth century; the first from

within in the person of Pepin and Charlemagne, the second from without in the persons of Boniface and Alcuin. For the Frank was too ignorant now to teach himself; he had to look across the seas to Teuton England for the scholars who were to rekindle in his nation the smouldering embers of civilization.

Ireland and England at the very epoch when on the continent literary pursuits were well-nigh forgotten, could boast of many a school famous for its learning, many a monastery illustrious for its scholars. I mention Ireland first, for England's star of learning had but recently shone forth in all its brilliance and was soon to become obscured, whereas Ireland, from the time when St. Patrick planted his seminaries there in the fifth century, had been in very truth an "Isle of Scholars." Anglo-Saxon England, however, thanks partly to the influx of Irish scholars, partly to the strict discipline and Grecian culture which Theodore had introduced, was now at the zenith of her literary fame. At the beginning of the eighth century she could boast of an Aldhelm, a Benedict Biscop, a Wilfrid and a Bede. The course of studies pursued in her chief monastic schools included all the liberal arts, many Latin authors, poetical and prose, often a little Greek, in addition to the Scriptures and the Fathers. In the north stood the famous monasteries of Jarrow and Wearmouth; in the south, the school of Theodore at Canterbury, where copies of Virgil, Lucan, Juvenal and Persius were to be found, together with Josephus and a Hebrew text of the Bible, while further west, in the land whose laws King Ine was then collecting and arranging, stood the school of Aldhelm at Malmesbury.

It was in this land of Wessex that St. Boniface, or to use his Saxon name, St. Wilfrid, was born in the year A. D. 780. And in spite of Mullinger's remark that "for learning itself Boniface effected little" (page 46, "Schools of Charles the Great"), I think we shall be able to establish his claim to rank as one of the leaders in the first revival of letters in the West. The learned writer, indeed, himself tells us that Boniface was famed as a scholar in his day, "is said" to have composed a treatise on the eight parts of speech, "was believed" to be a master of the metrical art, and "appears" to have been distinguished as a theologian of the mystic school of Cassian. "Of the general direction of his influence, therefore, there can," he concludes, "be no doubt, as strongly favoring a revival of letters as well as of discipline." But let us examine for ourselves in what this "general direction of his influence" consists.

It is beyond dispute, of course, that Boniface's primary object was the conversion rather than the education of Germany. He went there to carry on the work of St. Willibrord, the apostle and martyr of Friesland. But, himself a great scholar who had been trained

in the school of Nutschell in Hampshire, where, as scholasticus, he had taught Latin verse to religious of both sexes, he naturally had a great esteem for secular learning. On leaving England in 718, he traveled through Frisia, Thuringia, Bavaria and Hesse, establishing bishoprics, organizing dioceses, founding or reforming monasteries; and with the monastery and cathedral, as usual, came the school. There were elementary schools, intended to raise the tone of morality and civilization among the people at large—and these perhaps bear the stronger testimony to the educational zeal of the saint—while others more advanced were meant to afford clerics and monks an opportunity of continuing their studies in preparation for the priesthood and the work of teaching others. Many were the scholars who flocked to the continent to assist the saint in his labors, and among them women *valde eruditae in liberali scientia*. The educational zeal of Englishmen of the eighth century would compare well with that of our forefathers a hundred years ago, especially when we reflect that in order to build a monastery or a school the monks themselves had to cut down the wood, clear and level a plot of ground, as well as erect the building itself.

The news of what St. Boniface and his disciples were doing among the tribes who lay to the east of Francia soon spread, and this, together with urgent letters of appeal from Boniface himself, induced King Pepin to undertake the reform of the clergy and to interest himself in the education of his people in Francia. The long period of civil disorder which we have described above had now practically ceased. Charles Martel, as Mayor of the Palace, ruled with an iron hand, and on the accession of his son to the throne in 751 the Merovingian dynasty came to an end and the crown passed from the nominal to the real rulers of the realm. Meanwhile the turbulent baronage had been forced to submit to the authority of the King, the Eastern frontier strengthened by the reduction of those Teutonic tribes among whom St. Boniface was laboring, and the South and West cleared of the Saracens by the battle of Poitiers in 732. Ten years later the first German council was held at Saltz, and shortly afterwards another at Soissons. The evils which had resulted from the abuse of the royal patronage were checked. Several Bishops were deposed by an act of secularization and the unruly princes of the Frankish Church, who rendered obedience to no metropolitan, were once again brought under the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

The restoration of ecclesiastical discipline was the primary cause and necessary condition of the revival of learning. The schools were now reopened, the instruction of youth, which had always been considered an essential part of the office of the Church, was once more taken up by seculars and regulars, and the *scriptoria* of the

monasteries were again filled with monks engaged in study and in the transcription of manuscripts.

All this was due to the influence of St. Boniface and to his remarkable talent for organization. To say, then, that his labors "strongly favored a revival of letters" is to allot him a modicum of praise. His foundations in Germany tended directly not only to Christianize, but to civilize the people. But more significant still is his zeal for elementary education and his order that the vernacular should be used for public instructions and even for the prayers of the Church so far as this was possible.

The labors of Boniface, however, would have produced in all probability but little permanent fruit had it not been for the enthusiasm with which the work that he had begun was taken up by Charles the Great and Alcuin, his famous Minister of Education. Charles succeeded to the throne of his father, Pepin, in 768, and three years later became sole ruler through the retirement of his brother, Carloman. For the first twelve years of his reign his energies were chiefly devoted to wars of conquest. He subjugated Saxony and Lombardy, overran Bavaria and made that famous expedition into Spain which ended in the battle of Roncesvalles and the death of Roland. After 780 the organization of his vast dominions for the most part engaged his attention, but frontier wars still continued. Four rebellions were quelled in Saxony, Bohemia was conquered, the Avar and Slav were driven back and forced to pay tribute, the March of Spain was taken from the Saracens. Finally, in the last week of the eighth century, came the culminating triumph—the nominal jurisdiction of Constantinople was rejected, Charles the Great became Emperor of the West.

Territorial expansion inevitably carries with it an increase of responsibility, and Charles would indeed have a heavy task if he was to provide for the spiritual and intellectual as well as the material wants of his vast Empire. He did not shrink from his responsibilities, however, and wherever he went seems from the outset to have been on the lookout for scholars who should be able to carry on the work begun by Boniface and Pepin. At first his search was not altogether successful. In the early part of the reign we find only three men of any literary worth at the imperial court—the old grammarian, Peter of Pisa; Paul, the deacon of Pavia, who knew some Greek and a little Hebrew and is responsible for a history of the Lombards in dialectic Latin, and Einhard, a scholarly writer, trained in Boniface's school at Fulda, to whom we owe a life of Charlemagne and a history of the Franks from 741 to 829. But in 781 Charles secured the services of Alcuin, who had already made his name as scholasticus of Egbert's famous school at York, and so

was able to carry out his great idea of a universal revival of learning throughout the Empire. In 787 appeared the first Capitulary exhorting the monks to study and urging Bishops and prelates to choose out men "both able and willing to learn and desirous of instructing others." The Capitularies of 789 repeated these instructions and also ordered that no monastery or cathedral should be without its school, and that the sons of freemen as well as of serfs should be educated for the priesthood. But the Capitulary of 802 is the most remarkable, since it prescribes that "*every one* is to send his sons to school, where they are to remain until such time as they shall be deemed to be well instructed in learning." The Bishops seconded the efforts of the King, one of them, the Bishop of Lyons, establishing free schools in every town and village of his diocese. Moreover, Missi-Dominici were appointed, generally from the friends and pupils of Alcuin, whose special function was to travel about the country and see that the royal instructions were carried into effect.

The schools which thus arose were of four kinds. There was the village school, in which elementary instruction was given by the priest to the children confided to his care, and the extern monastery school, where boys, whether intended for the priesthood or not, were taught grammar, arithmetic, church music, religious doctrine and the elements of astronomy. Then there were the higher grade schools, the cathedral school and the intern monastery schools, in which the quality of the teaching varied much in accordance with the extent and wealth of the establishment, the promising scholars of a poor foundation often being sent to a richer one for the completion of their education. Lastly, there was the palace school, where were to be found the most learned men that the wealth and influence of the Emperor could produce. It seems to be fairly well established that there was already a palace school when Alcuin arrived at the royal court, but under his supervision its importance was certainly much increased. At the palace school itself the members of the royal family and the sons of the nobility were educated, but there was also another, perhaps a separate branch, in which young men and boys were trained at the King's expense with a view to their filling later on various offices in Church and State. The pupils, who were placed under Alcuin's charge, traveled about with the court, and in them the King took a personal interest, often acting as examiner and offering rewards to the boys who did best in their compositions.

The studies pursued in the palace school and in many of the larger monastic and cathedral schools of Francia enable us to form some idea of the standard of learning attained by the scholars of Alcuin's

day. They were divided into a *trivium*, comprising grammar, rhetoric and dialectics, and a *quadrivium*, consisting of music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. Of the trivium grammar was considered to be the most important. Grammar in Roman times implied a study of Greek and Latin authors, and in the latter Alcuin himself was distinctly well versed, especially in Virgil. He speaks, moreover, of "intoxicating his scholars with the wine of the ancients," yet it would seem that his esteem for the classics decreased in later years, and since his acquaintance with Greek was very superficial, "grammar" for him came to mean little more than a knowledge of how to spell, to punctuate and to construe. For rhetoric the minor treatises of Aristotle and Cicero were used, but little attention was paid to style, and dialectics, for which the treatise of Isodore was used, was not much cultivated in any of the Gregorian or Saxon schools, the Fathers of the Church, Jerome, Tertullian, Basil, having expressed an adverse opinion in regard to its controversial value. The study of music, the first art of the quadrivium, on the other hand, was held in great esteem. King Pepin had already taken measures to reform the music of the Frankish Church, and Charles, besides establishing academies of music at Metz and Soissons, ordered that it should be taught in all the minor schools, and recommended the peasants to sing the canticles of the Church on their way to and from Mass. Boethius was the text-book for music, as also for arithmetic and geometry, and his translations of Nicomachus' arithmetic and of the first four books of Euclid fairly represent the extent of the knowledge then current in these subjects. The last art of the quadrivium, astronomy, partly on account of its practical utility in the construction of a calendar, partly, doubtless, because of its connection with astrology, was very popular in those days. It was the favorite study of Charles himself, and its problems frequently formed the subject matter of disputations between Saxon and Irish scholars, whose opinions in regard to the date of Easter were still at variance.

The standard of learning which was reached by the first Renaissance, if compared with what we now understand by learning, was undoubtedly low, lower by far than the learning of ancient Greece and Rome. Even in theology, though the knowledge which an eighth century student had of this first and foremost of all his studies was by no means insignificant, nothing new was added to what had already been done in a previous age. The text of the Scriptures was carefully studied, great facility in their choice and use of quotations being much insisted on, and the Latin was compared with the Greek and Hebrew versions; yet there was no research, in the modern sense of the word. All argument was based on authority, of which there

was a plentiful supply at hand in the works of Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Bede and some few Latin translations of Greek Fathers. In the Fathers the more advanced students were well read, and in allegorical interpretation displayed considerable ingenuity, but speculative theology was quite foreign to the school of theologians to which Alcuin belonged.

The supreme importance of theology in the mind of the student of this period is significant, since it gave a religious tone to the whole movement. The liberal arts were studied mainly as a preparation for the higher study of Scripture and the Fathers. They were a means to an end. The first capitulary, for instance, exhorted men to learning and especially to clear thought and correct language in order that they might be able to penetrate with greater ease and certainty the mysteries of Holy Scripture; and for this a knowledge of grammar and dialectics was required. Again, the offices of the Church demanded a certain familiarity with the theory and practice of music, while arithmetic, geometry and astronomy were needed for calculating the dates of the movable feasts of the year. Secular learning certainly suffered much on account of its subordination to theology, yet there was this advantage gained, that the course of studies then followed formed one whole, directed and controlled throughout by unity of purpose, whereas in our modern system of excessive specialization, water-tight compartments, so to speak, are inevitable, and a man may rank high as a mathematician or a physicist and yet be ignorant of the very elements of some sister science, without which his own would be meaningless.

In the course of studies prescribed for the lower grade schools the same singleness of purpose dominated the whole. Man was to be educated and civilized by means of Christianity. Education, therefore, like Christianity, was for all men, rich and poor alike; and, being of obligation, it was necessarily free. Its aim, too, was both practical and comprehensive. No aspect or faculty of human nature was to remain undeveloped. Intellectual training in classics and mathematics was not the only benefit a school was intended to confer on its pupils. Their gentler and more emotional qualities were to be brought out by the study of music. The educational value of music seems, indeed, to have been realized by the Franks more clearly than it is by English educationalists of the present day, and this in spite of our more perfect knowledge of the art, and in spite of difficulties peculiar to the Franks, who, so we are told by John the Deacon, owing to the "barbarous harshness of their cracked throats, when by inflections and reverberations they endeavored to emit a gentle psalmody, out of a certain natural harshness sent forth grating sounds like that of carts on a highway." The moral and

religious side of human nature was cultivated even more assiduously than the intellectual and æsthetic. In the actual working of a class, if we may judge from Alcuin's own writings, no opportunity of inculcating moral truths was allowed to slip by. His "Dialogues" define "speaking" as "the interpreter of the soul," and "air" as "the guardian of life," definitions which obviously point to some moral lesson which the teacher was intended to draw. Above all, idleness was to be avoided. The schools were divided into classes, but for each subject there was a different master, to whom the classes went in turn. By this means Alcuin hoped to prevent boys "running about in idleness or occupying themselves with silly play" (*inanos ludos*); for recreation, in his opinion, should consist in change of work rather than in its cessation.

The unity of conception and the high moral tone of schools established under the direction of Alcuin entitles him to a high place among educational reformers. When he arrived at the court of Charles, bringing with him all the learning of Northumbrian England, he found that Boniface, his fellow-countryman, had restored the discipline of the clergy and had already called into existence many monasteries and schools; but it was to Alcuin that Francia owed that systematic organization of cathedral, monastic and parish schools which gave to the first Renaissance a stability it would not otherwise have possessed. On the other hand, we must not forget that without the strong government of a Pepin and the able administration and enthusiastic support of a Charlemagne, no revival at all would have been possible. The saint, the scholar and the King each played a necessary though a different part in the Renaissance, which, coming as it did at a time when the kingdom was enjoying a period of internal peace, came to stay. The character and temper of the nation was now sufficiently mature to appreciate the advantages of civilization, and never again did the Franks lose all esteem for a higher culture and all desire for better things as completely as they had done after the departure of their first tutors, the Romans. Abbacies and bishoprics were now occupied by learned men—Theodulf, Arno, Riculf, Rigbod, Leidrad, Adelhard, Augilbert and many others—all of them the friends or the pupils of Alcuin, and by these men the tradition of learning was handed on in its full vigor for a century and a half. In spite of revolts provoked by Lewis' excessive vigor, in spite of the dissensions of his sons and the splitting of the Empire into fragments, in spite of the ravages of the Danes and the destruction of many a city, monastery and school, zeal for learning grew rather than diminished in intensity and scope as the versatile mind of the Frank developed. Rabanus of Fulda, the pupil of Alcuin, was a man of more liberal views than his master, with a

greater esteem for rhetoric, dialectic, literature and philosophy, while his pupil, Lupus Servatus, studied the classics for the pleasure they gave him and for the sake of the refining influence they had on his mind. The foundation of large libraries also did much to encourage the study of the classics, and the constant influx of Irish scholars did still more. Scotus Erigena, whose intellect reveled in speculation and whose knowledge of Greek evoked the admiration of the Papal librarian, attracted to his lectures students from all parts. Indeed, so great was his fame that "nearly all Ireland," we are told, "disdaining the perils of the sea, had sought in voluntary exile to subserve the wishes of one who was a Solomon in wisdom." Then, in the tenth century, we have Remy of Auxerre, who opened a free, public and non-ecclesiastical school at Paris—the nucleus of the later university—and who reestablished the schools of the Diocese of Rheims, including the great school of Rheims itself, from which came the famous Pope Sylvester II.

Each of these men had his own peculiar characteristics; each did a great work for education; each gave a new phase, and a more advanced phase to the Renaissance. And gradually as scholar succeeding scholar brought fresh ideas, fresh vigor, fresh discoveries, the era which Boniface and Alcuin had inaugurated grew almost imperceptibly in the era of scholasticism and the universities. One thing alone prevents us from treating the two movements as one and the same, the decline which ensued during the utter confusion of the closing decades of the tenth century; but, if the first Renaissance does at last appear to fade, it is only to make way for a second Renaissance, of which itself was the cause and of which the zeal of Boniface and the organizing genius of Alcuin were in reality the foundation.

The Renaissance of the eighth century had come to stay because it appeared at a time when the mind of the Frank was ripe to receive it; because until the previous outburst of intellectual activity in the Roman province of Gaul it was no premature development destined to meet with an untimely end, but the spontaneous production of a people endowed with literary genius and sufficiently old to be able to appreciate the value of their gift. And the same reasons would lead us to hope with Mr. Balfour that the enthusiasm for science and education now prevalent in Europe has also come to stay. But there is this difference between the present position of European nations and that of Francia in the time of Charlemagne—the nations of Western Europe are now old, if they are not senile, whereas the Franks had all the vigor and unconquerable energy of youth. We have had our Rennascences, they had as yet had none. There was besides deep rooted in the hearts of the Franks a strong faith in the

supernatural, an appeal to which would never fail to stir them to energetic activity in the cause of reform; but with us religion seems to be waning and an agnostic or a pantheistic naturalism has to a large extent usurped its place. Our modern civilization seems, in fact, to resemble rather that of ancient Rome in the Golden Age than it does that of Francia in the time of Alcuin. If, then, a crisis comes, shall we survive? If the latent hostility of rival powers once more breaks out in open war or if the forces which at present threaten the very basis of society gain the day, will our literature, our science and our civilization persist, as did that of the Franks, in spite of circumstances? It is impossible to say. The issue will depend upon the degree of our senility. But whether we incline to an optimistic or a pessimistic view in regard to the future, this at least is certain, that a learned nation is impossible so long as social disunion and political strife absorb its energies, and that just as the brilliance of the Caroling revival grows dim amid the constant wars and widespread confusion of the Dark Ages, so, too, with us the social revolution which looms darkly ahead, if it come to pass, will retard the progress of civilization and lead, if not to a permanent, at least to a temporary decadence.

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THE ANCIENT COLLEGIATE CHURCHES OF SCOTLAND.

THE student of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland cannot help being struck by the fact that successive epochs are strongly marked by the prevalence in each of some special religious institute. Thus the Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries and houses of Canons Regular sprang into life during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; friaries of the Mendicant Orders arose later, most of them being founded in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though some of them as late as the early years of the sixteenth. The fifteenth century, speaking broadly, was the period when foundations of a monastic character ceased, and in their place rose up the institutes known as collegiate. For from the later years of the fourteenth century up to the second decade of the sixteenth, as many as forty of such foundations were made—an unusually large proportion, considering the size of the country and the number of the parochial clergy.

Since many persons not thoroughly conversant with the distinctive

character of the various ecclesiastical foundations may desire some explanation of the nature of a collegiate establishment, it may be well to give it in a few words. The title "collegiate" is derived from the Latin word *collegium*, a term signifying a body of persons collected together for the carrying out of some special office or calling. As applied to the establishments we are considering, the name refers to the union of the clergy composing the staff of each particular church of the kind. Their duty was to celebrate with the solemnity due to each recurring season or festival the services of the church to which they were attached. In certain instances they were required to take charge of some educational establishment or hospital or almshouse, but not necessarily. The carrying out of all that belonged to the solemn and public worship of God was their first and chief aim. Thus, not only were they bound to celebrate Mass at certain times and for certain fixed intentions, as their founder might require, but the whole of the appointed service of each day had to be regularly carried out. Not only must they provide a sung Mass daily (sometimes even two or three), but the Divine Office of the Church, which every priest is bound to recite, had to be chanted in the church by the whole body.

In these days, when clergy are much less numerous, and when the services of the Church are necessarily shorn of much of their due solemnity, the Divine Office is little understood by the laity. They are aware that a priest is bound to "say Office" every day, and that is all that most people know about the subject. The real fact is that the clergy, by the recitation of their daily Office, are offering the official worship of the Church. Just as no priest may please his own fancy about what saint he shall honor by his Mass on any particular day, but must follow the arrangement drawn up for him by ecclesiastical authority, so in like manner is he bound to the recitation of certain psalms, hymns and other specified forms of prayer proper to each day.

In the early ages of the Church the faithful knew and appreciated the arrangement of festivals and seasons and to a great extent were familiar with the details of worship connected with each. The authorized public worship was celebrated regularly and solemnly in all cathedrals, which set an example to the churches of the diocese. In the numerous monasteries, which at a very early period began to spring up in every country of Christendom, the chief duty of the inmates, according to the injunction of St. Benedict, the Father of the Monks of the Western Church, was the singing of the Divine Office at certain stated hours of each day and night. It was in this way, throughout successive ages, that the duty of the public worship of God was kept before the minds of the people. Not only in

cathedrals and monasteries, but in parish churches everywhere, the Divine Office was a familiar part of the service of at least Sundays and holy days. Matins and Mass and Vespers, at least, were duly carried out, the faithful joining in each to the best of their ability—singing or reciting with the priest and clerks, if possible, or uniting their intention with the Office of the day while they recited their rosary or other vocal prayers.

The collegiate churches, of which we are treating, were established to carry out such public Divine worship after the manner of the cathedrals and monasteries of the country. Examples will be given later of the detailed arrangement of services in some of them, which will enable the reader to form an accurate conception of their general character.

The clergy who constituted the collegiate body were secular priests. They were presided over by a superior, who bore the title of provost, or in some instances dean. Each member of the body was supported by an annual income furnished by the rent of lands or other property. Such income was entitled a prebend, and the cleric who benefited by it the prebendary of such and such lands or property. Other benefices were frequently added to provide certain specified Masses at stated times, either for the founder of the benefice and his family or for the reigning sovereign or other particular intention. As an example may be quoted the benefice founded at Biggar collegiate church in 1531 by John Tweedie, of Drummelzier, for the soul's rest of John, Lord Fleming, Chamberlain of Scotland, whom he and his son had slain while hawking seven years before.

Some historians are puzzled to account for the "passion"—as they style it—for erecting collegiate churches during the period when their foundation became so prevalent in Scotland. It has been suggested that the religious orders had become so relaxed that they were regarded with less enthusiasm by the pious and devout who were anxious to bestow their worldly substance upon the worship of God. There is no proof, however, that monasteries had regenerated to such an extent as to have forfeited the confidence of good Catholics; the evil of nominal superiors, presented to the office for the sake of reaping its emoluments merely, though it had lowered considerably the standard of earlier and more fervent ages, had not killed the old religious spirit—as witness the many monks who clung to their desecrated and ruined homes for years after the Reformation had become an accomplished fact at Dunfermline, Paisley, Kelso, Crossraguel, Pluscarden, Sweetheart, Dundrennan and elsewhere.

A more probable reason would seem to be the dearth of monastic and religious vocations in an age which was undoubtedly relaxed in fervor. The houses already existing were more than capable of

containing all who felt a call to cloistral or regular life; to multiply them, therefore, would not appeal to those who desired to see some practical result from their generosity. The establishment of a collegiate church would provide for the increase of centres of canonical worship by means of the secular clergy.

To this another reason may be added. A collegiate church might be and in many cases was founded in connection with some parish church already in existence; the changes necessary, in the shape of additional clergy, etc., could be accomplished far more easily and at a less pecuniary sacrifice than the building and endowing of a religious house. Thus persons of only moderate means at their disposal might bring about, as far as the public, solemn worship of God was concerned, what it had cost Kings and nobles in earlier ages a fortune to effect.

One aspect of the case must not be overlooked. The number of the foundations of the kind brought about in a comparatively short space of time is, without doubt, a strong argument that the old Catholic instincts of zeal for God's honor and glory, and generosity in providing for His fitting worship, were still living and active in the hearts of many of the great ones of the nation.

Before speaking in detail of such churches as may present facts worthy of note in their respective histories, it may be well to give in tabulated form a list of them, arranged according to the counties in which they were situated. The date of the foundation is given in all cases that can be ascertained with sufficient accuracy:

Aberdeen—New Aberdeen, St. Nicholas', 1441; Old Aberdeen, King's College, 1505.

Argyle—Kilmund, 1442.

Ayr—Maybole, 1371-1441; Kilmaurs, 1403.

Banff—Cullen, 1543; Kinnethmont.

Dumbarton—Dumbarton, 1450.

Fife—St. Andrew's, St. Mary's, St. Salvator's, 1458; St. Leonard's, 1512; Crail, 1517.

Haddington—Dunbar, 1342-1392; Yester, 1418-1420; Dirleton, 1444-1446; Dunglas, 1450; Seton, 1493.

Inverness—Abernethy, about 1460.

Kirkcudbright—Lincluden, 1400.

Lanark—Bothwell, 1398; Carnwarth, 1424; Hamilton, 1451-1462; Glasgow, 1528; Biggar, 1545.

Linlithgow—Linlithgow.

Mid-Lothian—Dalkeith, 1406; Corstorphine, 1429; Roslin, 1446; Crichton, 1449; Edinburgh, St. Mary's, Holy Trinity, 1450; St. Giles', 1466; Restalrig, 1487-1515.

Peebles—Peebles, 1542.

Perth—Methven, 1433-1439; Tullibardine, 1446.

Renfrew—Sempil, or Lochwinnoch, 1505.

Ross—Tain, 1481.

Stirling—Stirling, 1501.

The collegiate church of Dunbar claims first mention, not from any unusually interesting facts connected with its history, but because it was the first establishment of the kind ever founded in Scotland and one of the most liberally equipped. It owed its origin to Patrick, Earl of March, who procured its confirmation in 1342 from William, Bishop of St. Andrew's, it diocesan. The founder provided for the sustentation of a dean, an archpriest and eighteen canons or prebendaries by bestowing upon his foundation the revenues of certain churches in his patronage, in addition to the church of Dunbar and chapels in the neighborhood. Later on other revenues were added. The founder reserved to himself and his family the right of presentation to the benefices. It is but natural to find the preference given to members of the founder's family, and accordingly the mention of a Columba Dunbar as dean in 1411 creates no surprise. By the forfeiture of the Earldom of March, under James I., the patronage of the church fell to the crown.

The cruciform church, 123 feet in length and 83 across the transepts, stood on elevated ground 65 feet above the sea. Its site is now occupied by a modern Gothic church for Presbyterian worship.

Bothwell owed its collegiate establishment in 1398 to Archibald, surnamed "The Grim," Earl of Douglas. Froissart thus describes him: "Archibald Douglas, a worthy knight and much dreaded by his enemies." His sword, according to the same chronicler, did deadly work. "Its blade was of two ells; scarcely could another man raise it from the ground, yet he wielded it with ease. He dealt such heavy blows with it that wherever he reached he overthrew. Before him the hardiest of the English army shrank." So fierce a warrior would hardly be expected to give his mind to the foundation of an ecclesiastical establishment of the kind, yet he it was who converted the parish church of Bothwell into a collegiate church served by a provost and eight prebendaries. The provost was rector of the parish. The clergy had each a house and yard near the church, and though the houses had disappeared in 1795, a writer of the period relates that the titles "Vicar Yard," "Prebend Yards" had survived till that date.¹

The ruins of the choir of the old church are still to be seen near the modern church erected in 1833. Up to 1795 it was in use for Presbyterian worship. It was dedicated to St. Bride, patron saint of the Douglas family. The founder was laid to rest there in the middle

¹ "Statistical Account of Scotland," Bothwell.

of the choir, though no monument remains to mark the place. The founder's daughter, Marjory, was married in this church in 1400 to the hapless David, Duke of Rothesay, eldest son of Robert III. Two years later David was brutally starved to death by his unnatural uncle, the Duke of Albany, in Falkland Castle.

One of the provosts of this church, John Ralston, became Bishop of Dunkeld, and in 1449 was made Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. Another, George Hepburn, held the same important office, and later on was raised to the See of the Isles. He was slain with James IV. on the fatal field of Flodden in 1513.

Lincluden was originally founded for Benedictine nuns in the latter half of the twelfth century by Uchtred, son of Fergus, Lord of Galloway. The founder was buried there in 1174. Towards the close of the fourteenth century Archibald the Grim, already mentioned in connection with Bothwell, who was Lord of Galloway, expelled the community and changed the character of the establishment by obtaining its erection into a collegiate church.

Chroniclers of the fact cannot satisfactorily account for a proceeding so arbitrary. The nuns were accused of "insolence." Dr. Hill Burton says of Major, a sixteenth century writer, that he "volunteers to speculate that they must have been conspicuous for incontinence, otherwise the good earl never would have expelled them."² Upon so slight a foundation as this, Protestant authorities up to the present day perpetuate the tradition that these nuns had shown themselves unfaithful to their solemn vows! A noteworthy exception, the learned George Chalmers, in his "*Caledonia*," assigns a different motive for the suppression. Speaking of Archibald, he says: "His object appears to have been less religious than interested. He founded a collegiate church as a more commodious means of providing for the numerous dependents of the Douglas family, while they remained the lords of Galloway." It is noteworthy that the earl added nothing to the original endowment of the older foundation.

Lincluden College consisted of a provost and twelve prebendaries. It seems to have been reconstituted in later centuries, as at the period of the Reformation it had eight prebendaries only, and attached to it were twenty-four bedesmen and a chaplain. The latter had been provided for by Margaret, daughter of Robert III. and widow of the Duke of Turenne, a member of the Douglas family. This lady was a munificent benefactress to Lincluden and was buried there in a splendid tomb described by an eighteenth century traveler. It is now much mutilated.

From the remains of the church still to be seen, it is evident that the building was of great beauty. It was in decorated style and

² "*Billings' Ecclesiastical Antiquities*," Lincluden.

very rich in details. The vaulted roof has been compared with that of King's College, Cambridge. Nothing now exists of the residences of the prebendaries except a portion of the provost's dwelling.

An eighteenth century traveler found there considerable remains of well-planned gardens. Even now an artificial mound, encircled by a spiral path, forms a prominent feature of the precincts. From its summit the present writer gained a striking view of the beautiful country lying around when he visited the interesting ruins. More than twenty years after the Reformation Lord Herries had Mass said in the church at Christmas, in open defiance of the Protestant authorities.

The beginnings of the establishment for a collegiate body at Maybole, in Ayrshire, may be traced to a chapel founded in 1371 and dedicated to Our Lady by Sir John Kennedy. It stood near the parish church of that place. There were attached to it a clerk and three chaplains to pray for the welfare of the founder, his wife and their children during life and after death. It developed into a collegiate church later. The ground now occupied by the town of Maybole was the property of this church. At the Reformation the Earl of Cassilis took possession of the revenues and paid a third to the provost and canons for their lives.

Like Lincluden, this church was memorable for the exhibition of Catholic intrepidity after the Reformation. In 1563 the Kennedys, with 200 armed followers, braved the law by having Mass offered there on May 19. They were prosecuted and imprisoned for their contumacy.

The Church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, a beautiful building more than 200 feet long, adorned with lofty tower and spire, served as the parish church of the portion of the city known as New Aberdeen. In 1441 Bishop Law made it collegiate, providing for a vicar, a curate and twenty-four chaplains; the number of the latter was reduced in 1519 to sixteen. Within this glorious Gothic church, the pride of the city, stood as many as thirty-one altars, many of them specially endowed. Among them were those dedicated to the Holy Rood, St. Michael, St. Peter, St. John, St. Clement, St. Lawrence, St. Nicholas, St. Ninian, St. Duthac and St. Catherine. The magistrates took a delight in adding to the adornments of their church and in carrying out from time to time any necessary improvements or restorations. When in 1514 they sought the help of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary and their patron, St. Nicholas, in time of pestilence, they levied a tax for providing needed vestments, vessels, song books and other furniture for the church. As the burg records show, many of the fines levied upon offenders against the municipal laws were devoted to the same end.

At the Reformation Presbyterianism knew not what to do with a building of such dimensions, with its carved rood screen and stalled choir. So a solid wall was built to divide nave from choir and provide two separate places of worship. This absurd arrangement still continues, though both the East and west churches, as the conventicles are called, have undergone so much alteration that little remains to identify them with the ancient Church of St. Nicholas.

Andrew, second Lord Gray of Fowlis, was founder in 1446 of the collegiate church of Fowlis Easter, in Forfarshire. The little church, in Gothic style, is 89 feet long by 29 wide. It is principally remarkable for the remains of some unusually fine paintings in oil which have been discovered upon a carved rood screen within it. These pictures are thus described by one who has examined them minutely:

"Marking the boundary of the chancel, a screen is carried across the whole width of the church, and on its west side are some singular and well-executed paintings in oil of ancient date, done on oak panels, representing the Crucifixion, the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Infant Saviour, St. John the Baptist holding in one hand an Agnus Dei, to which he is pointing with the other; a dead Christ, St. Peter and other single figures of both sexes. The picture of the Crucifixion, which is the largest of the series, represents Jesus suspended between the two thieves and surrounded by the chief priests, soldiery and a miscellaneous throng of attendants and spectators, among which is one with a ruddy countenance expressive of sardonic joy and wearing a cap fashioned like that found on the head of the ancient court fool or his bauble. In one of the upper corners an angel is receiving the departing spirit of the pardoned malefactor, which is figured like a tadpole with the head and shoulders of a child, while on the other hand a fiend in the shape of a dragon is preparing to lay hold of the flitting soul of his less favored companion."³

It is supposed that the whole wall surface of this little collegiate church was adorned in like manner, but that the paintings were destroyed at the Reformation by tearing down the plaster. The screen was thickly coated with whitewash, and hence the pictures there were preserved. They were discovered about the middle of the last century. From their style they are supposed to have been the work of an artist of the Flemish school.

No particulars remain concerning the constitution of this collegiate establishment.

Roslin Chapel, as it is popularly called, stands about seven miles distant from Edinburgh. It is the chancel and Lady chapel—for

³ "Descriptive Notices of Ancient Parochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland" (London, 1848), p. 134.

no more was ever completed—of the collegiate Church of St. Matthew, founded in 1446 by Sir William St. Clair, Baron of Roslin and Earl of Orkney, for a provost, six prebendaries and two choristers. "His age creeping on him," says Father Hay, a member of the same family, "to the end that he might not seem altogether unthankful to God for the benefices he received from Him, it came in his mind to build a house for God's service of most curious worke; the which that it might be done with greater glory and splendor, he caused artificers to be brought from other regions and forraigne kingdomes, and caused dayly to be abundance of all kinde of workemen present: as masons, carpenters, smiths, barrowmen and quarriers, with others."⁴

It seems probable that the founder was his own architect. His generous pay brought the best of skilled workmen to his help from all parts of Scotland and from other countries as well. The result is evident in the highly ornate Gothic building still to be seen. The small church, measuring but 69 feet in length, consists of choir and aisles, with Lady chapel to the east. All is so thickly encrusted with carved ornament that the effect is rich in the extreme, though not considered by competent authorities on architecture as of pure Gothic style. The details, nevertheless, are beautifully finished and give evidence of the skill of the workmen employed. Figures of angels, saints, scenes from Bible history, dragons, flowers, foliage exist in the greatest profusion on almost every stone of the building.

Beneath the church are the burial vaults of the St. Clair family. Formerly the Barons were buried in armor without coffin, and ten thus lie there. A mob which wrecked Roslin Castle hard by, in 1688, did much damage to the church, but it was afterwards repaired. The exterior looks unfinished, owing to the cessation of the work before the entire building had been raised. Its adornments are on a less ornate scale than those of the interior.

Queen Mary of Gueldres, widow of James II., founded the collegiate Church of Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, in 1462, for a provost, eight chaplains and two singing boys. Attached to it was a hospital for thirteen poor men. Its full dedication was "to the Holy Trinity, to the ever blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, to St. Ninian the Confessor and to all the saints and elect of God." In the year after the foundation the Queen died and was buried in the church.

The building was a rich and beautiful specimen of Gothic architecture, of the style known as middle pointed. The church had some very fine windows. In 1848 it was pulled down to make room for a railway station. The body of the foundress was removed to the royal vaults in Holyrood.

⁴ "Genealogie of the Saint Claires of Rosslyn."

One of the provisions of the foundress was that every prebend should go after Mass in his vestments to say a "De Profundis" at her tomb. The poor Queen has been robbed of these suffrages by a so-called Reformation of religion, in common with so many other devout founders of churches, chapels and monasteries.

St. Giles', Edinburgh, was the chief collegiate establishment in that city. The church was the pride of the municipality, and extensive grants were made by the magistrates from time to time towards its building fund. It had been almost entirely destroyed in the fire of 1385, when the English under Richard II. burned the city. Building operations were continually going on for the next eighty years and at intervals until the very eve of the Reformation. The result was a noble and spacious church worthy to be the great parish church of the capital of Scotland, measuring some 194 feet in length, with nave, choir, aisles and transepts, together with lateral chapels added at various dates.

In 1466 the magistrates made the church collegiate, providing for the sustenance of a provost, curate, sixteen prebendaries, a master of the choir, a sacristan, four choristers and a number of chaplains to celebrate at the thirty-six altars of the church. St. Giles' was the centre of Catholic life in the city. The many trade guilds had each its appointed altar and chaplain, supported by the particular guild which claimed it, and Mass was said for each at stated times. It was the largest and most important of all the collegiate churches of Scotland, with the exception of the Chapel Royal, Sterling.

At the Reformation this splendid church was partitioned off for various incongruous uses. Four portions were used as churches, known respectively as the High Church, Tolbooth Church, Old Church and Little Kirk. A police office and even a prison occupied other parts. Much money was spent in unsatisfactory restorations in 1829, but at length, in 1871, was commenced the thorough renovation of the ancient fabric, carried out in excellent taste, chiefly at the expense of a private citizen, and completed in 1883.

The Church of the Holy Cross and St. Mary, at Seton, in the county of Haddington, was made collegiate by George, second Lord Seton, in 1493, for a provost, six prebendaries, a clerk and two singing boys. From time to time additions were made to the building by members of the Seton family, but the church was left incomplete at the Reformation. The founder died in 1507 and was buried near the high altar. Sir Richard Maitland, who was connected with the family, has left in a MS. history a minute account of this church, from which a few quotations in modern spelling may be here given, as it is rare to find such detailed particulars concerning events of the kind. "Catherine Sinclair, the wife of Sir William

Seton, who died at the beginning of the reign of Robert III., built an aisle on the south side of the church . . . with a sepulchre therein, where she lies; and founded a priest to serve there perpetually. This lady, in her widowhood, dwelt where are now the priests' chambers in Seton, and planted and made all their yard, that they have yet, at this day." Janet, daughter of Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell, and widow of the founder's son, "built the north aisle of the church . . . and thereby made a perfect cross-kirk (*i. e.*, cruciform), and built the steeple to a great height." The same lady was generous in her gifts of vestments and ornaments of the altar. The historian enumerates, "a complete stand of purple velvet vestments, flowered with gold; another of white Camoise velvet, flowered with gold; . . . a case of silver, a eucharist of silver, a chalice over-gilt, a pendicle for the high altar, etc."⁵

In 1544 English invaders burned the castle of Seton and spoiled the church, taking away to their ships in the Firth of Forth the bells, organ, ornaments and all movables, after setting fire to the woodwork of the building.⁶

The collegiate Church of St. Mary, at Castle Sempil, Renfrewshire, was founded near his castle in the parish of Lochwinnoch, by John, first Lord Sempil, in 1504. The founder provided for the support of a provost, six prebendaries and two boys to assist in the singing. The foundation charter gives interesting particulars of the arrangements of the offices. The prebendary who held the post of organist was required to teach a singing school, giving daily lessons to boys in Gregorian chant and "prick-song." He had to maintain the two singing boys for the service of the church. The sacrist had charge of the church, with the ornaments and vestments. It was his duty to regulate the clock and duly to ring the bells at Matins, Vespers, Compline, as well as at curfew and prayers, doubling according to custom on festivals. He had also to collect offerings from the people, passing through the church for the purpose, and to clean the church and adorn it with herbs and flowers. The choir dress of the prebends and boys was a linen surplice with hood of red English cloth lined with black lambswool. The provost carried an almuce (fur tippet) on his arm on feast days. Masses were at 6 o'clock in summer and 7 in winter, and at 8, 9 and 10, the latter being High Mass.⁷

At the Reformation the property was taken possession of by the founder's family and the church continued to be the burial place of the Sempils.

⁵ Chalmers' "Caledonia," II., p. 525.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 513.

⁷ "Registrum Episc. Glasg." (Bannatyne Club), p. 510.

The Church of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary and St. Margaret, at Restalrig, was founded as a collegiate establishment in 1487 by James III. It received further endowments from James IV. and James V. Provision was made for a dean, nine prebendaries, three chaplains and two singing boys. The first prebendary was organist and conducted a singing school. The second was sacrist, whose duty was to take charge of the valuables, books, chalices and vessels. He had to defray the expenses of the washing of the church linen out of his revenues and to keep two boys to sing, light candles and ring bells.

This church was one of the first sacred edifices destroyed by the Puritan faction at the Reformation. In 1560 the General Assembly ordained that "the Kirk of Restalrig, as a monument of idolatry be rased, utterly cast down and destroyed." The reason of this strong antipathy seems to have been that the dean, Sinclair, was one of the prominent opponents of the doctrines of the Reformation. The vaults of the ruined church were taken possession of by the family of Balmerino to serve as a burying place. A scheme is now on foot for restoring the ancient chapter house, close by the former church. At present it is filled up with earth within two feet of the top of the beautifully carved central pillar. The restoration of this relic of antiquity is regarded as the first step in the rebuilding of the little church itself—a place associated with many historical memories.

The collegiate Church of Crail, in Fifeshire, was founded in 1517 by the prioress of the Cistercian nuns of Haddington, to whom the church had up to that time belonged, with the assistance of Sir William Myrntoun. Provision was made for a provost, ten prebendaries, a sacrist and singing boys.

An interesting inventory of the contents of the sacristy is extant. It gives details which will help the reader to form a picture of the furnishing of such churches. It will not be out of place to quote from it:

"One great chalice of silver, double-gilt, 24½ ounces in weight; one great Eucharist for the sacrament, double-gilt, 46½ ounces; one little Eucharist, not gilt, 8 ounces; two silver censors, 25 ounces each; two silver chandeliers, 28½ ounces each; two silver cruets, 9 ounces each. All these were the gift of Sir Thomas Myrntoun, one of the provosts, at one time archdeacon of Aberdeen. One cross, silver, double-gilt, 13 ounces; one little chalice, single-gilt, 12 ounces, given by the prioress of Haddington; a stand of vestments of green velvet, consisting of cope, chasuble, two tunicles, with albs, stoles and fanons (maniples), with orphreys with imagery of fine gold; two copes for cantors of green satin, with orphreys of red; pendicle

and frontal to the altar of green velvet, the gift of Sir Thomas Myrtoun; a stand of white damask, with cloth of gold orphreys; two copes of 'blew chamblet and one of brown,' the gift of the prioress of Haddington."

Among other vestments we find a set of "downe silk," probably dun or ashen color, used in the Sarum rite. A great veil of "bartane" (British) cloth to hang before the high altar "in Lentron," another custom belonging to the same rite, and veils of red serge "for the images in Lentron."

Mention is made of the altars of the Holy Rood, Our Lady, St. Michael, St. John Baptist, St. James, St. John the Evangelist, St. Stephen, St. Nicholas and St. Katharine.⁸

Although John Knox preached an inflammatory sermon in this church against "idolatry" in 1559, and his "rascal multitude" proceeded to pillage and destroy, according to the preacher's injunction, the work of demolition must have been confined to statues, windows, vestments and movables, for the fabric was left standing up to 1828, when it underwent some kind of restoration. It is still used for Presbyterian worship and is a Gothic edifice with nave and aisles 80 feet long and chancel reduced from 55 to 22 feet. The western tower is surmounted by a low spire.

The collegiate Church of SS. Mary and Anne, Glasgow, was founded in 1528, or thereabouts, by James Houston, sub-dean of the Cathedral and rector of Glasgow. It stood in St. Thenew's Gate, on the spot now occupied by the "Tron Church." Provision was made by the founder for the support of a provost, eight prebendaries and three boys, "skilled in singing and learned in letters, science and of good character."⁹ Later on other benefices were added to bring the number of clergy to twelve. After the death of the founder the presentation to a stall in this church belonged to the magistrates of the city. On the western side of the building was a "song school," in which one of the clergy taught the church song. There was a cemetery in connection with the church. This establishment was next in importance to the Cathedral. It bore several names; it was known as the "New Church," "New College," "Laigh (Low) Kirk," to distinguish it from the Cathedral, or "High Kirk," which stood on the high ground to the north of the city. But in Catholic times it was usually called St. Mary's, though after the Reformation, when, as a Protestant writer remarks, "the name of the Blessed Virgin was less respected in Glasgow than in former times," its ordinary title was the Laigh Kirk.

The citizens of Glasgow provided for the sustenance of chaplains

⁸ "Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica" (Edinburgh, 1842).

⁹ "Liber Colleg. Nostr. Dominæ" (Maitland Club), p. 6.

to celebrate Mass at the altars of Our Lady, St. Michael and St. Mungo, and there were several other altars in the church.

In 1560 a reforming mob destroyed all the images, altars and ornaments of this spacious and beautiful church, which for a long time after stood disused and neglected. All its revenues, which were considerable, were appropriated by the magistrates. In 1592 the church was repaired, and thenceforward was used for Presbyterian worship. In 1637 the magistrates built a square tower, surmounted by a spire containing two bells. It was from the "tron," or public weighing machine, kept under this tower that the church came to be known as "Tron Church," and the street in which it stood as Trongate. The word "gate," it may be remarked, had no connection with city gates; these were known under the designation of "port," from the Latin *porta*. "Gate" or "gait" in Scots meant a way or street. The fine old collegiate church was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1793 and the present Tron Church erected on its site.

The parish Church of St. Mary, at Cullen, in Banffshire, was made collegiate in 1543 by Alexander Ogilvie, of Deskford, who provided for the support of a provost, six prebendaries and two choristers. The small cruciform building is now used for Presbyterian worship. It was enlarged for greater accommodation in 1798. The body of the founder lies in a richly decorated tomb in a recess on the north side of the chancel; his recumbent effigy surmounts the tomb. On the same side of the chancel, nearer the altar, is a finely preserved specimen of one of the stone aumbries, found chiefly in the northern parts of Scotland and known as "Sacrament Houses." They were really stone tabernacles in the north wall of a church, in which the Blessed Sacrament was reserved before the custom of a fixed tabernacle at the back of the altar became general. That at Cullen, of sixteenth century work, is embellished with the figures of angels bearing a monstrance containing a Host. The former residences of the collegiate body attached to this church are now merged in the buildings of Cullen House, one of the residences of the Earls of Seafield, near which the ancient church stands. The house is a most interesting specimen of ancient architecture; it has been erected at various periods and has been skillfully restored within the last half century.

The last of all the collegiate foundations of Scotland was the Church of St. Mary, at Biggar, in Lanarkshire. It was founded by Malcolm, third Lord Fleming, Chamberlain of Scotland, in 1545, for a provost, eight prebendaries, four singing boys and six poor men. Cardinal Beaton, as Papal Legate, confirmed the charter of foundation. Lord Fleming, with many of his kinsmen and followers, fell on the field of Pinkie in 1547.

A charter of the Abbot of Holyrood, granting certain privileges to this collegiate church, a few years later, thus alludes to it: "In consideration of the singular zeal and pious affection towards God and the Catholic Church, which were shown, in these unhappy days of Lutheranism, by a sometime noble and mighty lord, Malcolm, Lord Fleming, who at his own charge built a stately church in the village of Biggar, dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption, and commonly called the College of St. Mary of Biggar, etc." The allusion to Lutheranism must not be taken to refer to Scotland so much as to the countries where it was then rife. The heresy had, it is true, made its appearance in Scotland, and Hamilton and some of its other upholders had paid with their lives for attempting to promulgate it; yet the bulk of the nation was free from infection, and no one dreamed that in less than fifteen years after the foundation of Biggar Protestantism would have been set up as the religion of Scotland, to the exclusion of the ancient faith.

The church was in reality never completed. It was built on a cruciform ground plan, and was to have been embellished with a spire, had not the Reformation prevented further progress. St. Mary's has served as the Presbyterian parish church of the place up to the present day. Though recent restoration has done much to improve its condition, it was wantonly despoiled of many of its prominent beauties in an age when they were not only not appreciated, but condemned as savoring of Popery. Among such decorations the oaken roof of the chancel, richly gilt, fell a prey to the vandalism of a past century. A western porch, a lych gate and a sacristy have also disappeared.

Such were some of the collegiate churches which were so important a feature of Catholic life in Scotland in the ages immediately preceding the downfall of the Catholic religion. Something might have been said here about many which have been passed over with a mere brief mention of their existence, but from the particulars given about those treated on, the reader will gather sufficient for the general understanding of the subject, which is rendered all the more interesting from its relation with a state of things no longer existing.

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PIUS VII. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

I.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1797, when it was evident that the French Directory was determined to overthrow the Papal Government, Pius VI. recognized that the rules which had been drawn up by his predecessors to regulate the election of a Sovereign Pontiff could no longer suffice to guarantee the safety of the Conclave in presence of the dangers which menaced the Church. He therefore decreed by the bull *Christi Ecclesia*, published on December 30 of that year, that the Cardinals present in Rome at the time of his death should immediately decide by the vote of the majority in what place the Conclave should be held, and advance or retard its date, in the case of the occurrence of a war or of any popular tumult, instead of waiting till the tenth day, according to the usual custom. Rome was shortly afterwards occupied by the troops of General Berthier; the republic was proclaimed; the Holy Father was exiled to Sienna and all the members of the Sacred College expelled from Rome. In order, therefore, to assure the safety and freedom of the Conclave under these new and unforeseen conditions, it was advisable to make further changes in the ordinary regulations, and by the bull *Quum nos Superiori Anno* (13th November, 1798) Pius VI. decreed that in case he were to die while absent from Rome, his successor should be chosen by whatever Cardinals should be residing in the greatest number in the States of a Catholic sovereign.¹ When the Holy Father died, on August 29, 1799, at Valence, in the south of France, most of the Cardinals had already taken refuge in the Venetian provinces which had been recently ceded to Austria by the treaty of Campoformio. It was therefore at Venice that Cardinal Albani, the Dean of the Sacred College, decided that the Conclave should be held; and, as it could meet there in safety, it was not necessary to depart from the usages observed in Rome and adopt the modifications prescribed by the bull of Pius VI. The *Novendiali*, or solemn services which are celebrated during nine days for the soul of a Sovereign Pontiff, began on the 23d of October in the Church of San Pietro di Castello, and on December 1, the first Sunday of

¹ Charles van Duerm, S. J. Un peu plus de lumière sur le Conclave de Venise et sur les commencements du Pontificat de Pie VII. (1799-1800). Documents inédits extraits des Archives de Vienne. Paris, 1896, p. 11.

² Correspondance diplomatique et Mémoires inédits du Cardinal Maury (1792-1817). Annotés et publiés par Mgr. Ricard, Prélat de la Maison de Sa Sainteté: Professeur honoraire des Facultés d'Aix et de Marseille. Lille, 1891. Vol. I., p. 258.

Advent,² thirty-four of the forty-six Cardinals then living took part in the ceremonies which opened the Conclave in the Benedictine Monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, situated on the island of that name.³ A few days later they were joined by Cardinal Herzan, who had been the representative of Austria at the Vatican during the reign of Pius VI., and who was now entrusted with the mission of soliciting the suffrages of the Sacred College in favor of a candidate on whose complacency, when elected Pope, the imperial court thought it might reckon for the furtherance of its ambitious designs. The Emperor Francis II. had shown himself to be well disposed towards the Church and had continued to carry out the policy of his father, Leopold II., who had revoked many of the arbitrary decrees of Joseph II. referring to questions of ecclesiastical discipline, and had reopened many of the religious houses which had been suppressed. But the principle of the supremacy of the State over the Church, so strongly enforced under the reign of the last mentioned Emperor, still influenced to a certain degree the policy of his successors, whose Ministers, brought up at the school of Prince von Kaunitz, were, like him, imbued with the irreligious doctrines of the French philosophers, and they neglected no opportunity of seeking to render the Church subservient to their aims.

In accordance with these ideas, Baron von Thugut, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, tried to assert the privilege claimed by Austria of opposing the election to the Papacy of any Cardinal who from his nationality or his opinions might be suspected of being hostile to the House of Hapsburg.⁴ Instructions were therefore given to Cardinal Herzan before he left Vienna to hinder the election of any Cardinal coming from France, Spain, Sardinia, Naples and Genoa, or who should have shown himself to be a partisan of those States. On the other hand, he was to favor by every means in his power the choice of Cardinal Alessandro Mattei, Archbishop of Ferrara, whom

³ *Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi, Secrétaire d'état du Pape Pie VII., avec une introduction et des notes par J. Crétineau-Joly. Paris, 1864. Vol. I., p. 202; II., p. 95.* Before the opening of the Conclave the Cardinals had elected as their secretary Mgr. Ercole Consalvi, who had held many important positions in Rome, among others those of auditor of the Rota and of assessor to the Secretary of State. Mgr. Pietro Negroni, secretary to the consistory, was entitled to the post, but the Cardinals were dissatisfied with his conduct in Rome during the revolution, and preferred to replace him. It is not true, as was asserted by Artand de Montor in his "Life of Pius VII.," that Mgr. Consalvi went to Rome to dissuade Mgr. Negroni from coming to Venice and to obtain from him letters of recommendation. This accusation has been refuted by Mgr. Baldassari in the "Relazione delle Avversitàe Vatimenti di Pio VI., and Consalvi in his Memoirs declares that he took no steps to secure the place.

⁴ Van Duerp, p. 28. The Bourbons of France and Spain claimed the same privilege, but do not seem to have exercised it, at least openly, at the Conclave in Venice.

the Minister declared that he considered to be the most capable of governing the Church in the midst of the dangers which threatened it. If, however, it should be impossible to secure his election, Cardinal Valenti, Bishop of Albano, might be substituted for him. This recommendation of Cardinal Mattei was accompanied by protestations that the motives which guided the Emperor were solely the good of the Catholic Church, the restoration of the Papacy to its ancient splendor and the pacification of Italy; but Cardinal Consalvi in his Memoirs has unmasked von Thugut's insidious policy and revealed the object which he had in view. By the defeat of the French troops under General Macdonald on the banks of the Trebbia in June, 1799, Austria had gained possession not only of Lombardy, but of all the Papal States as far as Rome, the remainder, up to Terracina, being occupied by the Neapolitan army. By the treaty of Tolentino (20th February, 1799) the Holy See had been obliged to yield to the French Republic the legations of Bologna, Ferrara and Ravenna, and Bonaparte had united them to the Cisalpine Republic, which had come to an end with the retreat of the French. Under the pretext, therefore, that by this treaty the Pope had renounced all claim to the legations and that they now belonged to Austria by the right of conquest, the imperial government was resolved to keep them. The Court of Vienna was anxious that this demand should be formally ratified by the Sovereign Pontiff, and as Cardinal Mattei was one of the negotiators who had signed the treaty of Tolentino, it hoped that if he were elected Pope he might be more willing than any other to make such a concession.⁵ These pretensions were not, indeed, expressed in the written instructions given by Thugut to Cardinal Herzan, in which the Emperor is highly praised for his devotion to the interests of the Church; it was not put forward openly until much later, and when, during the Conclave, Herzan advocated the candidature of Cardinal Mattei, he always maintained that the Emperor's preference was justified by the fact that the Cardinal belonged to an illustrious Roman family; that he had given proofs of his piety and of his pastoral zeal in the government of his diocese, and had shown great prudence in the management of various difficult questions. If, however, any Cardinal alluded to the restitution of the legations, Herzan frankly expressed his belief in the validity of the Emperor's claim to those provinces, since they had been won from the Cisalpine Republic.⁶

The Sovereign Pontiff must be chosen by the votes of at least two-thirds of the electors. At the Conclave of Venice the number required was twenty-four, and Cardinal Herzan was much alarmed

⁵ *Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi*, Vol. I., p. 222.

⁶ Van Duerm, p. 84. Letter from Herzan to Thugut, January 8, 1800.

when, after a few days, during which no very marked result had been obtained, he found that eighteen votes were given to Cardinal Bellisomi, Bishop of Cesena, and only one to Cardinal Mattei.⁷ It seemed probable that at the next *scrutinio* Bellisomi's election would be secured by the adhesion of some of the Cardinals who were still undecided; and, as Herzan was anxious to execute Thugut's orders, he sought to obtain a delay which might enable Cardinal Mattei to acquire a sufficient number of votes. He therefore requested Cardinal Albani, the Dean of the Sacred College, to allow Cardinal Bellisomi's election, which seemed already certain, to be deferred for a short period, while he wrote to Vienna to make sure that the choice of this unexpected candidate would not displease the Emperor, whom it was so important to conciliate, since he had expelled the French revolutionists from Italy, was in possession of nearly all the territory of the Holy See, and the Conclave was being held in his States. It would, he said, be an act of courtesy towards His Majesty, which might be some compensation for the rejection of the candidate whom he had recommended. Cardinal Albani yielded to these arguments after some resistance and persuaded the other Cardinals to grant the delay; but he thereby enabled a party to be formed which was favorable to Cardinal Mattei and which, though small, sufficed to hinder any one else from obtaining the requisite number of votes.⁸ These dissentients from the majority of the Sacred College were guided by what seemed to them satisfactory reasons for their preference of the Archbishop of Ferrara. They knew how much he was beloved and revered by his diocesans for his charity and his piety; they admired the intrepidity he had displayed when Bonaparte threatened to have him shot for having recalled the Papal troops to Ferrara after its evacuation by the French, and they believed that the Roman people would gladly welcome a Sovereign Pontiff who belonged to an ancient Roman family. They were also convinced that he would never consent to yield the legations, and that it would be advantageous to the Church to raise to the Papacy a Cardinal to whom the Emperor was friendly.

The *scrutinio* continued, therefore, to take place twice daily, with slight variations in the number of votes given to the two principal candidates, but never sufficient to give the necessary majority to either. After a long delay, during which an answer to Cardinal Herzan's request was anxiously expected, he was at last informed by Thugut that the Emperor still hoped for the election of Cardinal

⁷ Van Duerm, p. 48. Letter from Herzan to Thugut, December 18, 1799. Maury, Mémoires, I., p. 278. Letter to Louis XVIII., December 21, 1799.

⁸ Consalvi, Mémoires, I., pp. 223, 229.

⁹ Van Duerm, pp. 92, 97. Thugut to Herzan, January 7, 1800.

Mattei.⁹ The Minister again protested that the only motives which guided His Majesty were his solicitude for the welfare of religion and his desire for the pacification of Italy; but he added that the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction which he might feel with the result of the election would exercise considerable influence on various measures about to be undertaken by the imperial court, and even upon the future condition of the Cardinals themselves. If His Majesty's good intentions were not appreciated, he would not be able to avoid taking other steps adapted to the plans, which, under the circumstances, he should consider to be advantageous to the situation of affairs in general and to the good of his States. The Emperor, so Thugut asserted, was the only sovereign on whose devotion and on whose action depended not only the position of the future Pope, but also the preservation of the dignity of the hierarchy in Italy as well as in Germany, where it was in his power to prevent the secularization of ecclesiastical lands and other changes which were then demanded. Moreover, the projects and the tendencies of other sovereigns were of such nature that the Holy See ran great danger of undergoing still more serious losses. If, however, Herzan found it impossible to cause Cardinal Mattei to be chosen, he might declare for Bellisomi, and in that case he should take care to persuade him that he owed his election to the Emperor.

The menacing tone of this letter failed to produce upon the Conclave the effect which its writer had expected; for Cardinal Herzan, though a devoted servant of the Emperor, could not forget that he was also a Prince of the Church. He considered that he had done enough for the court by having retarded the election of a Pope,¹⁰ and he therefore refrained from communicating Thugut's insolent despatch to the Sacred College. He merely read to Cardinal Albani and Cardinal Braschi a short epitome of it, from which the more threatening expressions were omitted, but which stated that the Emperor earnestly desired the election of Cardinal Mattei, and that, being master of the future destiny of Italy, he could not treat so favorably any other Cardinal who should be chosen in his stead.¹¹

The only reply to this attempt at interference with the liberty of the Conclave was that the Cardinals who voted for Bellisomi requested the Papal Nuncio at Vienna to inform the Emperor that they would still continue to vote according to the dictates of their conscience, and that even after his recommendation their conscience would not allow them to vote for Cardinal Mattei.

This state of uncertainty lasted for a considerable time. The two

¹⁰ Consalvi, *Mémoires*, I., p. 230.

¹¹ Maury, *Mémoires*, I., p. 304. Letter to Louis XVIII., January 18; and,

Cardinals between whom the votes had been divided begged to be set aside, and various other candidates were proposed, none of whom obtained the requisite majority. At last a Cardinal whom Consalvi does not name, but describes as "one of those of Mattei's party who was gifted with a rare clearness of intellect and an excellent heart," suggested a method of terminating this deadlock.¹² It was that one of the parties should choose the Pope from among its opponents, and as Cardinal Bellisomi's party was the more numerous, it was there that the choice ought to be made by the adherents of Cardinal Mattei. Leaving aside the members of the party who had already unsuccessfully proposed as candidates, or who did not seem likely to secure a sufficient number of votes, he fixed on Cardinal Chiaramonti, Bishop of Imola, against whom it could only be objected that he was rather young to be elected Pope (being only fifty-eight) and that he was believed to be related to the Braschi family, which had been in power during the long reign of Pius VI. On the other hand, the gentleness of his disposition, the strictness of his life, the prudence he had always displayed in the government of the Sees of Tivoli and of Imola and his profound knowledge of theology were claims sufficient to outweigh these objections. The suggestion met the approbation of the adherents of Cardinal Mattei; the offer of their votes for Cardinal Chiaramonti was immediately accepted by those who had hitherto supported Bellisomi,¹³ and the Sacred College went in a body that evening to compliment the future Pope.

On the following morning, March 14, 1800, Cardinal Chiaramonti was unanimously elected, and he took the name of Pius VII., in memory of his predecessor, by whom he had been created Cardinal in 1785. It was hoped that the coronation of the Sovereign Pontiff would have taken place in the Basilica of St. Mark, and a large sum of money had been subscribed by the citizens of Venice to cover the expenses of the ceremony; but, to the general surprise and indignation, the representatives of the Austrian Government in Venice

¹² Consalvi, *Mémoires*, I, p. 246. Artand de Montor, in his "Life of Pius VII." (published in 1824), ascribes the election of Cardinal Chiaramonti to the influence of Mgr. Consalvi, secretary to the Conclave, whom he represents as guiding the Cardinals and teaching them their duty, which would have been an act of indiscretion on his part, to which the Cardinals would not have submitted. Crétineau-Joly, the translator of Consalvi's *Mémoires*, takes it for granted that Cardinal Mauri is alluded to, an error which has been repeated by other writers. But Boulay de la Meurtne, in the "*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*," 1894, p. 427, maintains that it was not Cardinal Maury, who did not belong to Mattei's party, but Cardinal Dugnani, though he does not give his authority. In Cardinal Herzan's letter, however (published in 1896, p. 232, letter of March 11), Cardinal Dugnani, though not formally mentioned as the author of the compromise, is represented as advising the election of Cardinal Chiaramonti and taking an active part in the final negotiations.

¹³ Maury, *Mémoires*, I, p. 373.

declared that though on the opening of the Conclave they had applied to Vienna for instructions as to what they should do after the election of the Pope, they had received no answer and could not, therefore, assist at the coronation.¹⁴ Cardinal Herzan, to whom the Holy Father expressed his surprise at this want of courtesy on the part of Thugut, also stated that he had no orders and refused to take upon himself any responsibility. Pius VII. decided, therefore, that the ceremony should be performed in the church of the monastery where the Conclave had been held. It took place on the 21st of March, the feast of St. Benedict, after a High Mass, at which the Holy Father officiated, and he then gave his blessing to the immense crowds which covered not only the space in front of the church, but also the opposite shore, and that night the entire city was brilliantly illuminated. The fact that the coronation of the Sovereign Pontiff is the declaration of his temporal power was regarded by public opinion as the motive which had caused the Austrian Government to refuse to permit the ceremony, and Cardinal Consalvi asserts that Austria was not only determined not to restore the legations, but even seemed inclined to retain possession of the rest of the Papal States.

Thugut had failed to secure the election of a Pope who should be devoted to the interests of Austria, but, as he was resolved to spare no efforts to bring the Holy Father under his influence, Cardinal Herzan, in accordance with his instructions, sought to persuade Pius VII. to choose as his Secretary of State Cardinal Flangini, a Venetian, and therefore an Austrian subject on whom the imperial court might reckon. But the Pope, who had many reasons for not wishing to accept him as his Minister, and yet who did not wish to displease the Emperor, from whom he still hoped to obtain the restitution of his lost provinces, replied that he would employ as pro-Secretary of State the prelate who had acted as secretary to the Conclave, and that on his return to Rome he would come to a final decision on the question.¹⁵ Mgr. Consalvi, who had left the monastery on the termination of the Conclave, was therefore recalled, and thus entered on the brilliant administrative and diplomatic career, in the course of which he rendered such important services to the Holy See.

Thugut was not discouraged by this second repulse, but tried to persuade the Holy Father to come to Vienna, representing to him the advantages which the Church would derive from an interview between him and the Emperor, whose zeal for the interests of religion

¹⁴ Consalvi, *Mémoires*, I., 271. Maury, *Mémoires*, I., p. 379.

¹⁵ Consalvi, *Mémoires*, I., 276; II., 102. Van Duerem, p. 262, Herzan to Thugut, March 15.

be warmly praised.¹⁶ Thugut accompanied this invitation with an offer of 30,000 ducats to cover the expenses of the journey, but he warned the Pope at the same time that the Emperor would not enter into any discussion with regard to the legations, as they belonged to Austria by right of conquest. To this invitation, presented by Cardinal Herzan with all the resources of his eloquence, Pius VII. replied by a decided refusal, for he saw that Thugut's object was to induce him to confirm the cession of the provinces which had been taken from his predecessor,¹⁷ and he pointed out to the Cardinal that it was his duty both as temporal sovereign and as the Supreme Pastor of the Church to return to Rome without delay. But Thugut, who invariably repeated in his letters to Cardinal Herzan that the Emperor was firmly resolved not to restore the legations, since he looked upon them as a compensation for the losses which he had sustained, showed also his desire to keep the Holy Father under the absolute control of Austria. Under the pretext that the Court of Naples and that of Spain, so closely allied to it, sought to get the Pope into their power in order that he might assist them in carrying out their plans against the Empire, he tried to dissuade Pius VII. from going to Rome until the Neapolitan troops had been withdrawn, threatening him that if he would persist in his resolution the Emperor would abandon him to his fate and make his own interests pass before all others.¹⁸

Another of Thugut's emissaries then appeared upon the scene to take the place of Cardinal Herzan.¹⁹ This was the Marchese Ghislieri, a Bolognese nobleman, who was employed in the Imperial Chancery in Vienna. The object of his mission was to offer to restore the part of the Papal States then in the occupation of the Austrian troops and extending from the legations up to the neighborhood of Rome, on condition that Pius VII. should renounce all claims to the legations. This demand was rejected. Ghislieri then attempted to negotiate, and said that the imperial court would be willing to restore a portion of the legation of Romagna if it were allowed to keep the remainder and the two others—a proposal which did not meet with better success, though accompanied by the threat

¹⁶ Van Duerem, p. 296, Thugut to Herzan, March 26, 1800.

¹⁷ Consalvi, *Mémoires*, I., p. 277; II., p. 226.

¹⁸ Van Duerem, pp. 466-475, letter from Thugut to Herzan, May 17, 1800.

¹⁹ About this time Cardinal Herzan's diplomatic career came to an end. The Emperor of Austria had nominated him to the See of Stein-am-anger, in Hungary, and Pius VII. consecrated him on May 18. Shortly after he retired to his diocese. And though, when acting as envoy in Rome, he had shown too much subservience to the imperial policy, during the remainder of his life he distinguished himself by his benevolence and charity towards the poor and the zeal with which he performed his duty as a Bishop. He died in Vienna on June 1, 1804.

that if the Holy Father refused to come to terms no restitution whatever should be made. In reply to this insolent language Pius VII. forwarded to the imperial government an official request for the restoration of the legations, and at the same time autograph letters to the Emperor and to his Minister, in which he demonstrated the right of the Holy See to the territory which had been conquered by the army of the French Republic. These letters were never answered—a flagrant breach of courtesy which shows to what extent the anti-religious spirit of Joseph II. and of Prince von Kaunitz still guided the administration of Baron von Thugut in its dealings with the Sovereign Pontiff.²⁰ Ghislieri, too, showed that he had been formed at the same school. One day at the close of an audience the Holy Father said to him that he did not know what more he could say to induce the Emperor to restore the legations, since he had already employed in vain the most persuasive arguments, but that the Emperor ought to take care not to place in his wardrobe clothes which did not belong to him, but to the Church. Not only he would not enjoy them, but they might introduce moths among his own clothes—that is to say, his hereditary possessions. Ghislieri was indignant, but he repressed his anger in presence of the Pope, and hastened to complain to Consalvi, to whom he said that the new Pope was inexperienced; that he knew very little about the power of Austria, and that something very great, indeed, would be requisite to injure its hereditary possessions.²¹

When Thugut found that Pius VII. was resolved to return to Rome, and that his departure could no longer be put off, he again displayed his narrow-minded and jealous policy. The direct way to Rome from Venice was through the legations, but there the people would have greeted the Holy Father as their sovereign with demonstrations of loyalty which the Austrians would have found it difficult to repress. An alternative route lay through Modena, Parma and Florence, but in those cities the Pope would have come in contact with members of the courts of Spain and Sardinia, whose interests in Italy were hostile to those of Austria and whose influence and intrigues were dreaded by Thugut.²² Ghislieri, therefore, acting by Thugut's instructions, persuaded the Holy Father to travel by sea as far as Pesaro, a port situated in the Marches, a province out-

²⁰ Consalvi, *Mémoires*, I, p. 282. The Cardinal observes that the proceedings of the Court of Vienna, with regard to the cession of the legations, during the Conclave and after, may be ascribed to Baron von Thugut, who contrived to intercept every means of communication with the Emperor and to deceive his well-known spirit of religion and justice.

²¹ Consalvi, *Mémoires*, I, p. 283; II, p. 228.

²² Van Duerm, p. 435, Ghislieri to Thugut, May 17, 1800; p. 437, Ghislieri to Thugut, May 21; p. 475, Thugut to Ghislieri, May 17. Consalvi, I, p. 285; II, p. 230.

side the legations and still occupied by the Austrian troops, but which was to be restored to the Church. Pius VII. would have much wished to visit Cesena, his native city, and Imola, of which he had been Bishop, but rather than take any step which might displease the Emperor, he yielded to Ghislieri's demands.

Owing to the pillage which had taken place in the dockyards of Venice after the occupation of the city by the French Republicans in 1798, when everything of any value was brought away to Toulon, there remained of the once powerful Venitian navy a single frigate, the *Bellona*, which was hardly in a state to hold the sea. It was hastily got ready, provided with an insufficient crew of untrained sailors, and on this unseaworthy vessel Pius VII. embarked on June 6, accompanied by Cardinals Doria, Braschi, Pignatelli, Borgia, Mgr. Consalvi, some other prelates and Ghislieri, who, under pretext of doing the honors of the Emperor's ship, was in reality the Pope's jailer. The journey by sea from Venice to Pesaro might have been performed in about twenty-four hours, but owing to contrary winds and the incapacity of the crew the *Bellona* was obliged to take refuge in two ports on the coast of Istria and did not reach Pesaro till June 17. Pius VII. continued his journey by land to Ancona, where on June 21 he was received with the same manifestations of joy which had greeted him on his way and among which were also heard at Fano and at Sinigaglia cries of "Death to the Jacobins!"²³ At Ancona Marquis Ghislieri informed the Holy Father of the crushing defeat which the Austrian army had sustained on June 14 at Marengo. By the conditions of the armistice which followed it the imperial generals were obliged to surrender twelve fortresses, to evacuate Piedmont, Liguria and Lombardy and to withdraw their troops to the east of the Mincio and the left bank of the Po, to the south of which they retained only Tuscany and the towns of Ferrara and Ancona. The Emperor thus lost in a single battle not only the legations, which he had declared that nothing should ever induce him to surrender, but also Lombardy, an hereditary possession of his house.

From Ancona Pius VII. continued his journey towards Rome, and at Foligno Marquis Ghislieri made a formal restitution to the Holy See of the provinces still occupied by the Austrian troops from Pesaro up to the neighborhood of Rome. The administration of the rest of the Papal States to Terracina had already been restored by the Neapolitan general, Naselli, to Cardinals Albani, Roverella and della Somaglia, whom the Pope before leaving Venice had sent to Rome as Legates *a latere*, and on July 3, 1800, Pius VII. entered his capital in the midst of the enthusiastic acclamations of the people,

²³ Van Duerem, p. 555, Ghislieri to Thugut, June 22.

which saw in the return of the Papal government the only hope of deliverance from its sufferings.

The first care of the Sovereign Pontiff on taking possession of Rome was to reorganize the administration of the States of the Church and to remedy as much as possible the disorders and the ruin which were the result of the Revolution. The peasantry had been everywhere impoverished by the successive invasions of the French, the Neapolitan and the Austrian armies; their cattle had been carried away, their fields were left untilled.²⁴ The extortions of the French and Roman republicans, their war taxes and forced loans, the bribes demanded by their generals and officials had emptied the treasuries of Rome and of the provincial cities and reduced all classes to misery. The churches had been robbed of their plate, the Vatican, the Quirinal and the palaces of the nobles had been stripped of their treasures and the choicest masterpieces of statuary and painting, together with the rarest manuscripts in the public libraries, had been brought away to Paris. A congregation composed of Cardinals, prelates and some distinguished laymen was, therefore, named for the purpose of reëstablishing the various branches of the public service on their ancient footing, while correcting the defects and the abuses which had gradually arisen in the course of centuries, besides introducing the reforms which the altered state of affairs had rendered advisable, and, among others, the admission of laymen to many public functions which had until then been exercised solely by ecclesiastics. Previously to undertaking this difficult task Pius VII. had confirmed the provisional nomination of Mgr. Consalvi as Secretary of State, and in order to endow him with greater authority for the execution of his plans had raised him to the dignity of Cardinal.

The most important of the reforms due to Cardinal Consalvi and carried out in spite of the strenuous opposition of the officials whose privileges and whose gains were abolished was the enfranchisement of the trade in corn. It had been the custom for the Papal government to purchase large quantities of grain at a high price and sell it to the people of Rome at a much lower rate, the loss to the State being met by the emission of bonds. But at the time of the accession of Pius VII. this generosity was no longer possible. The Holy See had been impoverished by the annexation of its richest provinces to the Cisalpine Republic, and it was of the utmost importance to withdraw without delay the paper money and the debased coinage which were then in circulation—an operation which cost the treasury a million and a half of scudi. Some discontent was caused at first by

²⁴ Mgr. Nicolai, *Memorie, Leggi ed Osservazioni sulle Campagne e sull'Annona di Roma*. Roma, 1803, t. III., p. 182.

the momentary increase in the price of corn, but the great development of agriculture which ensued and the consequent abundance and cheapness of provisions amply justified Cardinal Consalvi's innovation.

Along with these measures, which soon created a state of prosperity such as Rome had not known for many years, Pius VII. granted an amnesty to those who had taken part in the revolution against his predecessor and among whom were many members of the Roman nobility. And yet the Holy Father could not feel assured that his rule was firmly established. The indiscipline of the Neapolitan troops which still remained in Rome caused them to be detested by the people, which was divided into Jacobins and anti-Jacobins. The former, who hoped to democratize Rome again, were few in number, but influential by their social position and well organized, and the latter, under the pretext of chastising them, were conspiring to massacre them and plunder their houses. The movements of the French troops in the north of Italy, under the command of Massena, who had occupied Pesaro, seemed to presage another invasion of the Papal States, and Pius VII. felt his situation to be so insecure that he wrote to Lord Keith, whose fleet was then cruising in the Mediterranean, to request him to station a frigate at Cività Vecchia to enable him to fly in case Rome were again attacked.

But Bonaparte, whom the victory of Marengo had rendered master of the destinies of Italy, had no intention of dethroning the Pope and reëstablishing the Roman Republic. He was, on the contrary, determined to restore order and religious peace in France, and even before leaving Italy he opened negotiations for that purpose with the Holy See.

The general had on a previous occasion, during the reign of Pius VI., made a very vaguely worded and perhaps insincere attempt to treat with Rome, when, on August 3, 1797, after a conversation with Count Gorirossi, who represented the Sovereign Pontiff at Milan, then the capital of the Cisalpine Republic, he had given him a note to forward to Cardinal Doria, the Secretary of State.²⁵ The object of this document was ostensibly to induce the Holy Father to publish a brief commanding the French clergy to submit to the government and do all in their power to consolidate the Constitution, and also to ascertain if he intended to take any steps to reconcile the constitu-

²⁵ Correspondance de Napoléon I. publiée par ordre de Napoléon III. Paris, 1859, t. III., p. 288, No. 2,068. Quartier général de Milan, 16 Thermidor an V. (3 Août, 1797). It may be observed that when this letter was written Joseph Bonaparte was on his way to Rome as the Ambassador of the Republic, and that he was charged with the preparation of the revolution which overthrew the Papal government. (D'Allonville, *Mémoires tirés des papiers d'un Homme d'état*, V., p. 173. Paris, 1831-1837.)

tional clergy with those who had refused to take the oath to the *Constitution Civile*. In order to reassure the Pope, Bonaparte stated that the Directors had just allowed the churches to be reopened, which was false, as that right had been granted two years previously; and if the Council of the Five Hundred had by a recent decision granted a certain degree of toleration to the clergy, it was in spite of the violent opposition of the Directors and of their partisans. Bonaparte must have been aware that the Directors were then plotting the overthrow of the Constitution and the proscription of the Moderates, and that the clergy could not be asked to uphold their fanatical and persecuting government against the legislative body which had granted them toleration.²⁶ Bonaparte must also have known that it was the refusal of Pius VI. to recognize the constitutional clergy and to revoke his condemnation of their schism which had been the chief cause of the invasion of the Papal States and of the treaty of Tolentino. The real object of this note, which, as the general asserted, was suggested to him chiefly by the desire of being useful to religion, would seem to have been a wish to show that he did not share the anti-religious opinions of the Directory, and that whether their plot against the Moderates failed or succeeded, the Papal government might look on him as a defender and feel grateful to him for having at least made an attempt to restore religion in France.²⁷

In a letter to Talleyrand on August 22, enclosing a copy of the Pope's reply to this note, Bonaparte states that if the Directory desires it, the Holy Father would draw up a brief to recommend obedience to the laws and to the republic, but we do not know in what terms this offer was made. It can at most have referred to the publication of the brief which had been projected in the previous year and which the Directory had refused to discuss when they expelled the Papal envoy from France. The general's request proceeded evidently from himself, for in a letter of September 2 to his brother Joseph, accompanied by a copy of the note, he observed that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had not authorized him to make this demand. In strong contrast to these apparently friendly overtures are the instructions to his brother on September 29 to order the Papal government to dismiss from its service the Austrian general, Provera, under pain of a declaration of war. He was also told that if Pius VI. were to die he should do everything in his power

²⁶ L. Sciout, *Le Directoire*, Vol. II., p. 556. On 27 Messidor an V. (July 15, 1797) the Council of the Five Hundred repealed the laws of proscription, and on the 28th the Directors changed their Ministers in order to prepare the "*coup d'Etat*," they meditated since their defeat at the elections of the same year.

²⁷ Sciout, *ibid*, p. 453.

to prevent the nomination of another Pope and to cause a revolution. If, however, the election of a Pope could not be prevented, he should not allow Cardinal Albani to be chosen, but intimidate the Cardinals by threats of an immediate advance of the French troops upon Rome.²⁸ If Bonaparte had ever seriously intended to reconcile France with the Papacy, he abandoned the idea on his return to Paris, where the more intolerant members of the Directory had overthrown the moderate section of the executive and of the two legislative councils by the "*Coup d'État*" of the 18th Fructidor an V. (4th September, 1797), and the penal laws against the clergy had been reënacted. It was then his interest to support their anti-religious policy and help them to carry out their plans for the downfall of the Papal government, to obtain in return their acquiescence in his project for the invasion of Egypt. Only thus can be explained the fact that, though he had so recently written to Pius VI. to express his desire for a reconciliation with the Holy Father, he now drew up the instructions to General Berthier for his march upon Rome, where he was "to employ all his influence to organize the Roman Republic, while avoiding whatever might prove that the French Government had projected the formation of this Republic."²⁹ During the interval which elapsed between this message and his departure for Egypt (19th May, 1798), Bonaparte does not seem to have made any effort to induce the Directory to show any commiseration for Pius VI., who had been dethroned and carried away into exile by their orders, or to hinder the pillage and devastation of Rome, which were the result of its occupation by Berthier's army and the proclamation of the republic. His complicity in these crimes cannot, therefore, be denied and may throw doubts on the sincerity of his protestations of friendship towards the Holy Father. It does not, indeed, appear that Bonaparte ever made any effort to repress the fanaticism and the cruelty which prevailed throughout France, with the exception of advising the Directory, just before leaving for Egypt, to place patriotic and enlightened officers in command at Toulon, where political hatred was very ardent and where a few days before his arrival a man of eighty had been shot as a returned *émigré*.

²⁸ Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. III., p. 465, No. 2,266. Quartier général de Passariano, 8 Vendémiaire, an VI. (Sept. 29, 1797).

²⁹ Correspondance, t. III., p. 626, No. 2,404. Instructions au Général Berthier. Paris, 22 Nivôse, an VI. (January 11, 1798). "Vous ferez marcher dans le plus court délai possible et à grandes journées sur Rome. . . . La célérité dans votre marche sur Rome est de la plus grande importance; elle peut seule assurer le succès de l'opération. . . . A Rome, vous emploierez toute votre influence à organiser la République Romaine, en évitant, cependant, tout ce qui, ostensiblement, pourrait prouver le projet du Gouvernement de former cette République." It is a curious coincidence that in 1860 Napoleon III. gave the same advice to General Cialdini shortly before the invasion of the Papal States: "Faites vite."

When on Bonaparte's return from Egypt he overthrew the government of the Directory on the 18th Brumaire an VIII. (9th November, 1799), the situation of the Catholic Church in France was very slightly better than it had been under the rule of Robespierre. There was, indeed, a strong reaction against Jacobinism after the fall of Robespierre on the 9th Thermidor an II. (27th July, 1794), especially in Paris, and a large number of persons awaiting execution had been released from prison; but the laws against the clergy were still enforced, and in many departments the authorities still continued to search for the priests who had secretly returned from exile and who, under various disguises, wandered through the country, saying Mass and administering the sacraments wherever they could do so with safety. Four of these missionaries were executed in Franche-Comté in 1794 within a few months after the death of Robespierre, and in the first half of 1796 eighteen others were put to death in various parts of France by the revolutionary tribunals or were assassinated by the soldiers sent to arrest them.³⁰

In Paris, however, the general desire for religious liberty overcame at last the fanaticism of the dominant faction and obliged the convention to grant a certain amount of toleration to the Church by the law of 3 Ventose an III. (21st February, 1795), which allowed Mass to be said in buildings hired by the Catholics for that purpose.³¹ This law was followed on 11 Prairial (30th May) of the same year by another, which allowed the inhabitants of every *commune* in France the provisional use of the churches which had not been sold, and gave to the Parisians one church for each of the twelve *arrondissements* into which the city was divided. Three more churches were shortly after added to this number, and the reports furnished by the police and the Parisian press bear witness to the gladness with which the people hastened to take advantage of this concession.³² No

³⁰ Sciout, *Histoire de la Constitution Civile du Clergé (1790-1801)*. Paris, 1881, t. IV., pp. 445-452.

³¹ L'Abbé Joseph Grente, *Le Culti Catholique a Paris de la Terreur au Concordat*. Paris, 1903, p. 7. Sciout, *ibid.*, 307. The first article of this law decreed that the exercise of any form of religion should not be disturbed. The following articles enacted that the Republic would pay for no form of worship nor furnish any building for its practice or lodging for its ministers. All out of doors ceremonies were prohibited, as well as the appearance in public of a priest in his vestments. Every assembly of citizens for the practice of any religion was to be under the supervision of the authorities, and no outward sign or inscription was to indicate the place destined to the practice of any form of worship. It was also forbidden to found any dotation or annuity or establish any tax to provide for its expenses.

³² A. Aulard, *Paris pendant la réaction thermidorienne et sous le Directoire*. Paris, 1898, t. I., p. 542. *Gazette française* du 19 Ventôse (March 9, 1795), Paris, 18 Ventôse: "C'est aujourd'hui Dimanche; nous avons vu les boutiques fermées dans plusieurs quartiers de Paris: dans quelques églises on a dit la Messe; les dévots et les curieux s'y sont porté en foule. Cet

priest, however, could officiate until he had made a declaration in presence of the municipality that he would submit to the laws of the republic—a form of oath which was disapproved of by some of the French hierarchy then living in exile, but vicars general of Mgr. de Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, allowed it to be taken. To many, indeed, this concession on the part of the convention seemed to be merely a snare, for though the committee of legislation when asked to explain the law gave an assurance that the antecedents of the priests who wished to make the declaration should not be inquired into, those who had been under the obligation of taking the previous oaths and who had not done so, but who had escaped deportation by living in concealment, or those who had returned secretly from exile, now feared to be entrapped and forced to denounce themselves. They would thus become liable to deportation or even to death, for by the law of 12 Floréal an III. (1st May, 1795) the convention had enacted that all priests who returned to France after having been deported should leave the country within a month, under pain of death.

At the time of the reopening of the churches in 1795 very few of the 130,000 ecclesiastics who formed the French clergy at the dawn of the Revolution were still free to reside in France. The exceptions were those who had taken the oath to the *Constitution Civile*, and who were therefore known as *assermentés* and acknowledged by the State, and those who had not taken the oath, but who from various reasons did not come directly under the laws of proscription, though they were liable at any moment to be deported or executed on a vague charge of *incivism*, which meant any manifestation of hostility to the ideals of the Revolution. This small body of loyal and heroic clergy comprised those who in 1790 were not public functionaries (a title applied to Bishops, parish priests and curates), and were therefore not bound to take the oath to the *Constitution Civile*, as decreed on 27th November of that year by the *Assemblée Constituante*; those who had considered it allowable to take the oath to uphold liberty and equality, which was prescribed on 17th August, 1792, by the *Assemblée Législative*; those who were too old and infirm to be deported; those, very few in number, who had been ordained since the beginning of the persecution; those who, having taken the first oath, had secretly retracted, and those who had been members of religious orders.³³

empressement du peuple à assister aux cérémonies religieuses prouve qu'il est encore loin de cette philosophie tricolore à laquelle on a voulu le conduire par le nouveau calendrier." P. 567, *Messager du Soir* du 26 Ventôse (March 16). "Paris, 25 Ventôse. Ceux qui ne savent pas que c'est aujourd'hui Dimanche en sont avertis par les nombreuses queues que l'on remarque à la porte des anciennes églises. Nous apprenons qu'aux environs de Paris les fêtes sont célébrées avec leur antique solennité."

³³ Sciout, *ibid.*, IV., pp. 396, 398. Grente, p. 29.

As a last manifestation of its fanatical animosity to religion, and as though to counteract the effect of the slight concessions it had made to the Catholics, the convention, before giving up its power to the Directory and to the new Constitution, enacted the law of 3 Brumaire an IV. (25th October, 1795), the tenth clause of which commanded the execution within twenty-four hours of the laws of 1792 and 1793 against the priests who were liable to be deported or imprisoned, and condemned to two years in prison the public functionaries who should neglect to obey. In spite, however, of this renewal of the laws of proscription and of the ardor with which the Directory carried out the policy of the convention, it was impossible to enforce their execution. In most parts of France the peasantry helped their clergy to escape from the troops employed to search for them or rescued them when taken and assembled at night to assist at Mass.³⁴ In many places the authorities did not venture to enforce the laws and allowed the clergy to exercise their ministry without hindrance, but they were often suspended or revoked by the Directory for this want of zeal in the service of the Revolution.

In Paris the Church enjoyed somewhat more liberty than in the provinces, and the government was obliged to tolerate the existence of many priests whom it could not prove to be liable to be deported or imprisoned. A report presented by the police to the Directors on 8 Floréal an IV. (27th April, 1796) shows that they amounted to between three and four hundred, and that they officiated not only in the churches which were recognized by the State, but also in many oratories and private chapels.³⁵ This number comprised both the priests who had taken the oath to the *Constitution Civile* and those who had not been under the obligation to take it or who had retracted. That the latter were in the majority appears from a denunciation sent to the police in May, 1798, stating that seven of the churches were in the hands of the clergy who were devoted to the republic and eight belonged to priests who were still attached to the ancient form of government,³⁶ and it was they also who officiated in the oratories.³⁷

Some further progress was made on 14 Frimaire an V. (4th December, 1796), when the two councils repealed the tenth clause of the law of 3 Brumaire; but the Directors maintained that as that clause had merely insisted on the execution of the laws of 1792 and 1793, its abrogation did not annul them, and that they should be still enforced. In many places, however, the local authorities refused

³⁴ Sciout, *ibid.*, IV., pp. 447, 459.

³⁵ Grente, *ibid.*, 43. Sciout, p. 461.

³⁶ Sciout, p. 620. Grente, p. 87.

³⁷ Sciout, p. 618.

to accept this interpretation of the decree and released the members of the clergy whom they had imprisoned.

The elections which took place in the early part of the year 1797 gave the Moderate party a strong majority in the two councils which met on 1 Prairial an V. (20th May, 1797), and throughout France the Catholics saw at last some prospect of the abolition of the sanguinary legislation under which they had been living. They began to practice religion more openly, and in many departments, to the dismay of the local agents of the Directory, the church bells were rung, Masses were said, processions were made and the crowds which attended these celebrations were so large that it was not considered prudent to attempt to disperse them. In spite of much opposition, the councils persevered in their work of emancipation. On 27 Messidor an V. (13th July, 1797) the Council of the Five Hundred repealed the laws which condemned priests to deportation or prison. Their action was confirmed on 7 Fructidor (24th August) by the Council of the Ancients, and it was enacted that the only oaths which should be demanded from the clergy was that they would submit to the government of the French Republic. But the more fanatical members of the Directory—Rewbell, Barras and La Réveillière—were determined to allow no relaxation of the persecution. In defiance of the law which forbade troops to be stationed within twelve leagues of the place where the legislature might be sitting, they collected several regiments close to Paris, brought others into the city during the night, which were placed under the command of Augereau, whose Jacobin opinions were well known, and on 18 Fructidor an V. (4th September, 1797) the Moderates were expelled from the two councils, their elections were annulled and many of them, as well as the two Directors Barthélemy and Carnot, sentenced to deportation.³⁸ By the law of 19 Fructidor the concessions made to the Catholics were revoked, the Directors were given the power of deporting any priest under any pretext, and the ecclesiastics who were allowed to remain in France were obliged to take a new oath—that of hatred to royalty and anarchy and of fidelity to the republic and to the Constitution of the year III.³⁹ Another decree of 4 Brumaire an VI. (25th October, 1797) enacted that no priest should be allowed to officiate anywhere unless he had taken this oath.

To augment still more the difficulties against which the Catholics had to struggle, La Réveillière had taken under his protection the sect of the "*théophilanthropes*," and in virtue of the law of 11

³⁸ Carnot escaped in time and took refuge in Switzerland.

³⁹ Sciout, *ibid.*, p. 586. "Article 24. Le Directoire exécutif est investi du pouvoir de déporter par des arrêtés individuels motivés, les prêtres qui troubleraient dans l'intérieur la tranquillité publique."

Prairial an III. (30th May 1795), which placed the former parish churches at the service of the citizens of different religions who might demand them, he had caused them to be allowed the use of the same churches as the Catholics. In Paris this extraordinary measure, which seems to have been in operation even before the 18th Fructidor, was regulated by a decree of the Administration of the Department of the Seine. The Catholics were to have the use of the church until 11 o'clock, when all their religious emblems and ornaments were to be carried off in order to make way for the altar laden with fruit and flowers before which the "*théophilanthropes*," who held their feasts on the *décadi*, which sometimes coincided with Sunday, pronounced their discourses and sang their hymns up to 3 o'clock. After each ceremony the keys of the church were to be given up to the Commissioner of Police of the section.⁴⁰ In some churches the chancel was left to the *théophilanthropes*, while the body of the building was reserved for the Catholics; but a decree of the administrators placed the organ and the pulpit at the service of both. A stricter supervision then began to be exercised over the clergy, which caused the arrest and imprisonment of many priests suspected of not having taken the oaths or of having retracted them, and on 14 Floréal an VI. (30th May, 1798) the administration closed all places of worship except the fifteen churches granted by the law of 11 Prairial (30th May, 1795). Mass might, indeed, still be said in chapels situated in private houses, but not more than ten persons besides those residing on the premises were to be allowed to assist at it.⁴¹

The victory which the Directory had won over the Moderates on the 18th Fructidor, and the care which they took to replace the local authorities inclined to be merciful by others less wanting in zeal, enabled them to inaugurate a fresh persecution of the clergy as pitiless as that of the days of Robespierre. A large number of priests, encouraged by the abrogation of the penal laws of 1792 and 1793, had returned from exile and many others had publicly retracted their oath to the *Constitution Civile*.⁴² They were now in all parts of France pursued without mercy. The peasantry helped to conceal them and often rescued them when taken; but many were tried by court-martial and shot as *émigrés*, though the Directory, fearing to irritate the people by renewing the scenes of bloodshed of "*la Terreur*," preferred to send its victims to perish in the pestilential climate of Guyana, known as "*la guillotine sèche*," the dry guillotine.

The celebration of the *décadi*, which had been much neglected, was again revived and insisted on by the Directory; the former laws

⁴⁰ Grente, *ibid.*, p. 80.

⁴¹ Grente, *ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴² Sciout, *ibid.*, p. 635.

were strictly applied and new regulations still more vexatious were drawn up in order to force all the citizens to accept the republican and anti-Christian calendar. Thus by successive decrees it was forbidden to work at a trade, to open a shop or expose anything except food for sale on the *décadi* and to observe Sunday as a day of rest. An official form of worship was drawn up which underwent many modifications, but in general it consisted, according to a decree of the Administration of the Department of the Seine,⁴³ in reading the laws which had been recently enacted, questioning the school children on the articles of the Constitution which they had learned during the *décadi*, and proclaiming with an accompaniment of military music the names of the soldiers of the department who had been killed in battle. This was followed by the publication of the births and deaths of the *décadi* and by the celebration of the marriages taking place in that district, to which the sounds of an orchestra or of the organ served as a prelude, and the ceremony was ended by "a lively symphony of a nature to inspire the citizens with generous and fraternal sentiments."⁴⁴ It was, however, found to be impossible to force the majority of the French people to accept this grotesque form of worship or to observe the republican calendar, in accordance with which it was also decreed that the dates of fairs and markets should be fixed. Even the sale of fish was prohibited on the days indicated by the former calendar as days of abstinence.⁴⁵ The reports furnished by the police and by the provincial authorities show that in Paris Sunday and the feasts of the Church were still observed almost as much as before the revolution, and that the peasantry refused to rest on the *décadi* and to work on Sunday. The persecution did not, however, cease until the Consulate.

The return of Bonaparte from Egypt was hailed with enthusiasm by the French people, for they saw in him the only man capable of raising the country from the state of financial ruin and social corruption to which the tyrannical and incapable government of the Directory had reduced it. They also hoped that he would restore religious liberty in France and put an end to the persecution of the Church, whence arose the civil war which still desolated many of the western departments. It was not, however, with the assistance of the Catholics, but in a great measure of revolutionists who, having amassed large fortunes by fraud and speculation under the Directory, now feared to be plundered in their turn by the Jacobins, that Bona-

⁴³ Of 18 Nivvôse an VII. (January 7, 1799).

⁴⁴ Sciout, *ibid.*, p. 703.

⁴⁵ Sciout, *ibid.*, p. 688. ("Les administrations municipales s'attacheront spécialement à rompre tout rapport des marchés à poissons avec les jours d'abstinence désignés par le ancien calendrier.") Decree of 14 Germinal an VI. (April 3, 1798).

parte struck his decisive blow and overthrew the government on the 18 Brumaire an VIII. (4th November, 1799). But these men to whom he owed his success and whom he was obliged to retain in the public service were thoroughly anti-Christian, and though he perceived that in every part of France there was an ardent desire for religious peace, he knew that it was only by proceeding slowly and cautiously and by mitigating the application of the laws rather than by abrogating them at once, that he could hope to put an end to the persecution. He did not even hasten to bring back the few survivors of the hundreds of priests who had been deported to Guyana, but a certain number of those who were still detained in the islands of Ré and Oléron and of those who filled the departmental prisons were released or even allowed to escape.⁴⁶ A decree of 7 Nivôse (28th December, 1799) enacted that a declaration of fidelity to the Constitution should be substituted for the former oaths, and by another of the same date the regulations by which certain provincial administrators had closed the churches on every day except the *décadi*, in order to prevent Mass from being said on Sunday, were annulled.

It was probably in order to calm the fears of his anti-Christian partisans, who might have seen in these acts the cessation of the warfare against the Church, that on the 29 Ventôse (20th March, 1800) Fouché, the Minister of Police, in replying to a provincial authority stated that the laws of 1792 and 1793 which condemned to exile or deportation the priests who had refused to take the oath to the *Constitution Civile* had not been repealed; that these priests should therefore remain in prison, and could only be set free by a special decision of the government.⁴⁷ It is true that another circular of Fouché's on June 17 declared that any member of the clergy, whether he had been bound to take the previous oaths or not, might be allowed to make the new declaration, but this was followed on July 8 and August 22 by others, in which the prefects were warned that the priests who had refused to take the former oaths, and who had in consequence been exiled or deported, should, before taking the new oath, as a first and necessary condition, obtain a special authorization from the government to return to France or to reside there if they had escaped being deported.⁴⁸ Those who came back

⁴⁶ Sciout, *ibid*, t. IV., pp. 762-767. The decree of the 8 Frimaire an VIII. (November 29, 1799) allowed the release of the priests detained in the islands who had taken all the oaths. It was meant especially for the relief of the Constitutional clergy, but several of the orthodox clergy who had not been bound to take the first oaths and those who had been recently ordained were also set free.

⁴⁷ Sciout, *ibid*, IV., 771.

⁴⁸ Sciout, *Constitution Civile*, IV., p. 775.

without authorization should be arrested and imprisoned. Every concession to the Church was thus followed by an explanation which seemed to annul it; but it was generally left to the local authorities to interpret and carry out the ministerial instructions, either in accordance with their own opinions or according to the energy with which the people manifested their attachment to their religion. It is thus that in Brittany and in Vendée, where the resistance to the Revolution had been so stubborn, the Church enjoyed almost complete liberty, while at Tours in June, 1800, various sentences were pronounced on about fifty persons who had closed their shops on the feast of Pentecost, and in some of the eastern departments priests were still arrested and imprisoned. The situation of religious affairs in France in the early days of the Consulate is well described in a contemporary report made by a royalist: "Bonaparte, who is no fool, adapts his measures to the character of his subjects, and there are not, perhaps, three departments in France where the laws on religion and the clergy are executed with uniformity."⁴⁹

Bonaparte was, by his own confession, indifferent to all religions.⁵⁰ He had served without scruple the anti-Christian governments of the Convention and the Directory, but he was far from having the fanatical hatred of the Church which distinguished his Jacobin associates. He recognized that it was useless to seek to force the majority of the French people to abandon the Catholic Church for the incredulity of the philosophers or for the schismatical church founded by the *Constitution Civile*, and that it was only by ceasing the persecution, suppressing the schism and acknowledging the authority of Rome that order and tranquillity could be restored in France. The first public intimation which he got of his desire to effect a reconciliation between France and the Holy See was during his second invasion of Italy in 1800. On June 5 of that year he spoke in a conciliatory tone to the clergy of Milan assembled in the cathedral. He assured them that the French were the friends of Italy and asked them what they could hope to obtain from the Protestants, the schismatics and the Mussulmans who had been sent to

⁴⁹ Archives de Chantilly, quoted by Mr. Albert Vandal in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, February 1, 1907, p. 481.

⁵⁰ At the meeting of the Council of State on 28 Thermidor an VIII. (August 16, 1800) Bonaparte said: "My policy is to govern men as the greater number wish to be governed. That, I believe, is the way to acknowledge the sovereignty of the people. It was by making myself Catholic that I ended the war in Vendée; by making myself Mussulman that I established myself in Egypt; by making myself ultramontain that I won over the minds of the Italians. If I had to govern a nation of Jews, I should rebuild the temple of Solomon." (Rœderer, *Mémoires*, t. III., p. 334. Quoted by Boulay de la Meurthe. *Documents sur la Négociation du Concordat*. Paris, 1891, t. I., p. 76.)

them.⁵¹ The French, on the contrary, were of the same religion as the Italians, and though they had had some disputes, that could be easily arranged and made up.⁵² These few words, published on Bonaparte's return to Paris, and probably from his lips, are considered to be a more authentic report of his speech than the much longer version which was published at the time in Genoa, where the French Minister, M. Dejean, denounced it as of doubtful origin, and which was reprinted in several French towns. According to this document, every edition of which Fouché, the Minister of Police, caused to be seized,⁵³ but which has been inserted in the official *Correspondance de Napoléon I.*" Bonaparte assured the clergy that he wished to let them know his sentiments with regard to the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion, as he was convinced that it was the only one which could procure the true happiness of society, and that he would always protect and defend it by every means. He promised also to punish rigorously and even by death whoever should offer any insult to religion or to their sacred persons. He wished that the Catholic religion should enjoy as much liberty as it had when he first invaded Italy. The changes which had then taken place had been contrary to his will and to his mode of thinking; but he was at that time merely the instrument of a government which did not care about the Catholic religion, and which, for the purpose of overthrowing it, had caused disturbances which he could not prevent. Now, however, he had full powers and was resolved to do all he could to protect religion. He then pointed out to them that, in spite of the accusations of the philosophers, who, by representing the Catholic religion as being hostile to democracy and to a republican form of government, had been the cause of the cruel persecution in France, the Catholic religion could adapt itself to every form of government, and that it is the only one which gives to man certain and infallible light with regard to his origin and his last end. A society without religion is like a ship without a compass—unable to find its way. It is agitated by the most violent passions and becomes a prey to all the fury of civil war, which, sooner or later, causes its ruin. France, however, had at last opened her eyes; she had recalled the Catholic religion; the churches are now reopened, and the former pastors return, full of zeal, to their flocks; and the general asserted that he had very much contributed to bring about this state of affairs. He also said that the misfortunes of Pius VI. might be ascribed in a certain degree to the cruel

⁵¹ An allusion to the English, Russians and Turks who had been the allies of Austria.

⁵² *Journal de Paris*, 14 Messidor an VIII. (3 Juillet, 1800).

⁵³ He accused it of being a "libelle fanatique," a fanatical pamphlet.

policy of the Directory, and he expressed the hope that he would clear away all the obstacles which hindered the complete reconciliation of France with the Pope as soon as he could have an interview with the Holy Father. He also told the clergy that thenceforth their property should be respected, and that they should be provided with a suitable endowment; and he concluded by approving the publication of his speech, so that his intentions might be known all over Europe.⁵⁴

The victory of Marengo (14th June, 1800), by which at one blow Bonaparte regained for the republic the supremacy in Italy which had been lost during his absence in Egypt, gave him the assurance that his popularity would thenceforth be so firmly established in France that he would be able to overcome whatever resistance the anti-Christian party might oppose to him, and that any measures which he might see fit to adopt for the restoration of religion would be accepted. On his return, therefore, to Milan he ordered a "Te Deum" to be sung in the cathedral, at which he assisted, and announced the fact defiantly to Cambacérès and Lebrun, his fellow-consuls. "To-day, in spite of what our atheists of Paris may say, I shall go in state to the 'Te Deum' which is to be sung in the cathedral of Milan."⁵⁵

Bonaparte left Milan on June 25. At Vercelli he had an interview with the Bishop Cardinal Martiniana, whom he had already met when on his way to Marengo, and on the following day the Cardinal sent to Rome an account of this conversation, in which the general had stated the chief ideas which were to serve as the foundation of the Concordat. According to this letter, Bonaparte had expressed to the Cardinal his ardent desire of reëstablishing order in the ecclesiastical affairs of France; he had requested him to take charge of the negotiations with the Holy Father, and had assured him that if successful, he would do all in his power to restore all its States to the Holy See. He expressed his intention of completely sweeping away the Gallican Church. The Bishops who had emigrated were, he said, no longer suited to France, as the greater part of them had left the country for purely temporal motives.⁵⁶ As for the intrusive Bishops, he did not wish to hear them mentioned. New Bishops, he thought,

⁵⁴ Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. VI., p. 426, No. 4,384. Allocution aux Curés de la Ville de Milan, 16 Prairial, an VIII. (June 5, 1800). Published at Genoa by Andrea Frugoni.

⁵⁵ Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. VI., p. 469, No. 4,923. Aux Consuls de la République. Milan, 29 Prairial, an VIII. (June 18, 1800). "Aujourd'hui malgré ce qu'en pourrrent dire nos athées de Paris, je vais en grande cérémonie au 'Te Deum' que l'on chante à la métropole de Milan."

⁵⁶ A false accusation. The Bishops, like the rest of the clergy, had been driven into exile because they refused to take the oath to the *Constitution Civile*, and many of them had to fly to save their lives.

should therefore be chosen by whoever governed the nation, and be canonically instituted by the Holy See, whence they should receive their mission and their bulls. Moreover, as after so many years of revolution all the property once held by the Church of France had been alienated, and that its recovery would be impossible and would throw the nation into fresh disturbances, he thought it necessary, in order not to impose too heavy burdens on the nation, to reduce as much as possible the number of sees, and that until landed property (*fondi stabili*) could be assigned to each see every Bishop should be paid by the national treasury a pension of from two thousand to two thousand five hundred Roman scudi, or from ten to eleven thousand French livres.⁵⁷

Though the reception of these unexpected proposals from the conqueror of Marengo and the ruler of the people which had spread irreligion and desolation throughout Italy caused Pius VII. great surprise and consolation, he could only reply to them with great caution and reserve. The antecedents of General Bonaparte were not calculated to inspire the Papal government with much confidence. At Tolentino he had imposed a crushing war tax upon the Holy See and deprived it of its richest provinces, and from Paris he had directed General Berthier's march upon Rome. In Egypt he had placed the Mahometan profession of faith as heading to his letters; he had professed his admiration for the Koran and had boasted that the French had overthrown the Pope, who had said that war ought to be made on Mahometans.⁵⁸ Still, the prospect of seeing religion reëstablished in France, and so many millions of souls brought back into the Church, made the Holy Father answer Cardinal Martiniana without delay. He expressed to him the pleasure which the letter had caused him; he declared that he was willing to enter into a negotiation of which the object was so important, and that as it would be difficult to treat such arduous and delicate matters by letter, he would send to him a person in whom he had full confidence, who should explain to him his intentions with regard to all the questions which it would be necessary to discuss and to define.

Mgr. Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, whom the Holy Father sent to conduct this negotiation, had followed Pius VI. in his captivity and had assisted him in his last moments. He had already met Bonaparte at Valence when the general was returning from Egypt, and through his intervention had obtained a passport to leave France, which the Directory had refused to grant him. A congregation of

⁵⁷ Cardinal Mathieu. *Le Concordat de 1801, ses Origines, son Histoire, d'après des Documents inédits.* Paris, 1903, p. 3.

⁵⁸ Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. IV., p. 269, No. 2,723. Quartier général Alexandrie, 16 Messidor, an VI. (2 Juillet, 1798); 18 du mois de Muharram, l'an de l'hégire 1213. Proclamation on landing: "N'est-ce pas nous qui avons détruit le Pape qui disait qu'il fallait faire la guerre aux Mussulmans?"

five Cardinals,⁵⁹ assisted by five prelates and other theologians, was charged with drawing up the instructions which were to guide Mgr. Spina in his important mission. His duty was simply to declare what the Papal government would concede or refuse, but he had no power to make any agreement or to come to any conclusion. It was only on September 4 that Talleyrand, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who always took matters leisurely and was not very anxious to see religion reëstablished in France, replied to Cardinal Martiniana expressing the thanks of the First Consul for the copy of the Holy Father's letter which had been sent to him and enclosing a passport to enable the Archbishop of Corinth to come to Paris. Mgr. Spina received the Cardinal's letter with the passport at Florence on September 25. He had not foreseen that the French government would invite him to go to Paris—a clever manœuvre by which the First Consul brought the Papal delegate under his immediate influence and made it seem to all Europe as though the demand for reconciliation proceeded from the Holy Father, who would have much preferred that the question should have been treated in Rome.⁶⁰ Mgr. Spina, therefore, thought it advisable to refer to Cardinal Consalvi and ask for further instructions. He received them at Vercelli, where he arrived only on October 5, as he had been arrested on his way at Modena by the police of the Cisalpine Republic and released by the intervention of the French general commanding at Guastalla. These instructions may be resumed in the words, "*sentire e informare*," to hear and to give information. He was not to incur any responsibility, but to sound the mind of the government and ascertain if its intentions were sincere; he was to keep down its demands as much as possible and form a basis on which a Concordat could be with its reciprocal obligations established. "He was to declare that he was not a Minister, and to refuse every honor offered to him in that capacity by whoever might be the ruler in France. He was to avoid diplomatic circles and the etiquette due to a Minister, and to protest that he had been sent to Paris to treat purely spiritual affairs, which the Pope as Head of the Church could not refuse to do."⁶¹ Furnished with these instructions and accompanied by Padre Caselli, a distinguished theologian who had been general of the Servite Order, Mgr. Spina left Vercelli on October 21 and arrived in Paris on November 5.

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⁵⁹ P. Flario Rinieri, S. J. *La Diplomazia Pontificia nel secolo XIX*. Roma, 1902, t. I, p. 18. Cardinals Albani, Gerðil, Carandini, Antonelli and della Somaglia.

⁶⁰ Cardinal Mathieu, *ibid.*, p. 13. P. Rinieri, *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶¹ Instructions to Mgr. Spina, October 13, 1800, from the Vatican Archives. Rinieri, p. 24.

DANTE AND GOETHE: THEIR PHILOSOPHIES OF LIFE.

A N UNKNOWN critic some years ago, in reviewing a recent volume on modern literature and dogma, wrote: "The individual Catholic student of art and literature, however broad his sympathies or sensitive his appreciation, must, like the Church from whom he receives his highest ideals, stand for definite principles amidst the clash of opinions and the bewildering variety of specious views on the true, the beautiful and the good." The truth of these significant words is apparent to the Catholic mind without much consideration. In these days, when the old religion has to meet the new philosophy in the multiple forms in which it daily appears, the Catholic must judge the new solutions of the old problems in the light of the teaching of the Church, from which he receives his ideals. The world is filled with literature, much more is daily coming forth from the press, and each volume of this great library is written with a purpose. Novels, poetry, essays, lectures and treatises all deal with the great central questions of man's being, origin, destiny and conduct. Every author wishes to let the world know what happens to be his view of life, either in a general way or from some particular aspect, and each strives earnestly in his own way to win over as many minds as possible to his manner of thinking. It is an acknowledged fact that but few men really think for themselves, and that most men get their ideals from the stronger minds of those who rise above the multitude. Men, as Carlyle says,¹ are gregarious animals and go through life in flocks and herds; when they find a bellwether, they usually follow him in the intellectual world whithersoever he leads. Hence arise in the world the various schools of thought, all endeavoring to give answer to some phase or other of the old problem, "What is the meaning of life?" The problem has, of course, only one answer, and that has been given long ago and entrusted in its fullness to the Church; and in proportion as men have in whole or in part drifted away from the teaching of Christ's Church, they have rejected the true solution, which she alone possesses in its fullness, and have made unto themselves myriad solutions according to their individual satisfaction. The consequence is that there is, in the expressive language of a recent writer,² "the dazzling sight of ten thousand banners that rise into the air with Orient colors waving." The word "dazzling" is undoubtedly used here with premeditation, for each of these banners has a following of enthusiastic, but rather bewildered disciples.

¹ Cf. "Sartor Resartus."

² William Barry, D. D., in "Heralds of Revolt" (1904).

Just at present Zola, Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Hardy, Sudermann, Bernard Shaw and Frenssen seem to lead the van, but in the course of events they shall soon be forced to retire to make room for other leaders, who for the time being may seem to offer greater inducements for the popular favor. Literature, as Cardinal Newman says, is the voice of the spirit of man. The modern spirit of literature is naturally different from that of the old, since the world's literature, being, as is to be expected, to a great extent an expression of the time-spirit (*Zeitgeist*) of the ages which produced it, has been affected by the revolution which has occurred within the last few centuries in the intellectual as well as in the political and religious world. The old order has given way to the new, with all its changes; the citizen of these latter days finds himself in an atmosphere of thought quite different from that in which his fathers lived.

The purpose of this present article is to bring out in contrast, as well as we may by a comparative study, the spirit of the old order compared with that of the new, especially as each is revealed in the literature of its day. For

What spirit of the *times* you call,
Good sirs, is but *your* spirit, after all,
In which the times are seen reflected.

—Faust, Part I.

It is patent that any adequate treatment of such a broad subject would require, to say the least, a space of a good-sized volume. Consequently it is necessary in the present article to abridge the matter by choosing representative leaders of thought who have embodied in their masterpieces the philosophies of life, of which it is purposed to make a comparative study. The search for such representative authors is a short and easy one. For there are two most conspicuous representatives, who present themselves almost spontaneously to the mind as the embodiment of the thought of the old and of the new order. Surely no more representative exponents of the old and of the new spirit can be found than the immortal Dante and the illustrious Goethe. For the former is so full of the spirit and learning of the mediæval age that in order to appreciate him one must not only have a knowledge of the times and of the principles that he represents, but must also be able to enter into sympathy with the great Florentine's view of life, even though it may not always agree with one's own. And in Goethe, on the other hand, is found a concentration of all the subtle forces which for the past few centuries have been engendering the new spirit in literature, and it is especially to his influence, and that of his many disciples, that the new philosophy of life has been diffused throughout the intellectual world.

The purpose of both the "Divina Commedia" and of the "Faust" is evidently to set forth a philosophy of life. Both these great poems are masterpieces of allegory and symbolism, under the veil of whose mysterious verses there lies a hidden message. Of the two authors, Dante is decidedly the more explicit, and, as it may be taken for granted that the readers of this article already know from other sources and ever hold as true the *essentials* of his philosophy of life, which is identical with that which the Catholic Church proposes in her daily teaching, it is hardly necessary to here give an exposition of its doctrine. The "Divina Commedia" is a vision and an allegory. It is a vision of the world beyond the grave; it is an allegory, based upon the vision, of the life and destiny of man, his need of light and guidance, his duties to the temporal and spiritual powers. In the *literal* sense the subject is the state of souls after death. In the *allegorical* (and possibly for our purpose more important sense), according to the epistle of Dante to Can Grande, its subject is "Man, as by freedom of will meriting and demeriting, he is subject to Justice rewarding and punishing." The end of the poem is to remove those living in this life from the state of misery and lead them to a state of felicity. In the individual this will be accomplished by opening his eyes to the nature of vice by a journey through the infernal regions, by inducing him to do penance and strive Godwards in the Purgatorio; and after the state of innocence has been regained, by leading him to contemplation of eternal truth in the Paradiso. The whole poem is a mystical epic of the freedom of man's will, enlightened by human reason and Divine Revelation.³ The dominant theme of the great work is, to borrow the well-known words of a modern poet, to relate the way of fallen man "upon the great world's altar stairs, that slope through darkness up to God." The "Faust" likewise has both a literal and an allegorical meaning. Goethe also would give us a Critique of life. All his works, Goethe said, were "fragments of one confession." The "Faust, the dream of his youth, the finished product of his old age, is the most complete confession of his spirit and philosophy of life. The theme of the "Faust" tragedy, underlying its varied and complicated elements, is therefore somewhat similar to that of the "Commedia"—namely, the fall, probation and ultimate restoration of the struggling human soul. The student Faust, baffled in his attempt to solve the problem of the universe, curses in his despair the lofty aspirations of his higher nature, yields to the tempter, and in the vain desire to still the cravings of his soul by a contract signed in blood, sells his soul to Mephistopheles, the devil, on condition that the demon give him happiness here in this life.

³ Cf. Gardner, "Dante Primer."

When to the moment fleeting past me,
Tarry! I cry, so fair thou art!
Then into fetters mayst thou cast me;
Then come doom with all my heart!
Then toll the death bell, do not linger,
Then be the bondage o'er and done;
Let the clock stop, let fall the finger,
Let Time for me be past and gone!

—Faust's bargain with Mephistopheles.

He plunges into the depths of sensual gratification of various forms, but is permanently lost, however, according to Goethe's concept, only on one condition—namely, the complete subjection of the higher to the lower elements of his being, the permanent triumph of self-indulgence over aspiration and effort. The ultimate end of Faust remains uncertain to the last. He finally finds supreme happiness in laboring for humanity, in redeeming from the elements an extended region of marsh land, which through his supervision is transformed into a sphere for human activity and modern civilization. Death seizes him in the moment of his supreme happiness and hopeful anticipations; Mephistopheles and his devils crowd around the corpse to pounce upon the soul as it leaves the body, according to the contract, but the angels refuse the devil his due, seize the immortal part of Faust, bear it aloft amid great rejoicing, and the redemption of Faust is accomplished to Goethe's satisfaction on the principle, "Wer immer strebend sich bemüht, Den können wir erlösen." "Whoever strives unweariedly is not beyond redemption.") Both Dante and Faust tread "the primrose path that leads to the great bonfire;" both pass through a period of trial and purification, and both attain to the ultimate end of their existence, the summum bonum of life according to the concepts of the respective authors. The question before us now is, there being such a similarity in these "Summas" of the old and of the new order, what is a disciple of the school of Dante, to which, I dare to presume, most of my readers belong, to say concerning the new philosophy of life as set forth by Goethe in the "Faust" tragedy?

Probably the first thing which such a one wishes to express is the general impression which the "Faust" tragedy as a whole makes upon him. The "Divina Commedia" has well been likened to an old mediæval cathedral, and the feeling which one experiences in passing from the "Commedia" into the "Faust" tragedy is similar to that felt by the traveler who with reverential feet has wandered through the sanctuaries of some such continental cathedral, over "the congregation of the dead," "from tomb to tomb," past the records of bygone ages and altars built, as it were, for eternity, amid the solemn sound of the organ and of "the old Latin hymns of peace and love and benedictions of the Holy Ghost" in an atmosphere of peace, and who passes out into "the undistinguish-

able roar," "the loud vociferations of the street"⁴ and the rush of the busy modern world, which, it may be, has grown up around this mediæval monument. The "Faust" is so full of the modern spirit that one has but entered into its first pages ere he misses the solemn sound of the organ's peal and hears in its stead, if he but listen, "the dreary, dull undertone of moral unrest and sadness which runs through much of modern literature—a low, deep wail, musical enough, if you like, echoing along the minor chords of human misery."⁵ Such a note was never struck on the lyre of Dante. If ever a poet had a reason for giving vent to a feeling of the misery of life, it was the exiled, homesick, weary Dante, who, as he tells us in the "Paradiso" (Canto xvii.), had bitter proof

How savoreth of salt
The bread of others, and how hard a road
The going down and up another's stairs,

whose haggard cheeks and lips clasped together, whose scars of a lifelong battle and ascetic look, whose wrinkled brow show that he had trod the savage and arduous way and had felt the touch of the tragedy of life; and yet we listen in vain for a sound of that dreary infelicity and dissatisfaction with life which seems to run through the "Faust" as an underlining theme. Goethe undoubtedly did not intend that this strain should enter into his composition, for in the prelude to the "Faust" the poet tells us:

'Tis with the harmony his bosom doth conceive
That in his heart knits up the raveled sleeve
Of this frayed world;

but this dreary undertone has crept in, nevertheless, probably as a natural result of his philosophy of life. The malady of the age, it has been well remarked, is ennui, the eternal getting tired of and wearying of monotony in religion, art, science and in literature itself, a disease which is called by the Germans very appropriately "Welt-schmerz"—"Worldweariness." It is unknown to Dante. We look in vain, even in his vindictive thrusts at his enemies, for a sign of this dreary, hopeless infelicity. His philosophy of life does not permit it; Goethe's has engendered it unwillingly. The secret of its presence can, I think, be made known by applying to Goethe the words which Margaret speaks to Faust:

It seemeth fair in those words of thine;
But yet there's something stands awry,
For thou hast no Christianity.

In the "Faust" is found recurring frequently the search for happiness. The hero seeks after it in luxurious living, and fails. He

⁴ Cf. Longfellow's prologue to translation of "Divina Commedia."

⁵ Rev. P. A. Sheehan, D. D.

seeks it in intellectualism, and fails more sadly. He seeks after it in altruism, and succeeds, at least according to Goethe's satisfaction; but he only snatches at a wraith of happiness, for after a vain search "in the little world and then the great," when he at last finds the summum bonum of life in the self-satisfaction of altruism, there is still a desire unsatisfied in the heart and the dying breath of Faust exclaims: "*Stay, happy moment.*" It is true that Faust is saved and his soul borne up to heaven by the angels, but the heaven of Goethe is as earthly as his virtue was natural and differs as much from the "Paradiso" of Dante as his philosophy of life is different. Never a note of Christian victory, never a psalm of hope, never a sound of that canticle of canticles, prophetic of the future triumph which the grand old Church of Dante so sweetly foretells in the beautiful Benediction hymn, the life without end in our true fatherland with God:

Qui vitam sine termino
Nobis donet in patria.

How different is the beatitude to which Dante attains, wherein all ardor of desire dies away, wherein his intellectual vision is united to the Divine Essence, wherein his will is made to move in perfect harmony with the will of God and his soul is filled with blessedness, wherein his nature attains its proper end and perfection in the union through charity with "*L'amor che muove il sole e l'altre stelle,*" with "the Love that moves the sun and the other stars."⁶

II.

The fact stands that literature throughout the past century to a great extent usurped the place of religion as the guide and teacher of mankind. The fact stands also that this attempt of intellectualism has always left an unsatisfied longing in the human heart, a craving after its proper object. If the intellect rejects God and religion, it has to create a god and a religious cult of its own. This god may be Ethical Culture; it may be Nature; it may be Humanity or some other idol. All these forms of religion have been and are still being preached to the world by rhyming prophets and latter day evangelists. In all these gospels, as, indeed, in all errors which have obtained a hold on the minds of men, there is, of course, a certain degree of truth which acts as a kind of sugar-coating on the pill. *Culture*, for instance, is always a desideratum in society; the natural man is to be the foundation for the supernatural; but the motive of the modern cry of Culture as a panacea of all social evils is not a sane one. Ancient Greece, pagan Rome and Christian,

⁶ "Paradiso," Canto XXXIII.

too, were never so low in the moral scale as when they stood highest in the scale of "Culture," as the latter day evangelists understand that word. The effect of Matthew Arnold's gospel of Culture, it may be noted, has not been in all respects a happy one for England. The *Sense of the Beautiful* also is indeed an important factor in helping man to appreciate the highest things of life and "the wild joys of living;" but it should never become a norm of morality, according to which sin may lose its malice in losing its grossness. As Dr. Barry expresses it in his "Life of Cardinal Newman," man "should never substitute for the art of life, so painful and so difficult, the life of art," or, at best, the religion of a false philosophy. Nature, too, is a source of pleasure in life and the means of leading man to see the Creator "in the shining of the stars and the flowering of the fields," but it should never become, as it has for many, an object of worship in itself. It is difficult to account for the mad rush of modern society to nature worship, to pantheism, in any other way than by the theory of the universal and insatiable craving of the human soul after the Infinite. The loss of a true notion of God is followed by the unrest and self-disgust, the ennui and welt-schmerz, manifest in much of modern thought and by a consequent return to nature worship, the searching everywhere for the great heathen deity Pan. It is the old story of many in Israel going after false gods. But it is not only Nature, the Æsthetic Sense, and Culture that have been deified, for even the great abstract idea of "Humanity" has been made a god. It is the avowed deity of Positivism and the idol of many who belong to no particular sect. It is perhaps the noblest, if one may so speak, of all these earthly deities, for it had its birth in lamentable social conditions and would never have been born if men had been faithful to Christian ideals. "Love your fellow-man" is the only moral precept which this new gospel of Humanitarianism preaches. But for 1,900 years the Church of Dante has taught that lesson, inculcated by the words and examples of Him who laid down His life for His fellow-men, and with a higher altruism inspired those who would live according to His philosophy of life, saying: "By this shall men know that ye are My disciples, that ye love one another." The old Church has been working for humanity from the beginning. The gospel of the love of humanity is not new. It is at least as old as Calvary, as young as the present, as lasting as the Church of Christ. The rôle of the Church throughout the centuries has been essentially humanitarian and philanthropic, but "with her leading lights towards eternity." All this late preaching about the trend and object of evolution and modern progress being the happiness of the greater number, wrought out by the "Entsagung" and "Selbsttödtung" of

chosen souls, is but the cant of those litterateurs whose bias is towards naturalism and materialism, whose one great dogma is "the Eternal Ego," whose constant effort is to furnish a substitute for the Christianity of Christ. It is this poor fetish of humanitarianism, altruism, in the self-satisfaction which comes from striving for others, that the hero of Goethe's masterpiece is made to find the summum bonum of life.

All these forms of the worship of Ethical Culture, of the Æsthetic Sense, of Nature and of Humanity are preached to a greater or less extent by Goethe. They are all manifestations of the new spirit which has crept into literature under the influences of the great changes of thought which have occurred during the past few centuries. But "there is no such religion of literature," some one may say to himself. Listen, my skeptical friend, if you have not already discovered the fact in the study of the world's literature, listen to the testimony of Goethe's greatest disciple, the author of "Sartor Resartus" (P. 228, Camelot edit.): "Fool! I tell thee, there is. Hast thou well considered all that lies in this immeasurable froth-ocean we name *Literature*? Fragments of a genuine *Church-Homiletic* lie scattered there, which Time will assort; nay, fractions even of a *Liturgy* could I point out. And knowest thou no Prophet, even in the vesture, environment and dialect of this age? None to whom the Godlike had revealed itself, through all meanest and highest forms of the Common, and by him again prophetically revealed; in whose inspired melody, even in these rag-gathering and rag-burning days, Man's Life again begins, were it but afar off, to be divine? Knowest thou none such? I know him, and name him—Goethe." In these words the disciple Carlyle takes delight in pointing out the new cult of Literature and in proclaiming Goethe its prophet. But it is not to Goethe alone that (to quote again the words of Carlyle) "the Godlike has revealed itself." The author of "Sartor Resartus" has himself some claim to be ranked among the greater prophets, to say nothing of the series of innumerable minor ones who have blessed the world down to our present day. "What Comte and Spencer have taught in the name of philosophy, Tyndall and Huxley in the name of science, George Eliot, Mrs. Humphrey Ward and a host of others have applied to life and its problems."⁷ Matthew Arnold teaches practically the same doctrine. "Arnold," says Hutton in "Modern Guides of English Thought in Matters of Faith" (page 126), "tells us quite plainly that the facts—or, as he calls them, 'the supposed facts'—by which the religious affections have been fostered in us, are illusions, that *our religion is nothing* in the world *but the culture of that ideal life*, which man has happily a

⁷ Cooke on G. Elliot, ch. ix.

tendency to develop. These are his (Arnold's) words: 'The future of poetry is immense, because *in poetry*, where it is worthy of its high destinies, our race, as time goes on, will find an ever surer and surer stay. There is not a creed which is not shaken, not an accredited dogma which is not shown to be questionable, not a received tradition which does not threaten to dissolve. Our religion has materialized itself in the fact—in the *supposed* fact; it has attached its emotion to the fact, and now the fact is failing it. But for *poetry* the idea is everything; the rest is a world of illusion—of divine illusion. Poetry attaches its emotion to the idea; the idea is the fact.' Well, if that be so (observes Hutton) the emotion which Mr. Arnold insists on, in order to transform *morality into religion*, becomes a very mild and æsthetic kind of emotion indeed—not one which can irradiate the penitent's heart with gratitude."

Such is the modern religion of Literature; such are its prophets. All these unhappy unbelievers reject the proffered light of faith and the true philosophy of life which accompanies it, manufacture a religion to suit their own tastes and convenience, and endeavor to make for themselves as comfortable and as permanent an abode as possible here on earth.⁸ However much we may lament the infi-

Each the known track of sage philosophy
Deserts, and has a byway of his own;
So much the restless eagerness to shine
And love of singularity do prevail.

delity, or admire the genius of these modern philanthropists, they are a pitiable lot when viewed in the light of the philosophy of Dante. Well may they call for "Mehr Licht" on their deathbeds. The Church has her own grand old philosophy of life, which is to-day essentially the same as it was in the days of the great Florentine. The intellectual and moral unrest of the modern world, the various latter day creeds are only the legitimate offspring of a refusal three centuries ago to hearken to the voice of that Church. "Who art thou? What is thy name? said the student to the Spirit of Evil. 'I am the Spirit that denies,' was the answer. And the poodle of Reformation heresy that has been running around in circles for the last three hundred years has now swollen into the big monster behind the stove. And out of the swollen Monster-Materialism, and to the music of the spirits of Poetry and the Fine Arts, steps the urbane, cultured scholar, who makes his bow: 'I am the Spirit that denies.'"⁹

But the philosophy of Dante, we are told, was all very good in the Dark Ages, but in this light-illuminated twentieth century we are not to go back to mediævalism for our philosophy of life, when we

⁸ As Dante says:

⁹ Sheehan, "Luke Delmege," p. 452. Cf. "The Faust," Part I.

have ever so many systems of our own and when our own "illuminati" know so much more than your cowed monks with their sandals and kitchen-Latin. Which is right? These rhyming prophets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or the old man Bernard, who conducts Dante in the "Paradiso" to the great High Light Eterne, or even some strange, unnamed, unknown monk, calling to us across seven or eight centuries of time. The world has grown wise in its own conceit, and not only scoffs in its literature at the Innominatus of cell and the cloister, but has even denied to such a man the right of surrendering himself to monastic rule. Work, work, work is the cry of the materialistic sages, as if the law of work were a newly revealed gospel, and as if the old monks had not taught: "Laborare est orare." The divine invitation to a life of contemplation, to "come apart from the world and rest a little while," must be scorned as a temptation to abuse the highest instincts and to betray the most sacred faculties of man. You must perform your duty to society by remaining in the world. You must work. In France to-day is presented a spectacle which is the carrying out to the letter of this modern philosophy of life—the expulsion from the community, as the enemies of society, of thousands of men and women who have embraced a life of self-sacrifice in the desire of serving humanity. You must work, these are told. Work, because this is the law of nature, the inexorable law of the whirling planets and of the little flowers; you must work, because you are thereby made one with nature in obeying her sacred laws. This is the new gospel of the latter day evangelists. Work, says the old monk likewise, but work for a supernatural motive, because thereby you praise God. This is the old gospel, "Laborare est orare."

The "Faust" is supposed to be a revelation of mysteries which only the initiated can read. The writer confesses that it undoubtedly does contain many secrets hidden beneath its polished verses, but it may be remarked en passant there is always (and especially for a class of excessively devoted readers, by whom indefiniteness in expression seems to be regarded as a sign of wisdom and mistiness in thought as "mysticism") a strong temptation to see beyond the vision of a writer and to conjecture deep suggestion and lofty meaning beneath apparently simple lines. Goethe himself tells us: "Then they come and ask, 'What idea I meant to embody in my "Faust?"' as if I knew myself and could inform them. 'From heaven through the world, to hell,' would indeed be something; but this is not an idea, only a course of action. And, further, that the devil loses the wager, and that a man who continually struggles from error towards something better should be redeemed is an effective thought explaining many things; but it is not the idea which lies at the foundation

of the whole and of every individual scene. It would have been a fine thing, indeed, if I had strung so rich, varied and highly diversified a life as I have brought to view in *Faust* upon the slender string of one pervading idea. . . . I am rather of the opinion that the more incommensurable and the more incomprehensible to the understanding a poetic production is, so much the better it is."¹⁰ The "*Faust*" contains a great deal of truth, to be sure, but it is not easy to work oneself into a ferment of delight over it. Concerning much of it one may say what Margaret says in response to Faust's talk:

'Tis all very fine and good. 'Tis even
Almost what the priest doth speak,
Only in somewhat different phrases.

The great point of merit in its philosophy is the broad view which it takes of human life in its multifold circumstances and the insistence on the necessity of making the most of life's opportunities. In the prologue to the "*Faust*" the Merry Andrew is made to say to the poet: "Grasp the exhaustless life that all men live." Again, it is a pleasure to be able to note that its philosophy is not so unspiritual, so earthly and does not weigh so heavily upon the spirit as that of the more materialistic productions of our own day. The "*Faust*," considered as a whole, is a wonderful poem, a veritable masterpiece when viewed from a purely literary standpoint; but, as Brother Azarias wrote, "The criticism that busies itself solely with the literary form is superficial; for food it gives husks." In the present article it is only the life-philosophy of the "*Faust*" which concerns us. It may be remarked, however, in passing that even from a purely literary point of view in the opinion of many it is for his lyrics that the world is most indebted to Goethe; for they are his real masterpieces. But the mere fact that the "*Faust*" is worthy of comparison with the "*Divina Commedia*" is evidence of its literary value. "Two works only," wrote Dr. Franz Hettinger, "can claim comparison with the '*Divina Commedia*'—Homer's '*Iliad*' and Goethe's '*Faust*.' The nearest in matter and form, though still its inferior, is '*Faust*.' It is the only German poem of universal compass which unites under the figure of Faust man's present efforts and his final end. But granted that Goethe in genius and culture was Dante's equal, both as a poet and in other respects, yet he lacked the creative power necessary to develop his idea. His ideal world is purely allegorical, and his images of it, though artistically drawn, are arbitrary and well-nigh unintelligible. Most poets clothe their ideas in allegorical forms, whose unreality is apparent throughout, and the illusion entirely fails. Dante's figures,

¹⁰ "Conversations with Eckermann," Vol. III., 118-119.

on the contrary, have a real existence independent of their allegorical significance, and they themselves, more than their antitypes, speak to our imagination. With him we tread upon sure ground and are surrounded with realities. Goethe's world displayed in 'Faust' may be richer in ideas, more varied in form than that of Dante, but the problem of the universe, which he proposes to unriddle, is never solved. Wreck and dissolution of body and soul alike are, with Faust, the only end of this life. Dante, on the other hand, sees one eternal purpose traced and developed in all things, and man, through the Redeemer, winning his way to God."¹¹

Much as we may admire the genius of Goethe, and of a host of others like him who had the public ear during the past century, we can but pity him in his groping without the fullness of the light of faith. The "Faust" tragedy, it appears to the writer, has captivated the intellectual world, not for the philosophy of life which it contains; nor for its morality, which is jejune enough; nor perhaps for its art, which is confessedly weak in many places; but for its tender tale of human love and sorrow. It appeals not so much to the reason, as does the great "Commedia," as to a sympathetic chord in the human heart which has felt the touch of the tragedy of life. The tragic end of the beautiful Margaret and the sad spectacle of Faust, grown old and blind in the search for happiness, cannot fail to elicit the sympathy of the student. The "Divina Commedia" appeals more to the spiritual nature of man; it rises above the beauty of this world's love and the grandeur of this world's passion, and shows us that the love of God is the fruit whereof all other love is but the beautiful and fleeting blossom; that the passions are yet sublimer objects of contemplation, when subdued by the will; it embodies the Christian idea of a triumphant life, outwardly perhaps all defeat, inwardly victorious, which makes us partakers of that cup of sorrow in which all are communicants with Christ.¹² The "Divina Commedia" could never have been even *conceived* in the great mind of Goethe, for his philosophy of life could never have created such a production. It is a product of "the ages of faith." Notwithstanding its many minor defects, it has been well styled "the Summa of St. Thomas in verse;" and Goethe's view of life was on the whole very different from that of the Angelic Doctor and of his disciple, Dante Alighieri.

O ye, who have undistempered intellects,
Observe the doctrine that conceals itself
Beneath the veil of those mysterious verses.

—Inf., Can. IX., 61-63.

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¹¹ "Die Göttliche Komödie," p. 127.

¹² Cf. Lowell, "Essay on Dante."

IN QUARANTINE OFF THE PALESTINIAN COAST.

“**W**HAT time does the Russian boat for Jaffa leave Port Said?”

“Can’t say, sir! Russian boats know no time and punctuality is a vice with them.”

This was all we could extract from the agent in Cook’s office at Cairo, and it was certainly disheartening.

“Is there no means of finding out?” we queried.

“No, sir. You can telegraph to their office and ask them to wire as soon as they know. But I must warn you, you will have to go to Beyrout first, as there is plague in Port Said, and you will have two days’ quarantine. If you go by the ‘messageries’ you will have three days’ quarantine, but will be able to sail for certain to-morrow night.”

Our spirits sank to zero. An uncertain boat, probably filthy, two days’ quarantine, a journey more than double what we had contemplated, fares, too, proportionately higher, quarantine to be paid for, and—worst of all—our funds at their lowest ebb.

“Oh, well, we will take the ‘messageries’ to-morrow,” we declared.

“Ah, if you do that, sir, you will have three days’ quarantine instead of two and, what is worse, you will have to go on shore at Beyrout and stay in the Turkish lazaretto. If you take the Russian boat you will only have two days’ quarantine and can stay on the vessel.”

“Hobson’s choice,” we thought. “Which is the cleaner boat?” we asked in despair.

“No choice, sir. Both equally bad.”

We decided for the Russian boat and wired to the agency. After two days we learnt that it would sail at 2 P. M. on Friday.

Friday morning found us steaming out of the station at Cairo and watching the motley crowd on the platform. The train was crowded with Arabs and Egyptians, with Syrians and Jews and a fair sprinkling of Europeans. Soon we came to Benhâ, the first stop, and here most of the Arabs and Egyptians alighted. What a series of vivid contrasts such a station presents. Huddled together on the modern platform, their shrill voices drowned by the screaming of the whistles and the grinding of the brakes of the twentieth century locomotive, were groups of the children of Abraham in every variety of costume and reclining in attitudes which none but an Oriental can assume with ease and grace. What a study of color. White turbans wound round a red centre cap, white tunics fastened

with a black sash, black cloaks with large loose wide sleeves; the Arab burnoose and the Turkish jacket; some with yellow sandals, some with red; some with blue tunics, some with white; some with sashes, others without; turbans red and turbans black, turbans white and turbans yellow. How we longed for the ready brush of the artist with a vivid eye for color and effect.

And, apart from the crowd, leaning up against a pillar, sat a Bedouin woman nursing her child. Her black tunic, slightly open at the neck, gave a glimpse of a beautiful and massive gold necklace, which stood in strange contrast with her squalid appearance. From every carriage window heads were craning out and many curious eyes were gazing at her. Yet with true Oriental stoic calm she gazed back in return or rather seemed oblivious of their gaze. Her eyes seemed to see through them and beyond them, beyond the snorting engine, beyond the shoddy modern station, out into the limitless desert behind. Suddenly, however, the child cried, and immediately all the mother in her appeared. What a repulsive morsel of humanity that puny black-eyed, black-haired, swarthy infant appeared to us, but to the swarthy, practically outcast daughter of the desert it was "my own, my own, my very own." And all the while above them, on them, creeping here, there and everywhere, was a swarm of flies such as only Egypt can beget.

The train steamed out of the station and before very long we came to Zagazig. This is not far from the old mound which marks the site of Pi-Bast, or House of Bast, the goddess, in modern parlance Bubastis. What would its Pharaohs think if they could rise from their long sleep and see the modern train whirling through the fair and teeming delta which they loved so well?

We made ourselves comfortable and had just dozed off into a quiet nap when we were disturbed by a stout, florid, comfortable-looking Egyptian who strolled in and at once became a prey to the liveliest curiosity to know all about us. "Inglees?" he queried. "Yes," we grunted, and hoped he would let us sleep. But he went on. "Protestant ministers?" "No!" we said. "Ah said: 'In the Name of the Fader, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' Is dat right?" We nodded assent and he insisted on shaking hands with us as fellow-Catholics. At last he lapsed into a drowsy state and amused us by his droll grimaces as he slept uneasily in the jolting train. We dozed, too, and awoke to find that the dust had filtered in through every chink, as only Egyptian dust seems able to do, and we were covered with a fine impalpable powder, which adhered to our hair, eyebrows, eyelashes, etc., in a most irritating manner. And then at length we steamed into Port Said. What a dreary place it is! What a shoddy town! There is no other name for it—it is

of yesterday, while Cairo looks as though it was from eternity. We found our way to the inquiry office, but we pass over the nightmare consequent upon finding that we had yet two days to wait for the villainous Russian boat, two days of idle sauntering, with nothing to do except grill in the sun. At length came the welcome news that the Russian boat would sail at 2 P. M. We were determined not to miss her this time, so we deferred our much needed luncheon till we were safe on board, and we chartered a boat, for which, of course, we were iniquitously overcharged, and we boarded the long wished for Russian boat.

Ye gods, what a revelation! The filth, the accommodation, the unmentionable horrors we unearthed in the bunks, the utter absence of all things that made for cleanliness. Even now, when that Russian boat and its horrors are a thing of the past, we shudder when we recall those days—and nights.

However, when we first embarked we were hungry and we demanded luncheon. It was then 1.30. In vain we expressed the term luncheon in all the languages we could think of. The gigantic, placid, stolid Russian steward merely smiled. We had recourse to pantomime and he grasped the idea, but lunch was over long, long ago. Eleven o'clock was the proper time, and we could have nothing till seven. Entreaties, threats, blandishments, even appeals to the equally gigantic, equally stolid, fair-haired, blue-eyed captain were in vain. Fortunately we had a few biscuits, and they staved off the pangs.

With anxious eyes we scanned our quarters; with trembling hands we turned down the bedclothes and vowed that nothing would induce us to sleep in those beds. Perhaps we were spoiled by the beauty of a large liner, but we certainly felt as though the clock of civilization had been put back many, many centuries. In the first place, all the cabins opened directly into the saloon. As a result there was a perpetual aroma which can only be described as "beddy." This pervaded the saloon all day, and even the odors of the kitchen did not dispel them. In the second place, some passengers could not or would not afford the price of a berth, so they spent the night on the divans which served as benches during meals. In the early morning we took our coffee amidst recumbent and, be it said with bated breath, malodorous forms. In the third place—but we prefer to draw a veil over the third place.

Having arranged our properties and propitiated the Russian giant with backsheesh, we went up on deck, and there we found pandemonium. The deck was a squealing mass of Arabs, and all the riffraff of Port Said seemed to be fighting over the luggage and cargo. In a variety of costume, which occasionally became prac-

tically no costume at all, speaking a variety of patois, each intent, it would seem, upon making as much noise and doing as little real work as possible, they looked for all the world like a host of angry wasps round a honeycomb. All shrieked and yelled without cessation; each one seemed to be engaged in some special quarrel of his own, and each one seemed to feel that he was being wronged or that if he did not shout his loudest he certainly would be so. In the midst of the babel the stalwart, placid-looking Russian officers stalked serenely to and fro smoking cigarettes. Now and again a dispute would be brought to them for settlement. Generally they absolutely disregarded all such appeals. But on one disputant insisting on his cause being heard he was with appalling despatch dropped overboard into the lighter. Here he lay on the thwarts and gave vent to appalling objurgations and the most venomous threats.

A sudden ejaculation of "Well, Fader," on my left caused me to turn round and discover my Egyptian friend who had bored me on the way from Cairo. But what a transformation! He had discarded the European hether garments which never had seemed to fit him, and he now appeared in true Oriental skirts and red slippers. Hitherto he had walked like a European, but with the advent of the skirts had come the Eastern sideling roll. What an incongruous object he looked. His lower man was Oriental enough, but his upper man, decked with billycock hat and a short coat, looked worthy of 'appy 'Amstead. Yet perhaps the most amusing thing was his face. He looked as though he felt himself between two stools, for Oriental gravity and imperturbability conflicted with the bold free stare which the coat and hat seemed to call for.

At last all the cargo was aboard and the last quarrelsome Arab had left. Slowly we steamed past the huge liners, along by the famous statue of Lesseps and out into the Mediterranean. Soon the land faded from view, and then darkness set in.

The pooriness of the accommodation had made us tremble for our meals, but here we were agreeably surprised. It was weird, but good, and being Russian was, of course, plentiful. Russian claret and the inevitable vodka were supplied and the most generous ices we ever saw.

After dinner we went up on deck, but the wind was chilly and the lightning shocking, so that reading was out of the question. It was impossible to sleep in the bunks, so we essayed the divans in the apology for a smoking room. We had asked permission for this and it had been readily accorded, but to our huge disgust our first sleep was rudely broken into by a burly Russian, who ejected us angrily and forcibly. We huddled ourselves up in blankets on deck and slept soundly. About three o'clock I awoke and prowled round. It

was a curious scene. The moon rode high in the heavens and showed the Arabs lying in all sorts of quaint attitudes under the open sky. It was cold and they shivered as they slept. One poor mother had her three children tucked close to her, but they were fretful in their dreams and she was wakeful. Where were they going to? It was one of the puzzles of that and other journeys in the East to explain the crowds of poor squalid natives who thronged the trains and boarded every passenger boat. And yet no inducement is held out to them to travel. Fares are by no means light. Passports are not so easy to obtain and have to be paid for. There are doctors to face and questions to be answered. Yet all the same they wander to and fro, picturesque but squalid.

As the dawn came the various disheveled heaps struggled to light and each family began to make preparations for breakfast. I watched one old lady with great interest. She looked for all the world as though she had walked out of some typical picture of the East as she hustled about her work. She brought various commodities from some seemingly bottomless receptacle which was secreted somewhere about her person. In the dim light I could not distinguish the various items of their repast, but stepping a little closer I discovered to my dismay that they were breakfasting off a tin of Nestlé's milk and a bottle of booril.

Gradually the mists cleared off and then on our right rose the hump of Mount Carmel. It was our first glimpse of the Holy Land, and we gazed at it with deepest interest. The brook Kishon, the chariots of Sisara, the prophets of Baal, the towering figure of Elias, the cloud no bigger than a man's hand, the race for Jezreel—all flashed across our minds. How often we had read of Carmel and the Bay of Acre, and now we were actually gazing at them.

At six tea, with a slice of lemon in it, was brought us in glasses. It was welcome even if somewhat peculiar. The sun grew hotter and there was no awning, but we reveled in the heat after the chilly night. As the day grew clearer we could distinguish portions of the Nazareth hills and guessed we must be looking at Safed. Beyond them dim blue rounded cones indicated the hills of the Jaulan, beyond Jordan. To our sorrow we could not distinguish Tyre or Sidon, for a mist slightly veiled the coast. But then Hermon began to stand out in all its grandeur. How it dominates the land. How white and glistening it looks. How natural seem the frequent references to it in Biblical literature.

Round the promontory ahead of us lies Beyrout and up above it towers Tebel Sannin. The mountain is rugged and scarped and looks as though its face had been scarred with a gigantic plough. Presently we turn the corner, and there lies Beyrout smiling in the

sunshine. The mountain rises like a rugged wall behind it and in front glimmers the marvelously blue sea. The town looks most picturesque. The white houses with their red tiled roofs seemed to be smiling in the sun. The tall black cypresses threw the houses into sharp relief and formed a setting for the gardens. The town lay in a semi-circle and straggled somewhat irregularly around the bay. The houses lay in tiers gradually mounting the steep slopes of Sannin, while up above on its mighty flanks tiny white specks denoted the houses of the rich, who had their chalets away up far from the hum of the city below.

How modern the town looks. How fresh and bright the whole scene. As we gaze at it from the boat it is hard to believe that the Assyrians took it again and again; that in this very roadstead lay the ships which were to take them over to Cypress. And yet long before Tiglath Pileser and Sennacherib set foot here the Egyptians knew it well. That curious work entitled "*Travels of a Mohar*,"¹ which gives an almost ludicrously gloomy account of the perils encountered by travelers in these parts, says: "Be good enough to look out for Beyrout, Sidon and Sarepta." This was in the days of Ramesis II. and before 1200 B. C., yet even earlier still we find Rib-Rameses II. and before 1200 B. C., yet even earlier still we find Rib-Addi, the correspondent of Amenophis IV. (1450 B. C.), mentioning Beyrout as one of his chief cities.

Now all is changed. Churches are there and colleges, notably the large Jesuit college, while at noon the chimes of the "*Angelus*" float out over the water.

We idle away the time as we best can, but there is no society and no library. One of the officers provides us with a fishing line, and we proceed to fish. The moment we have found amusement everybody wants to share it. A very unwieldy Spaniard is particularly keen and quite thinks the fishing tackle is his. We let him have his way, and as he catches nothing he soon tires of it. We are equally unfortunate, and as a little fat Turkish boy in a fez has been making mute appeals to be allowed to fish, we put the line in his hand and he promptly secures the only fish caught that day. It was a small perchlike fish, beautifully iridescent. The ship's cat soon despatched it.

In the evening an official came off in a small boat and immediately all the third-class passengers were told to prepare to spend the next twenty-four hours in the Turkish lazaretto. Certainly if any of the passengers needed inspection it was these poor outcasts. Mostly poor Syrians and Arabs, they meekly made up their bundles and went over the side into large boats waiting for them. How silent and sad-eyed they all seemed. They seemed to feel that they were

¹ Records of the Bast., II., 110.

outcasts and that every man's hand was against them. And what a farce the whole proceeding was. The lazaretto is commonly said to be the receptacle for more germs than the rest of Beyrout. Certainly it was infected with some very lively germs indeed, and all these were presumably to be brought back onto the ship by the third-class passengers. Such is Turkish government, or misgovernment. Indeed, the whole question of the quarantine was a farce. A priest assured the writer that he knew personally the reported cases of plague in Port Said, and he knew that not one of them was genuine. But quarantine means money to the Turk, hence let there be plague. All these poor third-class passengers had to pay for their accommodations (?) in the lazaretto, and we on the following day had each to pay half a crown to a Turkish doctor to be told that we had not the plague.

At last our time of durance vile drew to a close. Early in the morning a number of gaily painted boats put off from the shore bringing oranges and lemons, of which we took nearly three thousand cases on board. The fruit was of a peculiarly bright green and reminded me most of an emu's egg when fresh laid. About midday we steamed out of the bay and ran down the coast to Sidon, a distance of about twenty miles. The coast looked exceedingly pretty. The beach seemed to be very narrow, and above it the tiny, glistening villages were perched on the slopes. With the sea in front and the wall of mountain behind them, we could appreciate the statement of the Bible that the Sidonians "dwelt secure and easy."² We reached Sidon itself about half-past three in the afternoon. The coast as we approached was thickly covered with groves of oranges, lemons, olives and apricots, and along the beach we could discern a string of camels and horses filing into the town. The houses were lofty and very bright looking in the sunlight. Behind rose the hills, which looked as though covered with endless tiers of terraces, though we were informed that these were really long, narrow fields.

The harbor is remarkable. On the western or sea side it is protected by a long, low-lying island and is only open to the north. Close down upon the water's edge stands a dismantled castle rapidly falling to ruins. A dozen boats speedily put out, and some highly respectable looking Turkish passengers came on board and were greeted by loud cries of "Quarantina!" Another huge cargo of oranges and lemons was taken on board, and the unloading of the small boats was worth witnessing.

Nearly all the boatmen of Beyrout and Sidon are Syrians and finely proportioned men. They are generally girt with a bright pink sash, which keeps their tunics within bounds. The cargo boats are

² Judges xviii., 7.

small and very deeply laden. Every moment we expected they would founder, as the sea was by no means calm. The men swarmed on board. They scorned the ladder and used their bare feet with great dexterity, seeming to almost walk up the sides of the vessel. They indulged in the most fiendish shrieks meanwhile, which quite justified the remark of a German lady who murmured to me: "They are like the day-vils!"

Several cases of oranges had fallen into the sea and were now being rapidly carried away by the tide. One of the Syrians, however, threw off his tunic and swam after them. He had no easy task. The water was choppy, the tide strong and the cases very unwieldy. It was interesting to watch him steering the six bulky cases with his feet and hands, but it took him over an hour to work them back against the tide and wind.

We took on a few passengers here. One, in the third class, was the most extraordinary looking object. He was old, his hair and hugely long beard were a dirty white; he wore sandals, a tunic of a nondescript hue, a hugely long and very rusty and greasy old frock coat; he sported cuffs which had been white in prehistoric times, and the whole get-up was surmounted by a battered old billycock hat. An unwieldy Jewish lady of most pronounced Semitic type also came on deck. She smoked endless cigarettes and as far as we could see never spoke a word. There was also a taciturn young Egyptian lad on his way to school at Jaffa.

The sun was setting as we slowly turned out of the harbor. As it sank into the Mediterranean the rays shot upwards and spread out like some huge pale golden fan, the sea took on a mauve tint which rapidly passed into dull gray, while the sky passed from every shade of yellow to opal, then gray, until finally black night set in.

Early in the morning we awoke to find ourselves off Athlèt, the site of the Biblical Dor, then Cæsarea and then Jaffa. We tried hard to make out the rounded, shapeless mass of Mount Garizim, but it was difficult either to distinguish it or Mount Ebal.

Jaffa fully realized our expectations—the rugged bit of rock with the houses climbing up in tiers, the dark, cruel looking reefs which form the harbor bar and which, while they make entrance and exit difficult, are no protection to the quays. On either side of the rock lay the bright golden sand, and in the background the orange groves, which have made the place so famous in modern times.

Here, of course, we encountered Babel in form of a score of stalwart, shouting, screaming Arabs, who each yelled out the name of the hotel he served. Cook's even were there in their brilliant scarlet jerseys with the soul-satisfying legend "Cook" writ large across the breast. We had one of their landing tickets, so possessed

our souls in patience while one of their men collected our traps. Woe betide the unfortunate passenger who betrays any sign of not being perfectly well able to take care of himself. The eagle eye of the Arab spies him or her out, stentorian shouts of rival hotel touts din in his ears, sturdy arms seize the baggage, and the poor, bewildered traveler has all he can do to avoid being torn in two.

Cook charges five shillings to land you at Jaffa. You think it rather exorbitant even for the East, but when you find yourself in the train for Jerusalem and look back on the *melée* through which you have passed you feel you would not now think ten shillings an excessive charge. Your luggage is looked after, your passport vised, the Customs House officers are won over somehow, so that you need not trouble to open your baggage, and a carriage is provided to take you to your hotel and thence to the station in time for any train. And, above all, you are saved all worry when gesticulating, ferocious looking touts threaten to swamp you and your effects, you have only to utter the magic word "Cook" and you are left in peace. To the native "Cook" spells imperialism. It is recorded that when the German Emperor made his tour in Palestine a few years ago old Thomas Cook personally conducted the tour. When the royal party came to Jericho no one paid the least attention to the Emperor, but all vied with one another in doing homage to Mr. Cook. "There he is!" they shouted, and all crushed round him as he rode at the head of the cavalcade.

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England.

Book Reviews

KETTELER. Par *G. Goyau*, 1908. Pp. xlviii.+290.

SAINT ATHANASE. Par *F. Cavallera*, 1908. Pp. xvi.+352. Paris: Bloud et Cie.

These two volumes are the latest additions to the series of "texts and studies" emanating under the general title "Christian Thought," from the well-known up-to-date publishing house of Bloud et Cie, Paris. In conformance with the leading idea of the series, the books here presented deal with their respective subjects not so much from a biographical as from a literary and a practical standpoint. While, therefore, M. Goyau has prefaced his work with a comparatively brief, though sufficiently comprehensive as well as interesting biography of Bishop Ketteler, the substance of his book consists of extracts from the writings and discourses of the illustrious Archbishop—typical thoughts arranged under suggestive headings. On the other hand, M. Cavallera has furnished only a chronological table of the life of St. Athanasius, the main purpose of his study being to illustrate the teaching, theological and practical, of the great Alexandrian patriarch by characteristic portions of his writings. The subject of each volume is representative of the age in which he lived—St. Athanasius of the fourth and Ketteler of the nineteenth century. The limited space of the present review will be confined to the latter. Concerning the former, suffice it to say that M. Cavallera has happily succeeded in selecting those portions of St. Athanasius' writings which best illustrate the teachings of which that great doctor is acknowledged to have been the most powerful champion, those, namely, which concern the Trinity and the Incarnation. The volume also contains apt illustrations of the exegesis, ascetical and pastoral theology of St. Athanasius.

When Archbishop Ketteler died in 1877 (he was born in 1811) the German Central party and the Catholics of Germany possessed, thanks to him, a social doctrine and a social programme. Windthorst in his preface to the fourth edition (1890) of Ketteler's book on the labor question is quoted by M. Goyau to the following effect: "In Bishop Ketteler we all revere the teacher and the champion of the advance guard of Catholic social aspirations. To-day, when those aspirations have been solemnly recognized and when all parties would vaunt themselves on having been the first to protect and promote the economic and rural interests of the working class, it becomes for us a duty of piety to bring to light the present work,

which marks out for the young generation the ways to social betterment. It is for us an enduring glory that a prince of the Catholic Church is the first to have the courage, at a time when the Manchesterian economics has completely mastered public opinion, to plant the flag of a Christian social reform by estimating with equity what there is of truth in the criticism of Lassalle on the present state of things and against current ideas; and at the same time by signalizing with no less justice what there is of error and weakness in Lassalle's positive theories." The great leader of the German Centre goes on in the preface from which the foregoing extract has been taken to emphasize the equity, the sanity, the timeliness of Ketteler's teaching on social reform; and what Windthorst had thus signalized Fr. Hitze, the leading sociologist of the Central party, reconfirmed as regards Ketteler's social programme in the Reichstag in 1893. The soundness of Ketteler's social teachings was due to their rootage in the *philosophia perennis* of St. Thomas and to their touch with the beneficent institutions of the Christian past, while the value of his programme of social reform and betterment was due to the fact that that programme was constructed to meet the concrete social and economic conditions, especially of the laboring poor—conditions that were known by none more intimately as they were felt by none more sympathetically than by the alert-minded and large-hearted Bishop of Mayence.

The merit of M. Goyau's present work consists in this—that besides its valuable sketch of Ketteler's career, it brings together within convenient shape and compass those portions of the illustrious Bishop's writings which best illustrate the social doctrine and programme just alluded to. The material selected has been arranged under five headings: 1. "The Church and the New Times." 2. "The Church and the Various Forms of Absolutism." 3. "The Church and the Problem of Property." 4. "The Church and the Labor Question." 5. "Social Politics." The subjects thus indicated are obviously of most vital moment, not less, but more so in this day than they were a generation ago. Nor less apposite are the solutions of the problem here suggested; nor less pertinent the ways of practical wisdom laid down by Bishop Ketteler and systematically arranged by M. Goyau in the book at hand than were those same solutions and prudential measures when the storm and stress of the earlier socialistic revolution and the subsequent imperial *Culturkampf* brought them to life in the mind and work of the great German prelate. Not alone students of sociology, but cultured readers generally who feel the interest they should feel in the present social problems will be indebted to M. Goyau for the light and stimulus which he has here reflected from the soul of Ketteler.

LUTHER ET LE LUTHERANISME. Par L. Cristiani, D. D. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1908. Pp. xxvi.+387.

If Dr. Cristiani had done nothing else in the work here introduced than make more accessible to a larger reading public the erudite study by the late Dominican scholar, Fr. Denifle, he would have done the cause of truth a valuable service. But while doing this he has done more. While popularizing the principal conclusions embodied in "Luther und Lutherthum," and in the wake of this definitive classic and the hardly less authoritative productions of Döllinger and Janssen exposing many of the errors and insidious attacks against the Church, he furnishes in a convenient form a most effective apologetical instrument. His work, while historical in matter, is psychological in method, and it wields both history and analysis of cause and motive in the defense of Catholic truth. In designating its motif as apologetical, however, it need hardly be said that the latter qualification implies no attempt to excuse or palliate the abuses against which Protestantism was set up as a reaction. The first duty of the apologist, as the author rightly conceives it, is to tell the truth, mindful of the query which Job made of old, "*Numquid Deus indigit mendacio vestro?*" (Job xiii., 7), to which Leo XIII. gave the categorical answer: "The Church has no need of our lies." The author's policy is patent throughout—to let the facts, the documents speak for themselves, and to draw no inferences save what these compel. He places himself at the parting of the ways. For the Protestant Luther is a reformer; he found the Church more or less corrupt, and he led it back to its original purity. For the Rationalist Luther is an initiator; he opened up a new way for free thought and unfettered research. For the Catholic Luther is an apostate; he took occasion from certain real abuses within the Church to raise the standard of revolt; he apostatized, became a schismatic and a heretic, and so far from correcting the abuses from which the Church was suffering, he fell into and brought on far greater evils. Now how are these antinomies to be solved? Obviously by studying the character of the man during the different stages of his career in order to find whether he truly possessed the marks of a religious reformer; by examining his doctrine at the start and at the finish; finally, by estimating the moral consequences of his life and his teaching. These are the lines on which the present inquiry is conducted. The precursal signs of the Reformation—moral corruption and humanism, at once an effect and a cause of immorality—are indicated; the genesis of Luther's teaching is examined; the variations in his teaching on the merit of good works are pointed out. The violent fury and indecency of Luther's language is not unnoticed, both being psychologically, or, perhaps

better, pathologically significant. The question of Luther's sincerity is dispassionately investigated. His well-known avowed communications with the demon are critically examined. A chapter is devoted to his teaching on marriage and virginity; another chapter to his theories on Church and State; another to his "miracles." The closing, a highly important and interesting chapter, discusses the consequences of Luther's lifework. It need hardly be said that the result of the total inquiry proves that Luther as he is now unmistakably revealed under the light of impersonal criticism possessed none of the signs of an apostle. He was surely not a man of prayer, nor was he always sincere. He was throughout life dominated by passion, carried forward by the impulses of uncontrolled, ruleless temperament. He was undoubtedly richly endowed; he was popularly and powerfully eloquent; he was able to move and lead the masses, and by the vigor of his language to win to his cause even superior minds. But his memory can never be washed of the grossness, the lies, the atrocious calumnies and infamous injustices of which he made an habitual weapon against "papismus." It may be conceded to the Rationalists that Luther was an "initiator;" but it must be recognized that if he opened out a new way, that way led to evil; so that had not a reaction against his system arose within Protestantism itself, the consequences for posterity had been frightful, the moral corruption and degradation entailed irreparable. Such in part are the conclusions borne out by the present study; for the evidence on which they rest we must refer the reader to the author, confident that he will not go away unsatisfied or disappointed. The book is one which the serious student either of modern religious history or of apologetics cannot afford to leave unread.

A MANUAL OF MORAL THEOLOGY. For English-speaking countries. By *Rev. Thomas Stater, S. J.*, St. Beuno's College, St. Asaph. With notes on American legislation by *Rev. Michael Martin, S. J.*, professor of moral theology, St. Louis University. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 668. New York: Benziger Brothers.

We have before us the first attempt at a complete Catholic moral theology in English. Heretofore our moral theologies have been published in Latin, but now we are beginning to follow the example of the French, Italians, Spaniards and others and publish them in the vernacular.

The author expects confidently that ecclesiastical students and Catholic clergy of English-speaking countries will welcome the book, and that it will do good even among non-Catholics. He thinks that Catholic moral theology is misrepresented and maligned because it

is not understood. He hopes that it will be appreciated by persons outside of the Church when they understand it, and that it will become known in its English dress.

The writer of this notice has always opposed the publication of works on moral theology in the vernacular, and he has not changed his mind about it. On the contrary, his conviction is firmer after reading the author's preface. He says: "Manuals of moral theology are technical works intended to help the confessor and the parish priest in the discharge of their duties. They are as technical as the text-books of the lawyer and the doctor. They are not intended for edification, nor do they hold up a high ideal of Christian perfection for the imitation of the faithful. They deal with what is of obligation under pain of sin; they are books of moral pathology."

Therefore they are intended for the eye of the priest principally, and we are tempted to say for his eye only. We believe that the people should get their moral theology from the priest, and the best way to compel them to do so is to confine works on the subject to the Latin language. Even when they are published in the vernacular, certain portions are printed in Latin because the delicacy of the subject requires it. Another argument in favor of the use of the ancient language is the preservation of it and the preservation of unity of teaching. We are letting the Latin go more and more every day, and there is real danger of letting it go altogether. By removing the necessity for knowing it we remove the strongest incentive to the study of it. The time may come when each country will have its own text-books in its own language, and this will certainly not make for unity. Much more might be said on the subject, but it is our duty to close this notice with the declaration that the book before us is admirably made. The usual divisions and subdivisions are followed, but the text is very clear and very satisfying.

TRAITE DE SOCIOLOGIE D'APRES LES PRINCIPES DE LA THEOLOGIE CATHOLIQUE. Régime de la Propriété. Par *L. Garriquet*. Second edition. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1908.

The present volume belongs to the series of "Studies in Ethics and Sociology," running parallel with the series "Christian Thought"—which latter includes M. Goyau's "Ketteler"—now appearing in France. There are still to be found writers on economics who have not yet given up the idea, notwithstanding the discipline of failure, that economical and social problems should be disconnected from ethics; that they belong exclusively to the domain of science and are to be solved without appeal to religious or even to

moral principles. The error and perniciousness of a non-moral—not to say immoral—economic are too patent to need demonstration, for surely the theory of wealth-production must be rooted in man's living personality, which is nothing if not essentially moral and religious. So that economics, and especially sociology, can no more be divorced from ethics than can grammar from living language, anatomy from physiology, physiology from psychology. There can, of course, and must be a mental precision between these various disciplines; but each becomes a lifeless abstraction, an artificial mental mechanism when actually separated from its partner or rather from its parent stem; for economics is to ethics what branch is to trunk, while sociology is rather itself but a ramification of ethics. Now Catholic moral theology possesses a system of social science treating of the right and wrong guidance of life, external as well as internal; of law positive as well as revealed; of juridic relations social and public as well as private and individual. It is well that this body of moral doctrine should be set forth in its relation to present economical and social problems. This is precisely what M. Garriguet has undertaken to do in the volume at hand. He rightly deems it that the said problems gather around the two great subjects, property and labor, and these *foci* furnish him the division of his undertaking. The present book is confined to the first member; a future study will be given to the second. The lines of treatment are broadly as follows: After the usual preliminary distinctions and definitions the ethics of private property in land and in capital are discussed, the origin of the right of proprietorship established, the limits of the right determined, the modes of acquisition described, the essential characteristics of the right, its limits and the ethical obligations it entails demonstrated. So far as the substance of the matter thus outlined is concerned the book can hardly be said to contain much that is not to be found in other preëxisting works of the kind. The author has not sought to discover nor to describe a new world or a new section of an old. He has endeavored to familiarize the student with the moral world wherein he is ever living, to make him aware of the unnoticed truths and the unobserved details, to make him conscious of the bearings of Catholic teaching upon current questions, theories and issues. In this he has succeeded both as to fact and argument, criticism and method and style. The student need leave the reading of the book with no hazy notions or principles, nor will he be overtaxed in the quest, for the author shares richly in the characteristic gift of his countrymen—that of clarity and felicity of expression. We trust soon to see the second part of the work—that on Labor—which promises, if not more fundamental, at least no less important problems for discussion.

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA. An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., LL. D., Edward A. Pace, Ph. D., D. D., Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D., Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., John J. Wynne, S. J., assisted by numerous collaborators. In fifteen volumes. Vol. III. New York: Robert Appleton Company.

These advance sheets of the third volume bring with them the welcome assurance that the finished volume will appear very soon, and the promise that the fourth volume will be ready before the close of the year. Indeed, the editors have been so very prompt that the small number of persons who predicted that the book would never be completed or would require many years for completion is now succeeded by a small number who declare that the work is being done too hastily, and that it must therefore be more imperfect.

We presume that all such doubts and fears and predictions are incidental to an undertaking of this kind. They all do. They spur the editors on if they are inclined to lag, and they put a check on them if they show an inclination to take the bit in their teeth. They also point out various evils to be avoided and virtues to be sought for. It is quite clear that they are helping the editors of the Encyclopedia very much, for these gentlemen are devoting their best talents to the work before them with all the energy at their command, and they are producing a book unexcelled of its kind just as promptly as splendid equipment and tireless labor can do it; not a bit too soon, and not a bit too late.

It would be high praise to say that the original standard is being preserved, and it might seem like blame of previous efforts to state that improvement is here, and yet the simple truth is that the work improves as the experience of the editors grows. They know their assistants better, they are drawing new ones to their service, they are better equipped to weigh subjects and space them according to their relative merits, they are enlightened by fair, discerning criticism, they are strengthened by judicious praise and they are sustained by generous financial support. The last item is by no means the least important, because no work can be done well unless the workmen have the necessary means at hand. We are assured by the managers of the Encyclopedia that the time for anxiety on this score is past, and that with the amount already received from stockholders and subscribers, and the amount assured from the subscriptions now being received, the financial success of the enterprise is beyond question.

We wish that we had room to reprint from the *Messenger* an account of the making of the Encyclopedia. It does not contain anything positively new, but it sets before us in detail each step in a progress which means ultimate and lasting success, and it makes assurance doubly sure that not one element is lacking.

THE INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC LIBRARY. The Catholic Church, the Renaissance and Protestantism. Lectures given at the Catholic Institute of Paris, January to March, 1904. By Alfred Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris. With a prefatory letter from His Eminence Cardinal Perraud, of the French Academy. Authorized translation by Mrs. Philip Gibbs. 8vo., pp. xxvii.+331. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Cardinal Perraud, himself an acknowledged authority on the subject, says of these lectures that the author has summarized in them the problems of philosophy, theology, morals, and even of social economy, involved in the study of Protestantism. He adds that they justify the exalted and almost prophetic views of the immortal author of "The History of the Variations," and that Bossuet himself would have read them with pleasure, because they thoroughly bear him out in his showing "how the general foundation laid by the Reformation—namely, contempt for the authority of the Church, the denial of the apostolic succession, the indictment of the preceding centuries and even the contempt of the Fathers, the bursting of every barrier and the complete abandonment of human curiosity to its own devices—must inevitably produce what we have seen—namely, unbridled license in all religious matters."

The equipment of the author for this work was exceptional. In the preface he says: "I beg now to offer to the public the result of much reading, research and reflection on the subject of those questions which I began to study long ago. It first came in my mind to examine them closely at the Normal School twenty-four years ago."

Fifteen years later he was entrusted with the teaching of ecclesiastical history at the Catholic Institute of Paris, when he profited by the course of lectures which Cardinal Perraud gave at the Sorbonne from 1866 to 1874. During ten years the author taught thrice the history of the Renaissance and the Reformation. During that time he read and studied everything which might cast light on the subject. With such a theme and such equipment the author has produced a fascinating and informing book. A worthy companion of those that have gone before in this series, and by no means the least important.

A DICTIONARY OF CHRIST AND THE GOSPELS. Edited by James Hastings, D. D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, D. D., and John C. Lambert, D. D. In two volumes, large 8vo. Vol. II. Labour—Zion, with appendixes and indexes. Pp. 912. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Our readers will remember that this book is by the author of the Bible Dictionary brought out by the same publishers recently, and that it was first announced while that work was in course of publication. Indeed, it was the result of experience gained in the preparation of the Dictionary which clearly showed that it would be impos-

sible to do justice to our Divine Lord within the limitations of that work, and that a supplemental book would be necessary. Two volumes were required for the purpose, as large as the volumes of the Dictionary, and like them in material make up, so that the six volumes form a complete whole, although there is no essential connection between the two works. We are glad to be able to say that the later book comes up to the high standard of the earlier.

The editors humbly, and sincerely we believe, acknowledge that the task of producing a Dictionary really worthy of its subject has been beyond them. Such a profession goes far towards disarming criticism. There is, however, every evidence that Dr. Hastings has used his best endeavors to muster on his editorial staff the best writers in their respective fields. The result of their labors is admirable. Our readers will understand, of course, that this is a Protestant book, written by Protestant men, who see things from a Protestant point of view. In some instances Catholic writers are quoted and Catholic doctrine is referred to, but the quotations are not full nor frequent.

MISSALE ROMANUM. Editio IX. Post Alteram Typicam. 12mo. 1908.
Neo Eboraci: Fredericus Pustet.

The first sight of this book prompts the question, can it be complete and acceptable as to type and paper? It is so small, so convenient, so inviting in outward form, with its flexible morocco binding and gilt edges, that one is inclined to fear that its beauty and utility are exterior only. But one glance at the inside dispels this fear. It is complete in every detail. All the Masses up to date; the music for all occasions; the pictures before the principal feasts, and the head pieces before the liturgical seasons, for which these missals are noted; the clear cut type, which gives the impression of an engraved page; the ornamental initial letters; the true coloring of the inks; the softly tinted paper which is so soothing to the eyes, and yet resists all back impression. This combination produces a book that cannot be excelled.

LIFE OF PIUS X. By *Mgr. E. Canon Schmitz*. 8vo., pp. 443. Illustrated.
New York: American Catholic Publication Society, 32 Union Square, East.

Involuntarily one exclaims when he first sees this book: "How beautiful!" The rich purple binding, the artistic ecclesiastical tooling, the bronze Papal medal sunken into the centre of the front cover, the heavy gilding of the edges—all combine to impress one

with the thought that the makers of the book understood the importance and dignity of their subject. The outside invites one to enter, nor is he disappointed who accepts the invitation. The interior excellence is in keeping with the exterior, and together they form an artistic unity. The paper is sumptuous, the type impressions would almost deceive the engraver, while the illustrations would entice an artist. And such an abundance of pictures! Carrying the beholder through all the stages of the life of the good Pontiff who now occupies the Papal throne.

The history is very interesting, reaching back as it does into the previous Pontificate and coming down to almost the present volume. It is well to remember also that we have before us connected, full, true history, and not a few facts lost amidst a mass of gossip and romance. The book is valuable as history and as a work of art. It will give pleasure permanently, and will be continuously useful.

MANY MANSIONS. Being Studies in Ancient Religions and Modern Thought.
By *William Samuel Lilly*, Honorary Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge.
8vo., pp. 270. London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Benziger
Brothers.
net.

Everything from the pen of Mr. Lilly is interesting and instructive, and the thoughtful part of the reading public is glad to see his good things reproduced in new or modified form and made permanently accessible. In regard to this charming book of essays he says:

"In 1884 the author published a book called 'Ancient Religion and Modern Thought,' which was received with a favor very gratifying to him, and which went through several editions. It has long been out of print, and for several reasons he has not thought well to reissue it in its original form. Portions of it have found place in other of his works, and it has supplied the materials for the 'Essays on the Saints of Islam and Modern Pessimism' in the present volume, which is an attempt to deal, in what the author ventures to think a less inadequate manner, with some of the topics discussed in the former one."

The book appears in very inviting form, being light in weight, convenient in size, from large, clear type on soft, tinted paper.

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(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XXXIII.—JULY, 1908.—No. 131.

SPANISH-AMERICAN EDUCATION.

JOSH BILLINGS, writing as "Uncle Esek" in the *Century Magazine* some twenty-five years ago, made use of an expression which deserves to be frequently recalled. He said: "It is not so much the ignorance of mankind that makes them ridiculous as the knowing so many things that ain't so." We have a very typical illustration of the wisdom of this fine old saw in the history of education here in America as it is being developed by scholarly historical research at the present time. The consultation of original documents and of first-hand authorities in the history of Spanish-American education has fairly worsted a revolution in the ideas formerly held on this subject. The new developments bring out very forcibly how supremely necessary it is to know something definite about a subject before writing about it, and yet how many intelligent and supposedly educated men continue to talk about things with an assumption of knowledge when they know nothing at all about them.¹

Catholics are supposed by the generality of Americans to have come late into the field of education in this country. Whatever there is of education on this continent is ordinarily supposed to be

¹ The materials for this paper were gathered for one of the after-dinner addresses of the First Annual Banquet of the graduates of the Catholic parochial schools of New York, held in connection with the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the New York Diocese. They have been enlarged and followed out to more significant conclusions for this article.

due entirely to the efforts of what has been called the Anglo-Saxon element here. At last, however, knowledge is growing of what the Catholic Spaniards did for education in America, and as a consequence the face of the history of education is being completely changed. Every advance in history in recent years has made for the advantage of the Catholic Church. Modern historical methods insist on the consultation of original documents and give very little weight to the quotation of second-hand authorities. We are getting at enduring history as far as that is possible, and the real position of the Church is coming to light. In no portion of human accomplishment is the modification of history more striking than with regard to education. There was much more education in the past centuries than we have thought, and the Catholic Church was always an important factor in it. Nowhere is this truth more striking than with regard to education here in America in the Spanish-American countries.

Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne, professor of history at Yale University, wrote the volume on Spain in America which constitutes the third volume of "The American Nation," a history of this country in twenty-seven volumes, edited by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, who holds the chair of history at Harvard University. Professor Bourne has no illusions with regard to the relative value of Anglo-Saxon and Spanish education in this country. In his chapter on "The Transmission of European Culture" he says: "Early in the eighteenth century the Lima University (Lima, Peru) counted nearly two thousand students and numbered about one hundred and eighty doctors (in its faculty) in theology, civil and canon law, medicine and the arts." Ulloa reports that "the university makes a stately appearance from without, and its inside is decorated with suitable ornaments." There were chairs of all the sciences, and "some of the professors have, notwithstanding the vast distance, gained the applause of the literati of Europe." "The coming of the Jesuits contributed much to the real educational work in America. They established colleges, one of which, the little Jesuit college at Juli, on Lake Titicaca, became a seat of genuine learning." (Bourne.)

He does not hesitate to emphasize the contrast between Spanish-America and English-America with regard to education and culture, and the most interesting feature of his comparison is that Spanish-America surpassed the North completely and anticipated by nearly two centuries some of the progress that we are so proud of in the nineteenth century. What a startling paragraph, for instance, is the following for those who have been accustomed to make little of the Church's interest in education and to attribute the backward-

ness of South America, as they presumed they knew it, to the presence of the Church and her influence there:

"Not all the institutions of learning founded in Mexico *in the sixteenth century* can be enumerated here, *but it is not too much to say that in number, range of studies and standard of attainments by the officers they surpassed anything existing in English-America until the nineteenth century.* (Italics ours.) Mexican scholars made distinguished achievements in some branches of science, particularly medicine and surgery, but preëminently linguistics, history and anthropology. Dictionaries and grammars of the native languages and histories of the Mexican institutions are an imposing proof of their scholarly devotion and intellectual activity. Conspicuous are Toribio de Motolinia's 'Historia de los Indios de Nueva España,' Duran's 'Historia de las Indias de Nueva España,' but most important of all Sahagun's great work on Mexican life and religion."

Indeed, it is with regard to science in various forms that one finds the most surprising contributions from these old-time scholars. While the English in America were paying practically no attention to science, the Spaniards were deeply interested in it. Dr. Chanca, a physician who had been for several years physician in ordinary to the King and Queen and was looked upon as one of the leaders of his profession in Spain, joined Columbus' second expedition in order to make scientific notes. The little volume that he issued as the report of this scientific excursion is a valuable contribution to the science of the time and furnishes precious information with regard to Indian medicine, Indian customs, their knowledge of botany and of metals, certain phases of zoölogy and the like that show how wide was the interest in science of this Spanish physician of over four hundred years ago.²

After reading paragraphs such as Professor Bourne has written with regard to education in Spanish-America, how amusing it is to reflect that one of the principal arguments against the Catholic Church has been that she keeps nations backward and unprogressive and uneducated—and the South American countries have been held up derisively and conclusively as horrible examples of this. Even we Catholics have been prone to take on an apologetic mood with regard to them. The teaching of history in English-speaking countries has been so untrue to the realities that we have accepted the impression that the Spanish-American countries were far behind in all the ways that was claimed. Now we find that instead of presenting a reason for apology they are triumphant examples of how

² This work was recently the subject of an article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* by my friend, Dr. Ferdinand Ybaria, of New York city.

soon and how energetically the Church gets to work at the great problems of education wherever she gains a position of authority or even a foothold of influence. Instead of needing to be ashamed of them, as we have perhaps ignorantly been, there is reason to be deservedly proud of them. Their education far outstripped our own in all the centuries down to the nineteenth, and the culture of the Spanish-Americans, quite a different thing from education, is deeper than ours even at the present time. It is hard for North America to permit herself to be persuaded of this, but there is no doubt of its absolute truth.

It is only since the days of steam that the English-speaking races in America have come to possess a certain material progress above that of the Spanish-American countries. Bourne says:

"If we compare Spanish-America with the United States a hundred years ago we must recognize that while in the North there was a sounder body politic, a purer social life and a more general dissemination of elementary education, yet in Spanish-America there were both vastly greater wealth and greater poverty, more imposing monuments of civilization, such as public buildings, institutions of learning and hospitals, more populous and richer cities, *a higher attainment in certain branches of science*. No one can read Humboldt's account of the City of Mexico and its establishments for the promotion of science and the fine arts without realizing that *whatever may be the superiorities of the United States over Mexico in these respects they have been mostly the gains of the age of steam*." (Italics ours.)

While we are prone to think that a republican form of government is the great foster mother of progress and that whatever development that has come in South American countries has been the result of the foundation of the South American republics, Professor Bourne is not of that opinion and is inclined to think that if the Spanish Colonial Government could have been maintained at its best until the coming of the age of steam or well on into the nineteenth century, then the South American republics would have been serious rivals of the United States and have been kept from being so hampered as they were by their internal political dissensions. His paragraph on this matter is so contradictory of ordinary impressions here in the United States particularly, that it seems worth while calling attention to it because it contains that most precious of suggestions, a thought that is entirely different from any that most people have had before. He says (page 316):

"During the first half century after the application of steam to transportation Mexico weltered in domestic turmoils arising out of the crash of the old régime. If the rule of Spain could have lasted

half a century longer, being progressively liberalized as it was during the reign of Charles III.; if a succession of such viceroys as Revilla Gigedo, in Mexico, and De Croix and De Taboada y Lemos, in Peru, could have borne sway in America until railroads could have been built, intercolonial intercourse ramified and a distinctly Spanish-American spirit developed, a great Spanish-American federal state might possibly have been created capable of self-defense against Europe and inviting coöperation rather than aggression from the neighbor in the north."

Lima was the great centre for education in South America, and Mexico, in Spanish North America, was not far at all behind. The tracing of the steps of the development of education in Mexico emphasizes especially the difference between the Spaniard and the Englishman in their relation to the Indian. Bishop Zumaraga wanted a college for Indians in his bishopric, and it was because of this beneficent purpose that the first institution for higher education in the New World was founded as early as 1535. At that time the need for education for the whites was not felt so much, since only adults as a rule were in the colony, the number of children and growing youths being as yet very small. Accordingly the College of Santa Cruz, in Tlatelolco, one of the quarters of the City of Mexico reserved for the Indians, was founded under the Bishop's patronage. Among the faculty were graduates of the University of Paris and of Salamanca, two of the greatest universities of Europe of this time, and they had not only the ambition to teach, but also to follow out that other purpose of a university—to investigate and write. Among them were such eminent scholars as Bernardino de Sahagun, the founder of American anthropology, and Juan de Torquemada, who is himself a product of Mexican education, whose "*Monarquía Indiana*" is a great storehouse of facts concerning Mexico before the coming of the whites and precious details with regard to Mexican antiquities.

Knowing this, it is not surprising that the curriculum was broad and liberal. Besides the elementary branches and grammar and rhetoric instruction was provided in Latin, philosophy, Mexican medicine, music, botany (especially with reference to native plants), the zoölogy of Mexico, some principles of agriculture and the native languages. It is not surprising to be told that many of the graduates of this college became Alcaldes and Governors in the Indian towns and that they did much to spread civilization and culture among their compatriots. The English-speaking people furnished nothing of this kind, and our colleges for Indians came only in the nineteenth century. It is true that Harvard, according to its charter, was "for the education of the Indian youth of this country in knowledge and

Godliness," but the Indians were entirely neglected and no serious effort was ever made to give them any education. It was a son of the Puritans who said that his forefathers first fell on their knees and then on the aborigines, and the difference in the treatment of the Indians by the English and the Spaniards is a marked note in all their history.

During the next few years schools were established also for the education of mestizo children, that is, of the mixed race who are now called Creoles. In fact, in 1536 a fund from the Royal Exchequer was given for the teaching of these children. Strange as it may seem, for we are apt to think that the teaching of girls is a modern idea, schools were also established for Indian girls. All of these schools continued to flourish and gradually spread beyond the city of Mexico itself into the villages of the Indians. As a matter of fact, wherever a mission was established a school was also founded. Every town, Indian as well as Spanish, was by law required to have its church, hospital and school for teaching Indian children Spanish and the elements of religion. The teaching and parish work in the Indian villages was in charge of two or more friars as a rule and was well done. The remains of the monasteries, with their magnificent Spanish-American architecture, are still to be seen in many portions of Mexico and the Spanish territories that have been incorporated with the United States in places where they might be least expected and that show the influence for culture and education that gradually extended all over the Mexican country.

In the course of time the necessity for advanced teaching for the constantly growing number of native whites began to be felt, and so during the fifth decade of the sixteenth century a number of schools for them came into existence in the City of Mexico. The need was felt for some central institution. Accordingly the Spanish Crown was petitioned to establish authoritatively a university. Such a step would have been utterly out of the question in English-America, because the Crown was so little interested in colonial affairs. In the Spanish country, however, the Crown was deeply interested in making the colonists feel that though they were at a distance from the centre of government, their rulers were interested in securing for them as far as possible all the opportunities of life at home in Spain. This is so different from what is ordinarily presumed to have been the attitude of Spain towards its colonies as to be quite a surprise for those who have depended on old-fashioned history that there can be no doubt of its truth. Accordingly the University of Mexico received its royal charter the same year as the University of Lima (1551). Mexico was not formally organized as a university until 1553. In the light of these dates it is rather

amusing to have the Century Dictionary, under the word Harvard University, speak of that institution as the oldest and largest institution of learning in America. It had been preceded by almost a century, not only in South America, but also in North America. The importance of Harvard was as nothing compared to the Universities of Lima and Mexico, and indeed for a century after its foundation Harvard was scarcely more than a small theological school, with a hundred or so of pupils, sometimes having no graduating class, practically never graduating more than eight or ten pupils, while the two Spanish-American universities counted their students by the thousand and their annual graduates by the hundred.

The reason for the success of these South American universities above that of Harvard is to be found in the fact that Harvard's sphere of usefulness was extremely limited because of religious differences and shades of differences. This had hampered all education in Protestant countries very seriously. Professor Paulsen, who holds the chair of philosophy at the University of Berlin, calls attention to the fact that the Reformation had anything but the effect of favoring education, as has often been said. The picture that he draws of conditions in Germany a century before the foundation of Harvard would serve very well as a lively prototype of the factors at work in preventing Harvard from becoming such an educational institution as the Universities of Lima and Mexico so naturally became. He says in "*German Universities and University Studies*:"³ "During this period (after Luther's revolt) a more determined effort was made to control instruction than at any period before or since. The fear of heresy, the extraordinary anxiety to keep instruction well within orthodox lines was not less intense at the Lutheran than at the Catholic institutions; perhaps it was even more so, because here doctrine was not so well established, apostasy was possible in either of two directions toward Catholicism or Calvinism. Even the philosophic faculty felt the pressure of this demand for correctness of doctrines. Thus came about those restrictions within the petty states and their narrow-minded established churches which well nigh stifled the intellectual life of the German people."

Because of this and the fact that the attendance at the college did not justify it, the school of medicine at Harvard was not opened until after the Revolution (1783). The law school was not opened until 1817. This is sometimes spoken of as the earliest law school connected with a university on this continent, but, of course, only by those who know nothing at all about the history of the Spanish-American universities. In the Spanish countries the chairs in law were established very early; indeed, before those of medicine.

³ Translated by Thilly, *Scribner's*, 1906.

Canon law was always an important subject in Spanish universities, and civil law was so closely connected with it that it was never neglected.

When the charter of the University of Lima was granted by the Emperor Charles V. in 1551 the town was scarcely more than fifteen years old. It had been founded in 1535. Curiously enough, just about the same interval had elapsed between the foundation of the Massachusetts colony by the Pilgrims and the legal establishment of the college afterward known as Harvard by the General Court of the colony. It is evident that in both cases it was the needs of the rising generation who had come to be from twelve to sixteen years of age that led to the establishment of these institutions of higher education. The actual foundation of Harvard did not come for two years later, and the intention of the founders was not nearly so broad as that of the founders of the University of Lima. Already at Lima schools had been established by the religious order, and it was with the idea of organizing the education as it was being given that the charter from the Crown was obtained. With regard to both Lima and Mexico within a few years a bull of approval and confirmation was asked and obtained from the Pope. The University of Lima continued to develop with wonderful success. In the middle of the seventeenth century it had more than a thousand students, at the beginning of the eighteenth it had two thousand students, and there is no doubt at all of its successful accomplishment of all that a university is supposed to do.

Juan Antonio Ribeyro, who was the rector of the University of Lima forty years ago, said in the introduction to "The University Annals for 1869" that "it cannot be denied that the University of Peru during its early history filled a large rôle of direct intervention for the formation of laws, for the amelioration of customs and in directing all the principal acts of civil and private society, forming the religious beliefs, rendering them free from superstitions and errors and influencing all the institutions of the country to the common good."⁴ Certainly this is all that would be demanded of a university as an influence for uplift, and the fact that such an ideal should have been cherished shows how well the purpose of an educational institution had been realized.

The scholarly work done by some of these professors at the Spanish-American universities still remains a model of true university work. It is the duty of the university to add to knowledge as well as to disseminate it. That ideal of university existence is supposed to be a creation of the nineteenth century, and indeed is

⁴ *Anales Universitarios Del Peru* Publicados per el D. D. Juan Antonio Ribeyro, rector de la Universidad de San Marcos de Lima, Vol. III., 1869.

often said to have been brought into the history of education by the example of the German universities. We find, however, that the professors of the Spanish-American universities accomplished much in this matter and that their works remain as precious storehouses of information for after generations. Professor Bourne has given but a short list of them in addition to those that have already been mentioned, but even this furnishes an excellent idea of how much the university professors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Spanish-America were taking to heart the duty of gathering, arranging and classifying knowledge for after generations. They did more in the sciences than in anything else. It is often thought that our knowledge of the ethnology and anthropology of the Indians is entirely the creation of recent investigators, but that is true only if one leaves out of the account the work of these old Spanish-American scholars. Professor Bourne says:

"The most famous of the earlier Peruvian writers were Acosta, the historian, the author of the 'Natural and Civil History of the Indies'; the mestizo Garciasso de la Vega, who was educated in Spain and wrote of the Inca Empire and De Soto's expedition; Sandoval, the author of the first work on Africa and the Negro written in America; Antonio Leon Pinelo, the first American Bibliographer and one of the greatest as well as of the indefatigable codifiers of the legislation of the Indies. Pinelo was born in Peru and educated at the Jesuit college in Lima, but spent his literary life in Spain."

Of the University of Mexico more details are available than of Peru, and the fact that it was situated here in North America and that the culture which it influenced has had its effect on certain portions of the United States has made it seem worth while to devote considerable space to it. The university was called the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, because while it was founded under the charter of the King of Spain, this had been confirmed by a bull from the Pope, who took the new university directly under the patronage of the Holy See. The reason for the foundation of the university, as the men of that time saw it, is contained in the opening chapter of St. John's Gospel, which is quoted as the preamble of the constitutions of the university: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing that was made. In Him was Life, and the Life was the light of men." This they considered ample reason for the erection of a university and the spread of knowledge with God's own sanction.⁵

⁵ Constituciones de la Real y Pontifica Universidad de Mexico, Segunda Ediceon dedocada al Rey Nuestra Senor Don Carlos III. Mexico, 1775.

The patron saints of the university, as so declared by the first article of the constitutions, were St. Paul the Apostle and St. Catherine the Martyr. Among the patrons, however, were also mentioned in special manner two other saints—St. John Nepomucen, who died rather than reveal the secrets of the confessional, and St. Aloysius Gonzaga, the special patron of students. It is evident that these two patrons had been chosen with a particular idea that devotion to them would encourage the practice of such virtues and devotion to duty as would be especially useful to the students, clerical and secular, of the university. On all four of the feast days of these patrons the university had a holiday. This would seem to be adding notably to the number of free days in a modern university, but must have meant very little at the University of Mexico, since they had so many other free days. The most striking difference between the calendar of the University of Mexico and that of a modern university would be the number of days in the year in which no lectures were given. There were some forty of these altogether. Besides the four patron saints days, the feast day of every Apostle was a holiday. Besides these all the Fathers and Doctors of the Church gave reasons for holidays. Then there was St. Sebastian's Day, in order that young men might be brave, St. Joseph's Day, the Annunciation, the Expectation, the Assumption and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the Invention of the Holy Cross, the Three Rogation Days and the feast of Our Lady of the Snows. Besides there were St. Magdalen's, St. Ann's, St. Ignatius' and St. Lawrence's Day. These were not all, but this will give an idea how closely connected with the Church were the lectures at the university, or, rather, the intermissions from the lectures. It might be said that this was a serious waste of precious time, and that our universities in the modern time would not think of doing such a thing, but that remark would only come from some one who did not realize the real conditions that obtained in the old-time universities. At the present time our universities finish their scholastic year about the middle of May and do not begin again until October—nearly twenty weeks. At these old universities their annual intermission between scholastic years lasted only the six weeks from the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, September 8, to St. Luke's Day, October 18. They had five weeks at Easter time and two weeks at Christmas time.⁶ They spread their year out over a longer period

⁶ The recent foundation of the Hispano American Museum by Mr. Huntington, of New York city, and the opening of its magnificent library has made it possible to secure material with regard to Spanish American countries very readily. This was more difficult before, as our libraries had comparatively few books on South America, and, of course, paid attention mainly to Europe. The liberality with which this is conducted and

and compensated for shorter vacations by granting holidays during the year. Their year's labor was less intense and spread out over more ground than ours.

The development of the University of Mexico into a real university in the full sense of the old *studium generale* in which all forms of human knowledge might be pursued is very interesting and shows the thorough-going determination of the Spanish-Americans to make for themselves and their children an institute of learning worthy of themselves and their magnificent new country.

Chartered in 1551, it was not formally opened until 1553. Chairs were established in this year in theology, Sacred Scripture, canon law and decretals, laws, arts, rhetoric and grammar. Both Spanish and Latin were taught in the classes of grammar and rhetoric. To these was added very shortly a chair in Mexican Indian languages, in accordance with the special provision of the imperial charter. The university continued to develop and added further chairs and departments as time went on. It had a chair of jurisprudence at the beginning, but its law department was completed in 1569 by the addition of two other chairs, one in the institutes of law, the other in codes of law. In the meantime the university had begun to make itself felt as a corporate body for general uplift by publications of various kinds. Its professor of rhetoric, Dr. Cervantes Salazar, published in 1555 three interesting Latin dialogues in imitation of Erasmus' dialogues. At the moment Erasmus' "Colloquia" was the most admired academic work in the university world of the time. The first of these dialogues described the University of Mexico, and the other two, taking up Mexico City and its environments, give an excellent idea of what the Spanish-American capital of Mexico was three centuries and a half ago.⁷

"The early promoters of education and missions did not rely upon the distant European presses for the publication of their manuals. The printing press was introduced into the New World probably as early as 1536, and it seems likely that the first book, an elementary Christian doctrine called 'La Escala Espiritual' (the ladder of the spirit), was issued in 1537. No copy of it, however, is known to exist. Seven different printers plied their craft in New Spain in

the courteous aid of the librarian, Mr. Martin, has made it possible to consult many documents with regard to the universities of Lima and of Mexico that have not hitherto been available for American readers. This institution will doubtless do much to overcome the foolish prejudice which has kept us from realizing here in the United States how much was accomplished for culture and education in Spanish-America and eradicate the senseless notions that have existed with regard to the backwardness of the sister American States of the South.

⁷ This work was reissued in 1875, with notes and a Spanish translation, by Icasbalceta, under the title "Mexico in 1554."

the sixteenth century. Among the notable issues of these presses, besides the religious works and church service books, were dictionaries and grammars of the Mexican languages, Puga's 'Cedulario' in 1563, a compilation of royal ordinances, Farfan's 'Tractado de Medicina.' In 1605 appeared the first text-book published in America for instruction in Latin, a manual of poetics with illustrative examples from heathen and Christian poets."⁸

The university had been founded just twenty-five years when provision was made for the establishment of a medical department. According to most of the chronicles the first chair in medicine was founded June 21, 1578, though there are some authorities who state that this establishment came only in 1580. In the meantime Mexico had not been without provision of physicians. Dr. Bandelier in his article on Francisco Bravo in the second volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia calls attention to some important details with regard to medicine in Mexico in the early part of the sixteenth century. Bravo, who was probably a graduate of Sevilla and began his practice there, came to Mexico shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century and published the first book on medicine in that city in 1570. Three years before that time Dr. Pedrarias de Benavides had published his "Secretos de Chirurgia" at Valladolid, in Spain, a work which had been written in America and contains an immense amount of knowledge that is invaluable with regard to Indian medicinal practice. Dr. Bravo's work, however, has the distinction of being the first medical treatise printed in America.

The issuance of these books shows the intense interest in medicine in the seventeenth century, but there are other details which serve to show how thorough and practical were the interest of the authorities in securing the best possible medical practice. Strict medical regulations were established by the Municipal Council of the City of Mexico in 1527 so as to prevent quacks from Europe who might think to exploit the ills of the settlers in the new colony from practicing medicine. Licenses to practice were issued only to those who showed the possession of a university degree. This strict regulation of medical practice was extended also to the apothecaries in 1529. Even before this arrangements had been made for the regular teaching of barber-surgeons, so that injuries and wounds of various kinds might be treated properly and so that emergencies might be promptly met even in the absence of a physician by these barber-surgeons.

Though there was no formal faculty of medicine, two doctors in medicine were received at the University of Mexico during the first year of its existence, showing that the institution was considered to have the power to confer these degrees on those who brought

⁸ Bourne, "Spain in America." "Transmission of Culture," pp. 314-5.

evidence of having completed the necessary studies, though it was not yet in the position to provide opportunities for these studies. The hospital of the City of Mexico had been established long before this, had been provided with roomy quarters and had accomplished some excellent work. Just as soon as the medical school of the university was opened the wards of the city hospital seemed to have been used for purposes of clinical teaching.

A chair of botany existed already in connection with the university, and this, with the lectures on medicine, constituted the medical training until 1599, when a second medical lectureship was added. During the course of the next twenty years altogether seven chairs in medicine were founded, so that besides the two lectureships in medicine there was a chair of anatomy and surgery, a special chair of dissection, a chair of therapeutics, the special duty of which was to lecture on Galen's "*De Methodo Medendi*," a chair of mathematics and astrology, for the stars were supposed to influence human constitutions by all the learned men of this time, and even Kepler and Galileo and Tycho-Brahe were within this decade making horoscopes for important people in Europe, and, finally, a chair of prognostics. Most of the teaching was founded on Hippocrates and Galen, and lest this should seem sufficient to condemn it as hopelessly backward in the minds of many, it may be recalled that during the century following this time Sydenham, in England, and Boerhaave, in Holland, the most distinguished medical men of their time and looked on with great reverence by the teachers of ours, were both of them pleading for a return to Hippocrates and Galen. As a matter of fact, the medical school of the University of Mexico was furnishing quite as good a medical training as the average medical school in Europe at that time, at least so far as the subjects lectured on are concerned. Indeed, it was modeled closely after the Spanish universities, which were considered well up to the standard of the time.

In the meantime further chairs in university subjects continued to be founded. Another chair in arts was established in 1586 and further chairs in law and grammar were added at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Spanish Crown was very much interested in Mexican education, and King Philip II. of Spain, who is usually mentioned in English history for quite other qualities than his interest in culture and education, was especially liberal in his provision from the Crown revenues of funds for the university. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, according to Flores in his "*History of Medicine in Mexico from the Indian Times Down to the Present*,"⁹ the total amount of income from the Crown allowed

⁹ *Historia Della Medicina en Mexico desde la Epoca de los Indios Hasta la Presente* Por Francisco Flores, Mexico, 1886.

the University of Mexico was nearly \$10,000. This was about Shakespeare's time, and so we have readily available calculations as to the buying power of money at that time compared to our own. It is usually said that the money of Elizabeth's time had eight to ten times the buying power of ours. This would mean that the University of Mexico had nearly an income of \$100,000 apart from fees and other sources of revenue. This would not be considered contemptible even in our own day for a university having less than twenty professorships.

The number of students at the University of Mexico is not absolutely known, but, as we have seen, Professor Bourne calculates that the University of Lima had at the beginning of the eighteenth century more than 2,000 students. The University of Mexico at the same time probably had more than 1,000 students, and both of these universities were larger in numbers than any institution of learning within the boundaries of the present United States until after the middle of the nineteenth century. After all, we began to have universities in the real sense of that word—that is, educational institutions giving opportunities in under-graduate work and the graduate departments of law, medicine and theology—not until nearly the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Our medical and law schools did not as a rule become attached to our universities until the second half of the nineteenth century, and even late in that. This was to the serious detriment of post-graduate work and especially detrimental to the preliminary training required for it and consequently to the products of these schools.

Before a student could enter one of the post-graduate departments at the University of Mexico in law or medicine he was required to have made at least three years of studies in the under-graduate departments. When we contrast this regulation with the custom in the United States the result is a little startling. Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century students might enter our medical schools straight from the plow or the smithy or the mechanic's bench and without any preliminary education after two terms of medical lectures consisting of four months each, be given a degree which was a license to practice medicine. The abuses of such a system are manifest and actually came into existence. They were not permitted in Mexico even in the seventeenth century.

It might perhaps be thought that these magnificent opportunities in education were provided only for the higher classes or concerned only book learning and the liberal and professional studies. Far from any such exclusiveness as this, their schools were thoroughly rounded and gave instruction in the arts and crafts and recognized the value of manual training. We have only come to appreciate in

the last few decades how much we have lost in education in America by neglecting these features of education for the masses. While Germany has manual training for over fifty per cent. of the children who go to her schools, here in the United States we provide them for something less than one per cent. of our children. They made no such mistake as this in the Spanish-American countries. Indeed, Professor Bourne's paragraph on this subject is perhaps the most interesting feature of what he has to say with regard to education in Spanish-America. The objective methods of education as he depicts them, the thoroughly practical content of education and the fact that the Church was one of the main factors in bringing about this well rounded education is of itself a startling commentary on the curiously perverted notions that have been held in the past with regard to the comparative value of education in Spanish and in English-America and the attitude of the Church toward these educational questions:

"Both the Crown and the Church were solicitous for education in the colonies, and provisions were made for its promotion on a far greater scale than was possible or even attempted in the English colonies. The early Franciscan missionaries built a school beside each church, and in their teaching abundant use was made of signs, drawings and paintings. The native languages were reduced to writing, and in a few years Indians were learning to read and write. Pedro de Gante, a Flemish lay Brother and a relative of Charles V., founded and conducted in the Indian quarter in Mexico a great school attended by over a thousand Indian boys, which combined instruction in elementary and higher branches, the mechanical and the fine arts. In its workshops the boys were taught to be tailors, carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers and painters."

If there was all this of progress in education in Spanish-American countries in advance of what we had in the United States, people will be prone to ask where, then, are the products of this Spanish-American education? This is only a fair question, and if the products cannot be shown their education, however pretentious, must have been merely superficial or hollow and must have meant nothing for the culture of their people. We are sure that most people would consider the question itself quite sufficient argument, for it would be supposed to be unanswerable. Such has been the state of mind created by history as it is written for English-speaking people that we are not at all prepared to think that there can possibly be in existence certain great products of Spanish-American education that show very clearly how much better educational systems were developed in Spanish than in English-America. The fact that we do not know them, however, is only another evidence of the one-

sidedness of American education in the North even at the present time. Our whole attitude toward the South American peoples, our complacent self-sufficiency from which we look down on them, our thorough-going condescension for their ignorance and backwardness is all founded on our lack of real knowledge with regard to them.

The most striking product of South American education was the architectural structures which the Spanish-American people erected as ornaments of their towns, memorials of their culture and evidences of their education. The cathedrals in the Spanish towns of South America and Mexico are structures as a rule fairly comparable with the ecclesiastical buildings erected by towns of the same size in Europe. As a rule they were planned at least in the sixteenth century, and most of them were finished in the seventeenth century. Their cathedrals are handsome architectural structures worthy of their faith and an enduring evidence of their taste and love of beauty. The ecclesiastical buildings, the houses of their Bishops and Archbishops and their monasteries were worthy of their cathedrals and churches. Most of them are beautiful, all of them are dignified, all of them had a permanent character that has made them endure down to our day and has made them an unfailing ornament of the towns in which they are. Their municipal buildings partook of this same type. Some of them are very handsome structures. Of their universities we have already heard that they were imposing buildings from without, handsomely decorated within.

With regard to the churches, of course it may be said that the spirit of the Puritans was entirely opposed to anything like the ornamentation of their churches, and that indeed these were not churches in the sense of the word, but were merely meeting houses. Hence there was not the same impulse to make them beautiful as lifted the Spanish-Americans into their magnificent expressions of architectural beauty. On the other hand, there are other buildings with regard to which, if there had been any real culture in the minds of the English-Americans, we have a right to expect some beauty as well as usefulness. If we contrast for a moment the hospitals of English and of Spanish-America the difference is so striking as to show the lack of some important quality in the minds of the builders at the north. Spanish-American hospitals are among the beautiful structures with which they began to adorn their towns early, and some of them remain at the present day as examples of the architectural taste of their builders. They were usually low, often of but one story in height, with a courtyard and with ample porticos for convalescents and thick walls to defend them against the heat of the climate. In many features they surpass many hospitals that have been built in America until very recent years.

They were modeled on the old mediæval hospitals, some of which are very beautiful examples of how to build places for the care of the ailing.

It must not be forgotten that the Spanish-Americans practically invented the new style of architecture. How effective that style is we had abundant opportunity to see when it was employed for the buildings of the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. That style is essentially American. It is the only new thing that America has contributed to construction since its settlement. How thoroughly suitable it was for the climate for which it was invented those who have had experience of it in the new hotels erected in Florida in the last decade or so can judge very well. Many of its effects are in adaptation of classical formulæ buildings to the warm yet uncertain climate of many parts of South America. Some of the old monasteries constructed after this style are beautiful examples of architecture in every sense of the word. If the Spanish-American monks had done nothing else but leave us this handsome new model in architecture they would not have lived in vain nor would their influence in American life have been without its enduring effects. This is a typical product of the higher culture of the South Spanish-American people.

Contrast for a moment with this the state of affairs that have existed with regard to our church buildings and our public structures of all kinds in North America down to the latter half of the nineteenth century. We have no buildings dating from before the nineteenth century that have any pretension to architectural beauty. They were built merely for utility. Some of them still have an interest for us because of historical associations, but they are a standing evidence of the lack of taste of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. The English poet Yeats said at a little dinner given to him just before he left this country ten years ago that no nation can pretend to being cultured until the very utensils in the kitchen are beautiful as well as useful. What is to be said then of a nation that erects public buildings that are to be merely useful? As a matter of fact, most of them were mere barracks. The American people woke up somewhat in the nineteenth century, but the awakening was very slow. A few handsome structures were erected, but it is not until the last decade or two that we have been able to awaken public taste to the necessity for having all our public buildings beautiful as well as useful.

The effect of this taste for structural beauty on the appearance of the streets of their towns was an important element in making them very different from our cramped and narrow pathways. The late Mr. Ernest Crosby once expressed this very emphatically in an

after dinner speech by detailing his experience with regard to Havana. He had visited the Cuban capital some twenty years ago and found it very picturesque in its old Spanish ways. It is true the streets are dirty and the death rate was somewhat high, but the vista that you saw when you came around the corner of a street was not the same that you have seen around every other corner for twenty miles, but it was different. It was largely a city of homes, with some thought of life being made happy rather than merely being laborious. It was the place to live in and enjoy life while it lasted, and not merely a place to exist in and make money. He came North by land. The first town that he struck on the mainland he said reminded him of Hoboken. Every other town that he struck in the North reminded him more and more of Hoboken until he came to the immortal Hoboken itself. The American end of the Anglo-Saxon idea seemed to him indeed to make all the towns like Hoboken as far as possible. There is only one town in this country that is not like Hoboken, and that is Washington, and whenever we let the politicians work their way like that witness, the Pension Building, it has a tendency to grow more and more like Hoboken. Perhaps we shall be able to save it. As for Havana, he said he understood that the death rate had been cut in two and that yellow fever was no longer epidemic there, but he understood also that the town was growing more and more like Hoboken, so that he scarcely dared to go back to see it.

The parable has a lesson that is well worth while driving home for our people, for it emphasizes a notable lack of culture among the American people which did not exist among the Spanish-Americans, a lack which we did not realize until the last decade or two, though it is an important index of true culture. The hideous buildings that we have allowed ourselves to live in in America, and, above all, that we have erected as representing the dignity of city and only too often even of state, together with the awful evidence of graft whenever an attempt has been made to correct this false taste and erect something worthy of us, the graft usually spoiling to a very great extent our best purposes, is an indictment of lack of culture in American life that amounts to a conviction of failure of our education to be liberal in the true sense of the word.

There were other products of Spanish-American education quite as striking as the architectural beauties with which Mexicans and South Americans adorned their towns. Quite as interesting, indeed, as their architecture is their literature. Ordinarily we are apt to assume that because we have heard almost nothing of Spanish-American literature, there must be very little of it, and what little there is must have very little significance. This is only another

one of these examples of how ridiculous it is to know something that ain't so. Spanish-American literature is very rich. It begins very early in the history of the Spanish settlement. It is especially noteworthy for its serious products, and when the world's accounts of the enduring literature of the past four centuries will be made up much more of what was written in South America will live than what has been produced in North America. This seems quite unpatriotic, but it is only an expression of proper estimation of values without any of that amusing self-complacency which so commonly characterizes North American estimation of anything that is done by our people.

South American literature in the best sense of that much abused term begins shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century with the writing of the Spanish poet Ercilla's epic, "*Araucana*," which was composed in South America during the decade from 1550 to 1560. This is a literary work of genuine merit that has attracted the attention of critics and scholars of all times and has given its author a significant place even in the limited field of epic poetry among the few great names that the world cares to recall in this literary mode. Voltaire considered this epic poem a great contribution to literature, and in the prefatorial essay to his own epic, the "*Henriade*," he praises it very highly. The poem takes its name from the Araucanos Indians, who had risen in revolt against the Spaniards in Chile and against whom the poet served for nearly ten years. He did not learn to despise them, however, and while the literature which does justice to the lofty sentiments which sometimes flowed from mouths of great Indian chiefs is supposed to be much more recent, Ercilla's most frequently extolled passage is the noble speech which he has given to the aged chief Colocolo in the "*Araucana*."

This expedition against the Araucanos inspired two other poets—Pedro de Ona, who wrote "*Arauco Domado*," written near the end of the century, and "*Araucana*," written by Diego de Santisteban, whose poem also saw the light before the seventeenth century opened. A fourth poet, Juan de Castellanos, better than either of these wrote "*Elegies of Illustrious Indian Chiefs*." He was a priest who had served in America and who remembered some of the magnificent traits of the Indians that he had observed during his life among them and made them the subject of his poetry. This was only the beginning of a serious Spanish-American literature that has continued ever since. Father Charles Warren Currier in a series of lectures at the Catholic Summer School three years ago did not hesitate to say that the body of Spanish-American literature was much larger and much more important and much more of it was

destined to endure than of our English-American literature. In the light of what these Spaniards had done for education in their universities and for the beauty of life in their cities by their architecture it is not as surprising as it might otherwise be, however. All of these things stand together and are confirmations one of the other.

The most interesting product of Spanish-American education, however, the one that shows that it really stood for a higher civilization of ours, remains to be spoken of. It consists of their treatment of the Indians. From the very beginning, as we have just shown, their literature in Spanish-America did justice to the Indians. They saw his better traits. It is true they had a better class of Indians as a rule to deal with, but there is no doubt also that they did much to keep him on a higher level, while everything in North America that was done by the settlers was prone to reduce the native in the scale of civilization. He was taught the vices and not the virtues of civilization, and little was attempted to uplift him. Just as the literary men were interested in the better side of his character, so the Spanish-American scientists were interested in his folklore, in his medicine, in his arts and crafts, in his ethnology and anthropology—in a word, in all that North Americans have only come to be interested in during the nineteenth century. Books on all these subjects were published and now constitute a precious fund of knowledge with regard to the aborigines that would have been lost only for the devotion of Spanish-American scholars.

It is not surprising then that the Indian himself, with all this interest in him, did not disappear, as in North America, but has remained to constitute the basis of the South American peoples. If the South American peoples are behind our own in anything, it is because, after all, large elements in this have been raised from a state of semi-barbarism into civilization, while our people have all come from nations civilized not long since and we have none at all of the natives left. Wherever the English went always aborigines disappeared before them. The story is the same in New Zealand and Australia as it is in North America, and it would be the same in India only for the teeming millions that live in that peninsula, for whom Anglo-Saxon civilization has never meant an uplift in any sense of the word, but rather the contrary. The white man's burden has been to carry the Indian, instilling into him all the vices, until no longer he could cling to his shifty master and was shaken off to destruction.

This story of the contrast of the treatment of the Indian at the North and the South is probably the best evidence for the real depth of culture that the magnificent education of the Spaniards so early

and so thoroughly organized in their colonies accomplished for this continent. Alone it would stand as the highest possible product of the interest of the Spanish Government and the Spanish Church in the organization not only of education, but of government in such a way as to bring happiness and uplift for both natives and colonists in the Spanish-American countries. Abuses there were, as there always will be where men are confirmed and where the superior race comes in contact with the inferior. These abuses, however, were exceptions and not the rule. The policy instituted by the Spaniards and maintained in spite of the tendencies of men to degenerate into tyranny and misuse of the natives is well worthy of admiration. English-speaking history has known very little of it until comparatively recent years. Mr. Sidney Lee, the editor of the English Biographical Dictionary and the author of a series of works on Shakespeare which have gained for him recognition as probably the best living authority on the history of the Elizabethan times, wrote a series of articles which appeared in *Scribner's* last year on "The Call of the West." This was meant to undo much of the prejudice which exists with regard to Spanish colonization in this country and to mitigate the undue reverence in which the English explorers and colonists have been held by comparison. There seems every reason to think then that this newer, truer view of history is gradually going to find its way into circulation.

In the meantime it is amusing to look back and realize how much prejudice has been allowed to warp English history in this matter, and how as a consequence of the determined, deliberate efforts to blacken the Spanish name we have had to accept as history exactly the opposite view in the reality to this matter. Lest we should be thought to be exaggerating, we venture to quote one of the opening paragraphs of Mr. Sidney Lee's article as it appeared in *Scribner's* for May, 1907: "Especially has theological bias justified neglect or facilitated misconception of Spain's rôle in the sixteenth century drama of American history. Spain's initial adventures in the New World are often consciously or unconsciously overlooked or underrated in order that she may figure in the stage of history as the benighted champion of a false and obsolete faith, who was vanquished under divine protecting Providence by English defenders of the true religion. Many are the hostile critics who have painted sixteenth century Spain as the avaricious accumulator of American gold and silver, to which she had no right, as the monopolist of American trade, of which she robbed others, and as the oppressor and exterminator of the weak and innocent aborigines of the new continent who implored her presence among them. Cruelty in all its hideous forms is indeed commonly set forth as Spain's only

instrument of rule in her sixteenth century empire. On the other hand, the English adventurer has been credited by the same pens with a touching humanity, with the purest religious aspirations, with a romantic current which was always at the disposal of the oppressed native.

"No such picture is recognized when we apply the touchstone of the oral traditions, printed books, maps and manuscripts concerning America which circulated in Shakespeare's England. There a predilection for romantic adventure is found to sway the Spaniard in even greater degree than it swayed the Elizabethan. Religious zeal is seen to inspire the Spaniard more constantly and conspicuously than it stimulated his English contemporary. The motives of each nation are barely distinguishable one from another. Neither deserves to be credited with any monopoly of virtue or vice. Above all, the study of contemporary authorities brings into a dazzling light which illumines every corner of the picture the commanding facts of the Spaniard's priority as explorer, as scientific navigator, as conqueror, as settler."

Here is magnificent praise from one who cannot be suspected of national or creed affinities to bias his judgment. He has studied the facts and not the prejudiced statements of his countrymen. The more carefully the work of the Spaniard in America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is studied the more praise is bestowed upon him. The more a writer knows of actual conditions the more does he feel poignantly the injustice that has been done by the Protestant tradition which refused the good that were accomplished by the Catholic Spanish and which neglected, distorted and calumniated his deeds and motives. This bit of Protestant tradition is, after all, only suffering the fate that every other Protestant position has undergone during the course of the development of scientific historical criticism. Every step toward the newer, truer history has added striking details to the picture of the beneficent influences of the Church upon her people in every way. It has shown up pitilessly the subterfuges, the misstatements and the positive ignorance which has enabled Protestantism to maintain the opposite impression in people's minds in order to show how impossible was agreement with the Catholic Church, since it stood for backwardness and ignorance and utter lack of sympathy with intellectual development.

Now we find everywhere that just the opposite was true. Wherever the Reformation had the opportunity to exert itself to the full, education and culture suffered. Erasmus said in his time wherever Lutheranism reigns there is an end of literature. Churches and cathedrals that used to be marvelous expressions of the artistic and

poetic feeling of the people became the ugliest kind of mere meeting houses. Rev. Augustus Jessop, himself an Anglican clergyman, tells how "art died out in rural England" after the Reformation, which he calls *The Great Pillage*, and "King Whitewash and Queen Ugliness ruled supreme for centuries." The same thing happened in Germany, and education was affected quite as much as art. German national development was delayed, and she has come to take her place in world influence only in the nineteenth century, after most of the influence of the religious revolt led by Luther in the sixteenth century has passed away. These are but other of the striking differences in recent history that are so well typified by the contrast between what was accomplished for art and culture and architecture and education by the Catholic Spaniard and the English Protestant here in America during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Truth is coming to her own at last, and it is in the history of education particularly that advances are being made which change the whole aspect of the significance of history during the past 350 years.

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PIUS VII. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

II.

SHORTLY after his arrival in Paris Mgr. Spina was presented to the First Consul by Talleyrand, the former Bishop of Autun, who was then Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Papal Envoy in his report of the interview states that Bonaparte welcomed him gladly. He spoke with much respect of Pius VII., and then repeated what he had already said to Cardinal Martiniana with regard to his plans for the reconciliation of France with the Holy See.¹ The negotiations for that purpose were at once begun. The French Government appointed as its representative the Abbé Bernier, who had been the parish priest of Saint Laud, at Angers, and had some time previously forsaken the cause of the Bourbons to become a partisan of the First Consul. Bernier was one of those priests who, at the risk of being imprisoned or exiled, had refused to take the oath prescribed by the *Constitution Civile du Clergé*. He had joined the peasants who fought so bravely in *la Vendée* for the

¹ Boulay de la Meurthe, Documents sur la négociation du Concordat. Le Paris, 1891-1905. Vol. I., No. 81, p. 123. Spina à Consalvi, 12 Nov., 1800. "L'accoglimento del Primo Console fù, si può dire, festoso."

Church and the King, and owing to his eloquence and his talent for administration had soon acquired considerable influence in the council which directed the movements of the royalists. When the Vendean bands had been broken up and dispersed by a succession of disasters, he remained concealed in the country and tried to reorganize an army. But the principal leaders had already fallen; it was useless to offer further resistance to the Republican troops, and when Bonaparte showed that he intended to follow a policy of conciliation the abbé consented to treat. At his persuasion the peasants laid down their arms on condition of obtaining religious liberty, and thenceforth he served Bonaparte as devotedly as he had served the King of France. Bernier's conduct has been severely blamed by those whose cause he abandoned, but the only serious reproach that he seems to merit is that in the negotiations for the Concordat he obeyed too blindly the orders of Bonaparte, whose views he zealously supported, even when they were opposed to the interests of the Church.²

With the exception of the Abbé Bernier, who, though rather Gallican in his opinions, was sincerely anxious for the restoration of religion in France, all those who surrounded the First Consul and formed part of his government were hostile to the Church and opposed to reconciliation with Rome. The influence of two persons especially, whom he frequently consulted on religious questions, tended to prevent him from making any concessions to the Holy See and to inspire him with suspicion of every act of the Papal ministers and envoys. One of these evil councillors was Henri Grégoire, the schismatic Bishop of Blois and previously parish priest of Embermesnil, in Lorraine. When a member of the *Assemblée Constituante* he was one of the first to take the oath of the *Constitution Civile*, and when, later on, he sat in the convention, he was distinguished by his fanatical ardor for the abolition of the monarchy. At the time of the trial of Louis XVI. he was in Savoy, whither he had been sent with three others to spread the principles of the Revolution, and he gave by letter his vote in favor of the King's condemnation without appeal to the people, but insisted on the omission of the words "to death," which his colleagues wished to insert. A Jansenist and a Gallican, he was intensely hostile to Rome,³ and

² Le Cardinal Mathieu, *Le Concordat de 1801. Ses origines—son histoire*. Paris, 1903, p. 54. "Ce qu'on cherche inutilement chez Bernier, c'est une velléité d'indépendance et une révolte d'honnête homme, dans deux ou trois circonstances où l'honnête homme aurait dû se cabrer et refuser le service. Il lui a manqué l'honneur d'encourir, ne fût ce qu'une fois, la colère du Premier Consul."

³ Documents, etc., I., No. 192, p. 301. Spina à Consalvi, Parigi, 22 Gennaio, 1801. "To che l'intruso Grégoire à foi una guerra atroce, ed egli ha insinuata at Primo Console tutta la diffidenza possibile verso la cotte di Roma."

his restless activity in the service of the schismatical church entitled him to be looked upon as its head. Cardinal Mathieu says of him: "The Revolution has not produced a more singular personage, nor a rhetorician more pleased with himself, nor a more astounding mixture of all sorts of contradictions, of false ideas and of generous sentiments." Bonaparte allowed him to hold a council of constitutional Bishops and priests in the Cathedral of Notre Dame while the negotiations for the Concordat were in progress, with the object apparently of intimidating the Papal envoys and obliging them to make the concessions he wanted, by showing them that if he pleased he could establish a Gallican Church independent of the Pope; but when the Concordat was signed he ordered this schismatical assembly to bring its proceedings to an end.

The second and the better known of these theological advisers, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1752-1838), the former Bishop of Autun, was by far the more dangerous, as his official position gave him more power and brought him into more frequent communication with the First Consul. A member of a younger branch of the Counts of Périgord, he had been forced by his family to enter the Church very much against his will and by their influence had been named Bishop of Autun in 1788. He was elected as a representative of the clergy at the *États Généraux* of 1789, where he joined those deputies who held their meeting in defiance of the King, and he supported every subversive and anti-religious measure brought before the *Assemblée Nationale Constituante*, of which he was one of the presidents. It was he who proposed that the nation should seize the property of the Church to pay its debts; he was one of the first members of the clergy to take the oath prescribed by the *Constitution Civile*, and although that law had suppressed his Diocese of Autun, he consecrated two of the schismatic Bishops who had been elected by the people. A diplomatic mission to London and a visit to America, where he lived for some time at Philadelphia (1794-1795), enabled him to avoid the sanguinary rule of Robespierre and of the Committee of Public Safety, and on his return to Paris he was named Minister of Foreign Affairs to the government of the Directory, mainly by the influence of Madame de Stael (July, 1797). In that capacity he had a share in the violent suppression on the 18 Fructidor (4th September, 1797) of the moderate and conservative section of the two Councils and of the Directory by the three Directors who represented a more intolerant and Jacobin policy. It was in pursuance also of that policy that General Berthier was ordered to march on Rome to dethrone Pius VI. and send him into exile and to establish the Roman Republic. Talleyrand may, therefore, be looked upon as the accomplice of the Directory in these

crimes, which entailed so much persecution to the Church and suffering to the Holy Father. The growing unpopularity of the Directory, owing to its incapacity and its venality, led Talleyrand to resign (30th July, 1799), but on the return from Egypt of General Bonaparte, whose coming greatness he had long foreseen, he assisted him by his advice and his intrigues to bring about the revolution of the 18th Brumaire (9th November, 1799) and the establishment of the Consulate, when he again reëntered the Ministry.

Mgr. Spina does not seem to have been aware at first that Talleyrand was hostile to the Concordat, for the Minister received him very courteously and gave him to understand that he and Bonaparte were agreed in desiring the restoration of the Catholic religion in France.⁴ The ex-Bishop must even have led the Papal Envoy to think that there was some hope of his approaching conversion, for Mgr. Spina wrote to Cardinal Consalvi: "The Minister Talleyrand will soon, I believe, make his recantation to the Holy Father."⁵ Both Bonaparte and Talleyrand, however, professed to be much in fear of the Jacobins, who still formed a very strong party, especially in Paris, and Mgr. Spina was, therefore, requested to observe the utmost secrecy with regard to the purpose of his mission, in order not to excite the opposition which the atheists and the schismatical clergy would not have failed to offer.

The Abbé Bernier lost no time in presenting to Mgr. Spina in a series of letters, the cunning and perfidious tone of which betray the influence of Talleyrand,⁶ the conditions of the Concordat which Bonaparte had already mentioned to Cardinal Martiniana. The first of these demanded that all the Bishops of France should resign their sees; for the government professed to be anxious to restore peace and unity in France, and to fear that in the case of at least some of these prelates their return might provoke fresh disturbances. The government declined to name those whose principles it considered most likely to be incompatible with the tranquillity of the State, as that might degenerate into disagreeable personalities. It preferred to insist on a general resignation at the bidding of the Head of the Church, after which some of the prelates, against whom there existed no animosity such as might paralyze their labors and their administration, might be again chosen.⁷ The real motive for the complete renovation of the hierarchy was not, of course, frankly

⁴ Documents, I., No. 102, p. 150. Spina à Consalvi, 10th Déc., 1800. "Non dubito che Bonaparte desideri ristabilire in Francia la religione cattolica. ! Si accorda con esso il ministro Talleyrand."

⁵ *Id.*, No. 89, p. 137. Spina à Consalvi, 22 Nov., 1800. "Presto, credo, il ministro Talleyrand canterà a Sua Santità la sua palinodia."

⁶ Le R. P. Dom François Chamard, Bénédictin, Prieur de Saint-Maur-sur-Loire, *La Révolution, le Concordat et la Liberté religieuse*, p. 96.

stated, but it might easily be guessed. It was the desire of getting rid of Bishops who still retained their monarchical principles and replacing them by others who might, it was hoped, be more submissive to the First Consul, as to him they would owe their nomination.

In the second of these letters the seizure of the property of the Church was represented as having been caused by the necessities of the State during the Revolution at a time when all classes of citizens were obliged to make very great sacrifices for their country. The title of the purchasers was guaranteed by the law,⁸ and any attempt to expropriate them would therefore give rise to fresh disturbances and excite the discontent and hatred of a section of the French people against the Church. In this description of the confiscation of the property of the Church Talleyrand, who had perhaps dictated the letter, showed an utter disregard for historical facts. Nobody knew better than he did that the spoliation of the Church had taken place at the dawn of the Revolution and before the nation had been called upon to make any great sacrifices; for he had proposed that measure in the *Assemblée Constituante* on October 10, 1789. The clergy were, indeed, willing to come to the assistance of their country, for Mgr. de Boisgelin, the Archbishop of Aix, offered in their name a loan of four hundred millions of livres to be raised by mortgage on their property. His offer was not even discussed, for the object of a powerful party in the Assembly was to ruin the clergy and deprive it of all influence and independence, in order to subject it more completely to the State.⁹ It was this act of plunder that Bernier, acting as the mouthpiece of Bonaparte and Talleyrand, now asked the Holy Father to recognize and ratify as the "fundamental condition of a reconciliation."¹⁰ He did not even allude to the promise made by the Assembly on November 2, 1789, and repudiated by the convention in September, 1794, that in return for the seizure of the property of the Church the nation would provide in a becoming manner for the expenses of public worship, for the support of the ministers of religion and for the relief of the poor; nor did he mention that the 17th Article of the "Rights of Man," voted by

⁷ Documents, N. 76, p. 113. Note de Bernier à Spina. Paris, 8 nov., 1800.

⁸ To obtain a legal title, French law requires an uninterrupted possession for at least ten years, and the Holy See and the French clergy had never ceased to protest against the spoliation. Chamard, *id.*, p. 104.

⁹ P. L. Sciout, *Histoire de la Constitution Civile du Clergé*. Paris, 1872, t. II., p. 110. "La ruine absolue du clergé séculier et régulier semble être décidée dans cette Assemblée." Abbé Maury's Speech, October 13, 1789.

¹⁰ Documents, I., N. 80, p. 121. Bernier à Spina. Paris, 12 Nov., 1800. "Le bien de la paix, le repos de l'état, le rétablissement de la religion au milieu de nous, en un mot, la réunion de la France avec l'Eglise de Rome, dépendent essentiellement de la conservation de ces acquisitions."

the Assembly in 1789, guaranteed an indemnity to every owner of a property seized by the State in the case of a public necessity.¹¹

Two more letters followed. In one Bernier repeated that the government would not make any concession with regard to the resignation of their sees by all the Bishops. In the other he asked that the clergy should be allowed to take the oaths of fidelity to the constitution of the year VIII.,¹² which some of the exiled Bishops had condemned, for it seemed to imply the approbation of laws contrary to religion, and many of the clergy had therefore refused to take it. In replying to Bernier, Mgr. Spina vainly implored of him to represent to the First Consul that the return of the Bishops to their sees could not be the cause of disturbances, since even though in exile they had never ceased to exhort their flocks by means of their vicars general to live in peace and to submit to the government. These Bishops had been driven from their dioceses by an atrocious persecution against the Catholic religion and its ministers. During their emigration they had suffered many misfortunes, and they had thereby merited the esteem and the veneration of all nations and the greatest consideration on the part of the Holy See. The Sovereign Pontiff could not issue to all the emigrant Bishops a general order to resign. No example of such a measure was to be found in the history of the Church. He could only exhort them to take that step; but if they refused to obey, and if the government of their sees were provided for in some other manner, to what troubles and calamities would not the Church of France be exposed?¹³

Mgr. Spina held out some hope that the Pope might consent to sacrifice so much of the property of the Church as had already been alienated, if that were the condition on which depended the reëstab-

¹¹ *Réimpression de Vancien Moniteur Universel*, t. II., p. 37. Séance du 10 Octobre, 1789. Talleyrand proposed that the nation should take over the entire property of the Church, including all tithes, and pay the clergy annually a sum equal to two-thirds of the revenues of these properties, which would amount to one hundred millions of livres (about twenty millions of dollars). A long discussion ensued, which was ended on November 2, when the Assembly, by 568 votes to 346, adopted Mirabeau's motion, which declared that all ecclesiastical property was placed at the disposal of the nation, on condition of providing in a becoming manner for the cost of public worship, the support of its ministers and the relief of the poor, under the supervision and according to the instructions of the provinces. The parish priests were to receive not less than twelve hundred livres a year, besides a house and garden. One of the first acts of the Convention after the death of Robespierre was to declare that the Republic would no longer pay the expenses or the salaries of the ministers of any religion. 18th September, 1794.

¹² The form of government then existing, which was established when Bonaparte had overthrown the Directory on the 18 Brumaire, an viii. (9th November, 1799).

¹³ Documents, I., N. 79, p. 17. Note de Spina à Bernier. Paris, 11 November, 1800.

lishment of Catholicism in France as the dominant religion. The French Government should, however, undertake to assure the subsistence not only of the Bishops, but also of the parish priests and of the subordinate clergy, and whatever had belonged to the Church and still remained unsold should be restored. As to the promise of fidelity to the constitution, Mgr. Spina declined to express any opinion, for though it had been condemned by the Pope, the decision of His Holiness had not yet been published; but he pointed out to Bernier that a promise of submission to the government would not give rise to the same scruples of conscience. Such a promise might be made by laymen, and the ministers of religion, who would naturally be filled with gratitude towards the First Consul, might very well be trusted to do their duty and be dispensed from making any promise.¹⁴

Bernier then drafted a plan for a Concordat in thirty-seven articles, in which the demands of the government were developed with more details. It was the first of several projects submitted to Mgr. Spina, who, while repeating that he was not authorized to sign any agreement, suggested various modifications which he thought that the Holy Father would probably require. A second draft was presented shortly after, drawn up apparently under the influence of Talleyrand,¹⁵ which offered less acceptable conditions than the first. According to that project the government would have been willing to declare that the Catholic religion was the religion of the State; that the new hierarchy should be composed of twelve Archbishops and fifty Bishops; that as much of the property of the Church as had not been sold should be used for the support of the clergy; that gifts might be accepted by the clergy for the endowment of churches, and that all laws, decrees and sentences which impeded the free exercise of the Catholic religion or the liberty of its ministers should be regarded as revolutionary and be repealed. In the revised project,¹⁶ presented to Mgr. Spina about December 24, the government merely acknowledged the fact that the great majority of the nation professed Roman Catholicism and promised to afford special protection to its public exercise, and that all the measures opposed to the freedom of its worship should be annulled. The number of the Archbishops was reduced to ten, and no allusion was made to the restitution of the unsold property of the Church or to the right to accept endowments. According to the first draft, the Bishops who should not be

¹⁴ Documents, III., Appendix A, No. 816, p. 607. *Nouvelles instructions pour Spina.* Rome, 13 Oct., 1800. *Id.*, Appendix B., No. 831, p. 650. *Note de Spina à Bernier.* Paris, 22 Nov., 1800.

¹⁵ Cardinal Mathieu, p. 114.

¹⁶ Documents, III., Appendix B, No. 838, p. 876. *Projet de Convention*, No. 11, vers le 24 Déc.

chosen to fill the new dioceses were to be ordered by the Holy Father to resign their sees for the good of peace and of religion; in the second draft the schismatic Bishops were put on the same level as those who had been canonically instituted and were to be exhorted by the Pope to relinquish sees to which they had no claim. A clause, too, was introduced to the effect that the ecclesiastics who had married should, "according to the ancient canons," be reduced to the condition of laymen. Mgr. Spina in his reply pointed out that the Holy Father could not ask the Bishops belonging to the constitutional clergy to resign their sees, as he did not recognize them, and they had therefore no jurisdiction. He also remarked that there existed no canons to reduce married priests to the state of laymen. The Holy Father would certainly be merciful to them, but that question was a matter of conscience and could not form the subject of a Concordat.

More favorable conditions were offered in the third draft, also the work of Bernier.¹⁷ The number of the Archbishops was again raised to twelve; the intrusive Bishops were not mentioned; the revenues of the ecclesiastical property not as yet alienated were to be distributed among the different churches and the dissensions which had arisen in France with regard to the constitutional clergy and those of its members who had married were to be appeased by a legate sent by the Sovereign Pontiff and provided with ample powers. There were still, however, some clauses which Mgr. Spina considered unacceptable, but the fourth project, which he received on January 11, had undergone very great modifications and showed still less of a conciliatory spirit than that which preceded it.¹⁸ The changes would seem to have been made in consequence of a letter addressed by Talleyrand to Bernier on January 12. The Minister, who affected to believe that the third project had been proposed, or at least accepted by Mgr. Spina, declared that the government refused to acknowledge any distinction between the constitutional clergy and the ancient clergy, and it wished to have the right to take the same interest in the former and show it the same consideration as the Holy Father manifested with regard to the latter. Mgr. Spina should therefore be informed that the government would listen to no proposals concerning the reëstablishment of a clergy in France until the observations it had just made were attended to. In this fourth draft the Catholic religion was, indeed, still recognized as that of the great majority of French citizens, but it was no longer

¹⁷ Documents, I., No. 178, p. 275. Spina à Consalvi. Parigi, 9 Gennaio, 1801. Documents, III., App. B, No. 842, p. 683. Projet de Convention, No. 111. Paris (vers le 4 Janvier, 1801).

¹⁸ Documents, I., No. 181, p. 279. Projet de Convention, No. IV. (14 Janvier, 1801).

declared to be the religion of the State, as in the first project, or that of the government, as in the third. Though the schismatic Bishops were not named, they were clearly indicated by the phrase, "*les titulaires quelconques des évêchés français*" (the titularies of the French bishoprics, whoever they may be) shall be requested by His Holiness to resign their sees in order to secure the complete and peaceful restoration of the Catholic religion in France. Nothing was said about the restitution of the church property not as yet alienated, and only government securities were allowed to be employed for the ecclesiastical endowments. Mgr. Spina had already assured Bernier at the beginning of the negotiations that he was not authorized to sign any convention, but so great was the abbé's anxiety to obtain his signature that he even drafted an answer such as he wished him to make, in which the Papal Envoy was made to reply that though he had not definite and absolute powers with regard to it, yet, as he felt certain that His Holiness would make every possible sacrifice in order to reunite France to the Holy See, he was ready to sign the project as soon as Bernier should be authorized to do so by his government.

Surprised at the unfavorable turn so unexpectedly given to the negotiations, Mgr. Spina could only remind Bernier that he had already frankly stated that he was not authorized by the Holy Father to sign any Concordat, but simply to inform the government of his intentions,¹⁹ and that as there were several articles in the project of which the Pope had not been made aware, it would be much more satisfactory to forward the document to him at once for his decision. Talleyrand was, of course, well aware of the fact, but he now asserted in a letter to Bernier that Mgr. Spina's refusal to ratify the project was quite unexpected; that the government of the republic had not foreseen that the object of the Archbishop's mission was only to inform the Pope with regard to its opinions. If Mgr. Spina persisted in his resolution, the government would have reason to believe that the Court of Rome had merely aimed at deceiving France for the purpose of keeping the States of the Church free from war;²⁰ but the refusal to sign had given them a timely warning of the real purpose of the mission, and Mgr. Spina might be told that his presence in Paris was no longer necessary.

Bernier when communicating this insolent message to Mgr. Spina had at least sufficient respect for the Holy See not to repeat Talleyrand's insinuations against the honor of the Papal Government. He still, however, sought to extort from the Papal Envoy, by persuasion

¹⁹ Documents, III., Appendix B, No. 834, p. 656. Spina à Bernier. Paris, 26 November, 1800.

²⁰ Documents, I., No. 190, p. 296. Talleyrand à Bernier. Paris, 21 Janvier, 1801.

or by threats, a signature which might bind the Sovereign Pontiff to a certain extent. The government knew, of course, so reasoned the abbé, that Mgr. Spina had not full powers, but had thought that it was only a question of definitive powers, and that even if he had been only authorized to hold conferences, he had thereby also the faculty of signing the result of those conferences, which the contracting powers would still have the right to sanction or to reject. Even if he were not expressly authorized to sign, could he not interpret the intentions of the Holy Father and take upon himself to do so in order to avoid an open rupture between the two States, which would be the inevitable consequence of his refusal? The government therefore demanded at once a definite answer, on which should depend whether the negotiations were to be continued or broken off.²¹

Mgr. Spina was well aware of the snare which had been laid for him and of the efforts which were made to hinder the conclusion of the Concordat. He wrote to Cardinal Consalvi: "To speak frankly, there is an intention of making war against religion, and every pretext to persecute it is sought for. I do not say that I utterly despair, but I much fear that no conclusion can be come to. . . . I know that the intrusive Bishop Grégoire is carrying on a bitter warfare against us, and he has inspired the First Consul with the utmost mistrust of the Court of Rome."²² In his reply to Bernier he assured him that it was impossible to give an immediate and decisive answer to all that was contained in his letter, but he hoped that he would not be refused what would be granted under similar conditions to the Minister of any other power—namely, to send at once a courier to Rome to demand further instructions and faculties. He therefore implored of Bernier, in the name of international law, in the name of religion, in the name of the Holy Father, to persuade the First Consul to grant him a short delay and to obtain a passport for his courier from the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Bonaparte willingly agreed to allow a courier to be sent to Rome and asked that he should leave as soon as possible, as he wished to end a negotiation which had already lasted too long. Instead of a passport, however, Mgr. Spina received, on January 29, a friendly note from Talleyrand stating that he, too, wished to forward some despatches and requesting him to put off the departure of his courier till the 31st, when he should receive his passport. Mgr. Spina courteously consented;²³ but Talleyrand, who was not so anxious as Bonaparte for the speedy

²¹ Documents, III., App. B, No. 846, p. 689. Note de Bernier à Spina. Paris, 22 Janvier, 1801.

²² Documents, I., No. 192, p. 300. Spina à Consalvi. Parigi, 22 Gennaio, 1801.

²³ Documents, III., No. 849, p. 693. Talleyrand à Spina. Paris, 29 Janvier, 1801.

conclusion of the Concordat, put off issuing the passport from day to day, in spite of the repeated applications of the Abbé Bernier and Mgr. Spina, and it was not until the 26th of February that the Papal courier left Paris. He was then, however, carrying a different set of despatches.

It is a very suspicious circumstance that at the time when these projects for a Concordat were being submitted to Mgr. Spina all communication between him and Cardinal Consalvi should have been interrupted. Between November 15, when Consalvi received Spina's letter from Lyons dated October 29, until January 10, when he got his letter dated December 20 and marked No. 10, he was without information as to what was taking place in Paris. As Spina's friends in Rome had received letters from him, the Cardinal, who had written to him every week, soon came to the conclusion that his own correspondence had been intercepted. By February 6, it is true, he had received the earlier letters and others up to No. 15, dated January 4, but too late to be able to give advice which might guide and enlighten the Archbishop in his struggle against such wily and unscrupulous adversaries as Grégoire and Talleyrand. Mgr. Spina on his side had received no letters from the Cardinal between November 11 and December 25, after which there seems to have been no further interruption to his correspondence. He did not, however, venture to send to Rome the various projects he had received from Bernier until, on February 14, while still waiting for a passport for his courier, he was able to entrust them to a messenger whom the Spanish Envoy, de Musquiz, was sending to Parma, whence they could be safely forwarded to their destination.²⁴

While the issue of the passport was still deferred Bonaparte and Talleyrand prepared another surprise for Mgr. Spina, and on February 21 they presented to him, unexpectedly, a fifth draft for a Concordat, which the First Consul had dictated and sent to the Minister on February 2.²⁵ Talleyrand had again the bad faith to state, as on a previous occasion in the letter which accompanied it, that this "project of convention," as Talleyrand always called the Concordat, had been given to him from the Papal Envoy,²⁶ whom he requested, as his instruction did not allow him to sign it, to express, at least, his approbation of it when forwarding it to the Holy Father. This new draft of a Concordat was also accompanied

²⁴ They reached Rome on February 27, where nothing was as yet known concerning the negotiations which had taken place. Documents, II., No. 292, p. 33. Consalvi à Spina. Roma, 28 febbraio, 1801.

²⁵ Documents, I., No. 222, p. 351. *Projet de Convention (No. V.) dicté par le Premier Consul. 2 février, 1801.*

²⁶ *Id.*, I., No. 264, p. 406. Talleyrand à Spina. Paris, 21 février, 1801. "J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser le projet de convention qui m'a été remis de votre part."

by that of a Bull in which it was to be inserted and which had been originally drawn up on December 3 by the Abbé Bernier. Mgr. Spina again prudently avoided either compromising the Holy Father by giving his approbation to this document or irritating Bonaparte by rejecting it. He replied to Talleyrand that he would make every effort to obtain from His Holiness that the wishes of the government should be satisfied, and that thus religious peace and harmony between the two States should be reestablished; but in a letter to Cardinal Consalvi he observed that though he could not doubt the excellent intentions of the First Consul for the restoration of the Catholic religion in France, he could not ignore the fact that evil-minded persons were seeking every means to oppose them.²⁷

The passport, which had been so long delayed, was now at last issued, and the courier, Civio Palmoni, left Paris on February 26 and arrived in Rome on March 10, where the new draft produced a most painful impression,²⁸ as it showed less favorable dispositions towards the Catholic Church than those which had preceded it. The schismatic Bishops were still considered the equals of the legitimate titularies of their sees, and nothing was said about the special protection to be granted to the Catholic religion or the repeal of the laws which hindered the freedom of its exercise.²⁹ It is true that Bernier, in whom Bonaparte had full confidence, and who was well acquainted with his opinions, furnished Mgr. Spina with a document which indicated some slight variations in this fifth project, to which he thought that the First Consul might agree. His request that the source of the document should be kept secret, lest he should be compromised, would seem to show that Bonaparte was more willing than Talleyrand to make concessions, at least on matters of minor importance, provided the chief demands which he had stated on first opening the negotiations were granted, and that he thought it prudent to conceal the fact from Talleyrand.³⁰

That on which the First Consul most obstinately insisted and which it was most painful for the Holy Father to be obliged to concede was the resignation of their sees by all the Bishops of France. On this point Bonaparte was inflexible. He even told Mgr. Spina,

²⁷ Documents, II., No. 304, p. 53. Spina à Consalvi. Parigi, 25 Febbraio, 1801.

²⁸ Documents, II., No. 336, p. 139. Consalvi à Spina. Roma, 14 Marzo, 1801. "Può ella immaginare che il Progetto ministeriale trasmessomi ha fatto qui la più dolorosa impressione. Ecco il quinto progetto e sempre il tutto è più incarito del precedente."

²⁹ Documents, I., No. 222, p. 352. Projet de Convention (No. V.) dicté par la Premier Consul (3 Février, 1801). "Les titulaires actuels, à quelque titre que ce soit, des évêchés français, seront invités par Sa Sainteté à se démettre."

³⁰ Documents, II., No. 305, p. 58. Variantes du Projet V. indiquées confidentiellement par Bernier comme admissibles. Paris, 25 février, 1801.

who remonstrated with him on the subject, that if the Pope did not carry out his views "he would adopt another sect and would overthrow religion in France, in Italy and even in Rome." In rendering an account of the interview Mgr. Spina expressed his belief that the object of the speech was merely to intimidate, but he added that there was reason to fear everything.³¹

The fifth draft of the Concordat was the first which was officially submitted to the Pope,³² and for the purpose of studying it and drawing up an answer two boards or "congregations" of Cardinals were appointed. The smaller, composed of Cardinals Antonelli, Gerdil and Carandini, with Mgr. di Pietro, Patriarch of Jerusalem, as secretary, was to prepare the plan of a Concordat, following as much as possible the lines of the French original. The larger congregation, of which the same three Cardinals formed part, together with Cardinals Albani, the dean of the Sacred College; Caraffa, Lorenzana, Doria, Borgia, Roverella, Somaglia, Braschi and Consalvi, with Mgr. di Pietro also as secretary, was then to examine and approve this plan and the final decision in the matter was reserved to the Holy Father, who presided over their deliberations. The French Government had so frequently and emphatically pointed out the necessity of observing absolute secrecy during the discussion of the Concordat, as the smallest indiscretion with regard to it would produce the most fatal and incalculable results, that the Holy Father imposed on the Cardinals forming the congregations what is known as the "secrecy of the Holy Office" (*il segreto del Santo Ufficio*). They were not even allowed to consult their theologians.

The smaller congregation ended its preparatory work on March 28, the eve of Palm Sunday. The larger congregation held its first meeting at the Quirinal on April 7, and Cardinal Consalvi hoped that in ten or twelve days the draft of the Concordat, corrected according to the opinions of the Cardinals, together with a letter from the Holy Father to Bonaparte and a memorandum explaining the reasons for making the changes, might be forwarded to Paris. An unexpected delay, however, for which neither the Pope nor the Cardinals could be held responsible, very nearly caused the negotiations to be broken off. In his impatience to have the Concordat signed as quickly as possible the First Consul resolved to send to Rome François Cacault, a diplomatist who had assisted him to draw

³¹ Documents, II., No. 306, p. 63. Spina à Consalvi. Parigi, 25 febbraio, 1801. "Il Primo Console ripette ciò che quì apertamente detto avera me nella prima udienza, civè che se Nostro Signore non secondava in ciò le sue intenzioni, avrabbe adottata un'altra setta, ed avrebbe rovesciata la religione in Francia, in Italia, e perfino in Roma."

³² Cardinal Mathieu, p. 123.

up the Treaty of Tolentino and had then represented France in Rome until he was succeeded by Joseph Bonaparte, towards the end of 1797. According to Bonaparte's message to Talleyrand, Cacault was to be empowered to discuss both the spiritual and the temporal affairs of the republic, and he was to sign the Concordat in Rome.³³ The instructions which Talleyrand gave to the Envoy, and which if not dictated by Bonaparte were at least approved by him, were that he should seek to renew the friendly relations which had formerly existed between France and the Court of Rome. "France had abandoned the idea of making Rome a republic. . . . Two years of disturbances and crime had shown the folly of the attempt, and the present government, leaving the blame of that policy to those who had originated it and who in spite of every obstacle obstinately persisted in making it be adopted, had yielded to the desires of Italy and to the complaints of the principal powers of Europe and had consented to the reëstablishment of the Sovereign Pontiff." The instructions then pointed out that from a political point of view the Holy See required constant protection, which it could only obtain by having recourse to a government which had no interest to serve by oppressing it. France, by her position, her moderation and the care which she has always shown to maintain an equilibrium in Italy, is the power on which the Court of Rome has at all times reckoned with most confidence. The presence of Austria at Venice and of an independent republic in the centre of Italy render that support more necessary. The Holy See has it in its power to repay by its moral influence the debt imposed on it by its weakness. Venerated by the people and arbitrating in the disputes between ministers of religion, the Sovereign Pontiff can oblige them to observe social concord and political obedience. The government of the republic had been enlightened on that point by ten years of most fatal experience. It had been convinced by the rapidity and the extent of the insurrection of the West that the attachment of the great mass of the French people to its religious ideas was not a vain fancy, and it had understood that out of that sentiment there arose interests and rights that political institutions ought to respect. The present government, therefore, has granted measures of indulgence and toleration which have strengthened its power. It wishes to give to the system which it has adopted a character of permanency and publicity which should leave no doubt as to the purity and sincerity of its intentions; it wishes to put an end to religious discussions, and it acknowledges that the only means of attaining that object is to reëstablish between the republic and the Holy See the

³³ Documents, II, No. 349, p. 182. *Consalvi aux membres de la Grande Congregation, 31 Marzo.*

religious and the political bonds which formerly united France and the Court of Rome.

In spite, however, of this confession of the errors of the Revolution, which were adroitly put down to the account of the Directory which Bonaparte had overthrown, Cacault was also instructed to declare to the ministers of Pius VII. that the government of the republic would not consent to any change in the articles of the project which it had approved. It professed, indeed, "to be willing to restore to religion its lost rights," and to "give a social existence to Catholicism," which it would "defend against the attacks which a too distrustful liberty might feel inclined to make upon it." But to preserve social concord" and "prevent the friends of religion from rising up against the principles of liberty and abandoning its "Catholicism must keep within its prescribed bounds; it must repay to the State what it owes for the protection it receives; it must help cause."³⁴ In other words, General Bonaparte had perceived that the Revolution had made a grievous mistake; it had thought that it could abolish the Holy See and destroy the Catholic Church, and that society could exist without any form of religion. It had merely succeeded in provoking a civil war and deluging France with blood. He was, therefore, willing to grant the Church a certain amount of liberty and influence, but only on condition that the clergy consented to be very submissive and very grateful to him and to employ their authority to enforce obedience to his government.

By the middle of April the congregation of twelve Cardinals had drafted a Concordat which agreed substantially with the French original. The Pope accepted gratefully the declaration of the French Government that the Catholic religion was that of the great majority of French citizens, but a clause was introduced binding the government to adopt it and protect it, in spite of any law or decree contrary to the purity of its dogmas or the free exercise of its discipline. The articles which followed granted the principal demands which had been made. There was to be a new delimitation of the sees; the present titularies were to be asked to resign; the right of nomination to the bishoprics was granted to the First Consul, professing the Catholic religion; the oath of fidelity to the government was to be taken before him, and prayers for the republic were to be said in church. An Apostolic Delegate would dispense the purchasers of church property from restitution, and the government

³⁴ Documents, I., No. 221, p. 350. *Le Premier Consul à Talleyrand*. Paris, 2 Février, 1801. "Il sera chargé de discuter cette Convention et en même temps les intérêts temporels de la République. . . . Il serait porteur d'un double plein pouvoir: un pour le spirituel, l'autre pour le temporel. La Convention serait signée à Rome par lui et un individu désigné par le Pape."

would provide for the support of the clergy. The Delegate was to have the same powers with regard to the married clergy as were granted by Julius III. to Cardinal Pole; the government was to possess the same rights and privileges as had been enjoyed by the Kings of France and recognized by the Holy See before the Revolution.

Cacault had been instructed to protest against any modifications which might be introduced into the draft of the Concordat drawn up by the First Consul. When, therefore, he was shown on April 28 the Concordat and the Bull ready to be sent to Paris, he made several objections to the changes which the congregation of Cardinals had considered it to be its duty to make.³⁵ Before the fifth draft had been sent to Rome the words "submission to the laws" had been inserted in the form of the oath in the place of "fidelity and obedience to the government," as Bonaparte had originally written.³⁶ The Cardinals had merely restored the primitive text, but this displeased Cacault, as well as the omission of the words specifying that the parish priests named by the Bishops should be approved by the government. He blamed also the nomination of a legate for the purpose of giving absolution to the purchasers of church property, found fault with some minor details and insisted most obstinately on retaining the identical forms of the official draft.³⁷ Cardinal Consalvi foresaw that the result of allowing Cacault to criticize the changes made in the text sent from Paris would be that instead of ensuring that the Concordat accompanied by a letter from the Pope and a memorandum containing the reasons assigned for making the changes should reach the First Consul all at the same time, and thus produce a good impression on him, he would probably be unfavorably influenced before receiving them by the opinions and comments forwarded by Cacault.³⁸ It would, however, have been imprudent to offend the republican Envoy by refusing his request, and so great was the anxiety of the Holy Father to conclude the Concordat as speedily as possible that within two days three meetings of the congregation of Cardinals were held, in order to ascertain if it might not be possible to make further concessions. Cacault had, indeed, the honesty to inform Talleyrand that to his objections, which had obliged the Cardinals to recommence their labors, was owing the delay in the despatch of

³⁵ Documents, II., No. 324, p. 103. Instructions pour Cacault. Paris, 19 Mars, 1801.

³⁶ Documents, II., No. 369, p. 210. Contre-projet amendé d'après les votes de la grande Congrégation. Rome, vers le 17 avril, 1801.

³⁷ Documents, II., No. 392, p. 255. Cacault à Talleyrand. Rome, 2 Mai, 1801.

³⁸ Documents, I., No. 267, p. 409. Note de Bernier à Spina, 25 février, 1801.

the Concordat and of the other documents, which should otherwise have already reached Paris. But Bonaparte was so much irritated that the negotiations were nearly brought to an abrupt termination.³⁹

Cardinal Consalvi's fears with regard not only to the delay, but also to the mischief which might result from Cacault's interference, were soon realized. When the congregation began to revise the draft of the Concordat the Cardinal made an agreement with Cacault that no information should be sent to Paris concerning the difficulties which had arisen from Cacault's insistence on the "use of expressions, phrases and forms quite contrary to the laws of the Church."⁴⁰

The Cardinal's object in acting thus was: "1. To avoid causing the French Government any uneasiness with regard to any particular article before the entire document became known. 2. Because by subjecting it to a fresh revision, many difficulties might be eliminated. And this, in fact, took place owing to the great desire of His Holiness to go as far as the furthest limits of his Apostolic powers."⁴¹ The Cardinal faithfully observed his promise and wrote nothing about the matter to Mgr. Spina; but Cacault broke his word and sent his government a full relation of what was taking place. His report was not even strictly accurate. The Concordat had been read to him only once, and he had evidently misunderstood what he had heard, for he stated that the Holy Father demanded that the First Consul should forward to him a list of the Bishops whom he did not wish to nominate to the new sees about to be formed, together with his reasons for wishing to exclude them.⁴² The fact that changes were being made in the very article of the Concordat to which he attached most importance—namely, that touching upon the resignation of the Bishops—was enough to irritate Bonaparte and make him suspect that foreign nations or the Bourbon princes were intriguing to prevent the execution of the Concordat. Mgr. Spina only knew that Cacault had found fault with the draft prepared by the Papal Government, and could give him no information on the subject. The Papal Envoy, who in every letter to Consalvi implored of him to send back his courier at once with the documents, lived in daily expectation of some outburst of

³⁹ Documents, II., No. 381, p. 241. Consalvi à Spina, Roma, 24 Aprile, 1801. "Non gli basta che nella sostanza si accordi tutto, ma è ostinatissimo ancora nelle precise forme del progetto ufficiale."

⁴⁰ *Id.*, II., No. 368, p. 209. Consalvi à Spina, Roma, 15 Aprile, 1801.

⁴¹ *Id.*, No. 392, p. 255. Cacault à Talleyrand, Rome, 2 Mai, 1801. "Le courier du Pape serait parti, et vous auriez avant cette lettre la bulle, la bref et le Concordat, si mes objections n'avaient obligé à recommencer ce travail."

⁴² *Id.*, II., No. 494, p. 650. Consalvi à Spina, Roma, 23 maggio, 1801. "Egli volle saper tutto, e formò nuove questioni sopra di tutto. Bisognò fargli conoscere l'impossibilità delle sue pretensioni, ostinandosi a volere espressioni e frasi, affatto contrarie alle leggi della Chiesa."

anger on the part of the First Consul when the negotiations would be broken off and never again renewed.⁴³

He did not wait long. On May 12 Mgr. Spina was requested by Talleyrand to appear at once, along with Bernier, at *la Malmaison*, the First Consul's country house, near Paris. Bonaparte received him courteously, but expressed with much energy his dissatisfaction with the Court of Rome for its slowness in returning an answer to his project for a Concordat and for having made changes in it. He was convinced that this delay and the refusal to grant his demands were caused by the intrigues of the non-Catholic powers, Russia, Prussia and England, and that the Holy See made the negotiations drag on slowly with the hope that some change might take place in the state of political affairs. He therefore requested Mgr. Spina to inform the Pope that he would be very glad to restore the Catholic religion in France and to show him the utmost respect, if only the Holy Father would grant him what he wanted and place full confidence in him. Otherwise he was certain that if he gave back to the people any sort of public worship, together with their church bells and their processions and reëstablished the Pragmatic Sanction, he could, without meeting with any opposition, set up a religion of some sort independently of the Pope, and that then all regard for the Holy See would at once come to an end.⁴⁴

Bernier was charged by the First Consul to write to Cardinal Consalvi in the name of the French Government on the same subject. His letter was in the same menacing tone. He informed the Cardinal that any further delay would be attributed to him personally; it would be considered as a flagrant rupture of the peace, and the French troops would at once occupy the States of the Church as a conquered territory. Bonaparte certainly declared that France could not exist without a religion; that he wished for one, and that he preferred the Catholic religion, in which he was born and in which he wished to die. He promised to afford it special protection, to profess it openly and to assist in state at its ceremonies. As it was the religion of the great majority of French citizens, it would be the predominant religion, but he did not wish to employ those words, as they would produce a very bad effect upon certain minds.

⁴³ Documents, II., No. 503, p. 461. Consalvi à Bernier, Rome, 30 Mai, 1801. Documents, II., No. 504, p. 463. Consalvi à Spina, Roma, 30 Maggio.

⁴⁴ Documents, II., No. 386, p. 247. Cacault à Talleyrand, Rome, 26 avril, 1801. Documents, II., No. 489, p. 438. Consalvi à Bernier, Rome, 21 Mai, 1801. "Nous étions convenus ensemble que ni l'un ni l'autre aurait rien écrit, pour ne pas donner des inquiétudes et laisser la chose dans son ensemble. Je tins avec scrupule ma parole. . . . M. Cacault a jugé de faire autrement. . . . Au moins, eût il référé la chose telle qu'elle était; mais sans mauvaise volonté, il a oublié ou changé, par mévue, bien des choses."

Bernier repeated the First Consul's threat that if his views did not suit the Holy See he would adopt some sort of religion and make it be accepted wherever the influence of France extended; and he wound up by a rapid sketch of the reasons against making any further delay in concluding the Concordat: "France is calling out for her religion; Italy wishes to preserve that which she has, and Germany desires to protect her own. The States of the Church are asking for relief; the Sovereign Pontiff hopes for an increase of territory; the French priests languishing in exile wish to return to their country. All that can be brought about by the decision of the Holy See, and yet it comes not! How many souls might have been saved, how many evils might have been avoided, how much good accomplished if there had been more speed!"⁴⁵

Then the abbé, quite pleased with himself, sent to Talleyrand a copy of his letter, which the ex-Bishop was asked to show to Bonaparte in order that they might "see in the sincerity of his expressions, the purity of his zeal and how much he desired to put an end to the anxiety they experienced." He also expressed the hope that "Cardinal Consalvi would abjure his pretended cunning or his laziness and give them without delay what they wanted, as, if he did not, the First Consul would seek to save religion by other measures."⁴⁶

The Papal courier left Rome on May 13, bearing the draft of the Concordat in Latin and French, along with a memorandum which explained why the Holy Father had been unable to accept all the articles of the French project and justifying the changes which had been made. In a letter to Bonaparte, which accompanied these documents, the Holy Father expressed the joy which he had felt on being invited to enter into a negotiation for the reëstablishment of the Catholic religion in France. He regretted, however, that since the Catholic religion had been declared to be the religion of the great majority of French citizens, it should not have been completely restored to its former rank as the predominant religion and to the enjoyment of all its rights and privileges. Great also was his sorrow on finding himself obliged to ask all the Bishops of France to give in their resignations. Was it not painful for the Head of the Church to have to expel from their sees such a number of prelates so distinguished by their virtues, by their misfortunes and by their constancy in defending religion when it was assailed by a most cruel persecution? Whatever might have been their political principles in the past, he felt certain that if, by the benevolence of the First

⁴⁵ Documents, II., No. 455, p. 384. Spina à Consalvi, Parigi, 5 Maggio, 1801. "Mi aspetto di giorno in giorno qualche scappata consolare, e se si rompe, non ci attacchiamo più."

⁴⁶ Documents, II., No. 463, p. 394. Spina à Consalvi, Parigi, 12 Maggio, 1801.

Consul, they were restored to their flocks, they would teach them that obedience was their first duty, and their recall would contribute to maintain peace, while their resignation might disturb it. The Holy Father then implored Bonaparte to recall at least as many of the Bishops as would be required for the newly formed dioceses and to provide for the support of those who should not be chosen. He also asked him to allow the reëstablishment of seminaries and chapters, of convents and monasteries, and that the clergy might be authorized to accept and to own real property. The Pope then concluded by protesting that he had granted as much as his conscience would allow him to grant, and that if by his concessions he were to sanction maxims condemned by the Catholic religion, it is not that religion which would be reëstablished in France, but something totally different from it.⁴⁷

Two drafts of the Concordat were forwarded to Mgr. Spina. The one to be presented to the government, which it was hoped would be accepted, was distinguished by a small dot on the first page from the other, bearing two dots, in which some of the expressions were slightly varied. This latter Mgr. Spina was to keep, as in case of further discussion it would enable him to make some slight concessions. There was even a third version of some of the articles marked with three dots, which could be made use of as a last resource.⁴⁸ Before, however, the courier reached Paris the First Consul, irritated not only by the long delay, which, as he must have known, was caused by the objections of his own Envoy meddling in a question which he did not understand, and also at not having received any communication on the subject from Cardinal Consalvi, who was bound by his promise not to mention the discussion which was taking place, sent an *ultimatum* to the Holy See. Cacault was instructed to inform the Pope: 1. That the French Government refused to allow any modification of the substance or the form of the project of convention or of the Bull in which it was to be inserted which had been presented to His Holiness to be accepted. 2. If the Holy Father did not, within five days, accept the said projects without modification, the Envoy's presence in Rome would be of no further use for the principal object of his mission, and he was to withdraw to Florence. 3. If in the above mentioned delay the two projects are adopted without any modification, the two States should be united by peaceful relations. The publicity of these relations would be then honorably declared by the proclamation of the articles agreed upon and inserted in the definitive draft of the Bull of the Holy Father.

⁴⁷ Documents, II, No. 465, p. 401. Bernier à Consalvi, Paris, 13 Mai, 1801.

⁴⁸ *Id.*, No. 466, p. 404. Bernier à Talleyrand, Paris, 13 Mai, 1801.

In the letter which conveyed these instructions to Cacault Talleyrand criticized the Papal Government in the disdainful and menacing tone he usually employed with regard to the Holy See. He accused the Court of Rome of trifling with France and disputing about frivolous accessories when the question of its existence as a temporal power was not as yet even decided. The Holy Father and his ministers should be convinced of these two facts: "1. That theological matters were understood as well in Paris as in Rome, and that persons as distinguished by their knowledge of these subjects (meaning thereby, probably, himself, his secretary, de Hauterive, and Grégoire) as any of His Holiness' advisers had found that neither religion nor its dogmas, its maxims or its discipline would be exposed to any change by the conditions imposed on the Holy See in the articles agreed upon. 2. The government of the republic was firmly resolved either to obtain completely and promptly what it wanted or to break off definitively all negotiations on matters which it had discussed with frankness, with generosity, with the most liberal justice, while the Court of Rome had haggled and shown malevolence and dissimulation." Talleyrand had even the incredible effrontery to accuse the Court of Rome of responding with ingratitude to the efforts made by the government of the republic "to stop it on the edge of the precipice and to restore, if possible, the progressive course of the decadence of its power." He also suggested that the validity of the election of Pius VII. might be questioned. It had been held under the direct influence of a single power, and required to be acknowledged by all the nations interested in its legality; it had not been held in the accustomed place, and the proceedings and formalities which accompanied it had not, perhaps, endowed it with sufficient authenticity. "Was it prudent, therefore, when in this situation to criticize a mode of political and religious reconciliation with the most powerful government in Europe and with the most numerous nation in Catholic Christianity?"⁴⁹

The Abbé Bernier, too, though he must have known that the intervention of Cacault in a matter which he did not understand was much more likely to have caused a delay than any ill-will on the part of Consalvi, apparently thought it his duty to again upbraid the Cardinal, as if he alone were responsible for all that had occurred. He repeated the terms of the *ultimatum* and pointed out that it was the fatal consequence of the Cardinal's indecision and of his hesitating to restore to the most powerful people in Europe the only boon it desired. "Alas! why have you waited until requests were followed by threats? Did not our prayers, our wishes, our tears suffice?"

⁴⁹ Documents, II., No. 402, p. 289. Le Pape au Premier Consul, Rome, 12 Mai, 1801.

Were not two months enough to study the project? They have passed away, and nothing is to be seen; there is nothing to satisfy the impatient ardor of a people hungering for its religion. . . . Send this Bull, this Concordat, so long desired. There is no other means to preserve the religion of our fathers in France and Italy, the temporal power of the Holy See in Rome, the ecclesiastical electorates in Germany and, perhaps, peace in the greater part of the Continent of Europe."⁵⁰ Proud of his eloquence, the abbé again furnished Talleyrand with a copy of his letter, to be shown to Bonaparte, remarking: "Your letter was crushing (*foudroyante*). To the strong impression which it cannot fail to produce I add, in mine, the language of persuasion. May they be frightened by one and touched by the other, so as to send us at once what we want." And he assured the Minister that he might always reckon on the activity of his zeal.⁵¹

In spite, however, of the anxiety shown by Bernier to merit the favor of the First Consul and of Talleyrand, Mgr. Spina seems to have been under the impression that he owed much to him. It was by his means that he sought to counteract the efforts made to irritate Bonaparte against the Catholics, and he was convinced that the abbé had done all he could to calm the general and to persuade him to wait for the result of the negotiations before taking any violent measures.

As Cardinal Consalvi had sent off the Concordat on the day that the first of these threatening letters was written, he was at last free to explain that the delay of so many days in the departure of the courier had been caused by the objections raised by Cacault and by the revision of their work by the Cardinals for the purpose of satisfying him. He was also able to account for his silence by mentioning the compact made with Cacault, which he had scrupulously observed, while Cacault had not, but it was then too late, and the *ultimatum* was already on its way. When it arrived in Rome, on May 28, Cardinal Consalvi had been since some days confined to his bed with fever, and in that condition had to give audience to Cacault. His grief on being informed of Cacault's approaching departure was very great, because "so much thought, so much toil, so much anxiety had been scattered to the winds," and because the negotiations were broken off "after everything had been substantially granted, and under forms in which there was nothing opposed to the actual state of affairs in France."⁵² The Holy Father was not less pained on finding that not only all his efforts to satisfy the demands

⁵⁰ *Id.*, No. 400, p. 268 and p. 274.

⁵¹ Documents, II., No. 479, p. 419. Talleyrand à Cacault, Paris, 19 Mai, 1801.

⁵² *Id.*, No. 478, p. 422. Bernier à Consalvi, Paris, 19 Mai, 1801.

of the French Government had proved useless, but also that the probity and the good faith of the Holy See was doubted, and that it was supposed that the intrigues of foreign powers had influenced his decisions.

On receiving the *ultimatum* Pius VII. again convoked the congregation of the twelve Cardinals who had prepared the draft Concordat, and they agreed with him that he could not have signed the documents sent from Paris without in some way modifying them. It was in vain that Cacault in a long interview sought to reopen the question. The Holy Father assured him that neither Russia nor England had even attempted to interfere in the discussion of the Concordat, so profound was the secrecy with which the proceedings had been conducted, and he declared to him that no temporal considerations could induce him to speak otherwise than he was bound to do by the dogmas of the Church. Cacault tried to persuade the Holy Father that he had the power to grant everything demanded by France; that the power to bind and loose had no limits when great evils were to be prevented. The Pope remained unshaken in his resolution.⁵³

Cacault's orders to leave Rome within five days were peremptory and did not allow him to yield to the Holy Father's supplications that he should wait until he had heard from Paris how the Roman draft of the Concordat had been received. It might have given satisfaction, in which case the dangers which appeared to threaten Rome from all sides would be averted. Everything, indeed, seemed to portend an approaching invasion of Rome and the proclamation of another republic. The numbers of the French troops in Tuscany had been greatly augmented. It was rumored that ten thousand of them were about to march on Rome, where many French officers were arriving every day under various pretexts, and the revolutionary party in the Papal States was displaying much activity and proclaiming that "the fruit was ripe."⁵⁴

In this critical situation, when it seemed that the inevitable result of a rupture with France would be the downfall of the Papal Government, Cacault happily perceived a way to conciliate his obedience to the orders of the First Consul with the sympathy and the respect which he felt for Pius VII. He knew that Bonaparte sincerely desired to bring about a reconciliation between France and the Holy See; that such had always been his idea, and that it would one day

⁵³ Documents, II., No. 479, p. 424. Bernier à Talleyrand, Paris, 20 Mai, 1801.

⁵⁴ *Id.*, II., No. 504, p. 462. Consalvi à Spina, Roma, 30 Maggio, 1801. "Tanti pensieri, tante fatiche, tante cure tutte gettate al vento, Eccoci ad una rottura. E come? Dopo aver tutto accordato in fondo, dopo aver combinato i modi che in mella repugnassero alle attuali circostanze della Francia."

be accomplished. He knew, also, that "the Ministers who surrounded him did not desire it, and that the temperament which it is most easy to irritate and to deceive is that of a soldier who has not yet learned to understand politics and who always comes back to the word of command and to his sword."⁵⁵ He thought, therefore, that he would be acting quite in accordance with Bonaparte's views if he were to persuade the Pope to send Cardinal Consalvi to Paris to explain everything and to seek to bring the matter to an end.⁵⁶

The suggestion was gladly accepted by the Holy Father and by Cardinal Consalvi, as it held out to them a chance of escaping from the disasters which seemed about to overwhelm the State. A Consistory of the whole Sacred College was immediately assembled, and when the Pope had fully exposed the question at issue the Cardinals declared unanimously that the Holy Father could not have signed the Concordat which had been presented to him without introducing some modifications, and they approved of his sending Consalvi to Paris. In order to prove as publicly as possible that no rupture had taken place between the Holy See and France, and thus prevent the revolutionary party from taking advantage of the departure of the French Minister to provoke disturbances, it was agreed, also on Cacault's suggestion,⁵⁷ that both the Cardinal and he should travel together, and on the morning of Saturday, June 6, Consalvi left the Quirinal, and, taking Cacault in his carriage, drove with him out of Rome on the road to Florence.

At Florence Cardinal Consalvi was received by General Murat, the Commander-in-Chief of the French army in Italy, with the honors due to his rank and the mission with which he was charged. He had also the satisfaction of being able to inform Cardinal Giuseppe Doria, who had taken his place as Secretary of State,⁵⁸ that the general had assured him that he had no orders to make his troops advance or to treat the Papal States as hostile territory. Cacault then took up his residence in Florence, while the Cardinal continued his journey towards Paris, which he reached on the night of June 20, and where long and arduous labors still awaited him before the Concordat was concluded.

DONAT SAMPSON.

London, England.

⁵⁵ Documents, II., No. 511, p. 477. Cacault à Talleyrand, Rome, 3 Juin, 1801. "Je ne l'ai pas seulement ébranlé."

⁵⁶ *Id.*, No. 490, p. 441. Consalvi à Spina, Roma, 21 Maggio, 1801. *Id.*, No. 501, p. 457. Ghislieri à Colloredo, Rome, 30 Mai. *Id.*, No. 505, p. 505. Consalvi à Spina, Roma, 30 Maggio, 1801. "Le voci dei patrioti sono qui e nello Stato univoche che il frutto è maturo."

⁵⁷ A. F. Artand de Montor, *Histoire du Pape Pie VII.* Paris, 1836, t. I., p. 122.

⁵⁸ Documents, VI., No. 522 ter, p. 45. Consalvi à Doria. Firende, 8 Gینگno, 1801.

POPE ADRIAN IV.

ONCE only in the history of the world has an Englishman been raised to the highest dignity on earth—the Papal throne—and that was so long ago that his countrymen have almost forgotten the fact; perhaps, during the last three hundred and fifty years, when the very name of Pope has been a red rag to the Protestant English nation, they have wished to forget it. Yet Adrian IV. was as a man so talented, so devout, so good, and as Pope so excellent that he deserves to be remembered with pride and admiration by all Englishmen, especially as many of his good qualities were, as we hope to show, so essentially English.

Nicholas Breakspear, the story of whose life is more like romance than history, was born about the year 1100. He was the son of a poor married priest, who afterwards became a monk in the great Abbey of St. Albans, in Hertfordshire. There seems to be no doubt that Robert Breakspear, the future Pope's father, was married, and it is certain that in his wife's lifetime, and when Nicholas was a little boy, he became a monk. The probability is that Robert Breakspear was one of those married priests against whom St. Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, took stringent measures to restore the primitive discipline. The abuse of the marriage of priests had crept into the Church, and in 1102 he passed a decree at a synod at Westminster forbidding priests to marry. It is about this time that Robert Breakspear became a monk, though it was not till 1120, at the first Lateran Council, that the marriage of priests was declared invalid. Robert Breakspear on hearing of St. Anselm's decree prohibiting the marriage of priests may perhaps have repented of having been guilty of this breach of ecclesiastical discipline and put away his wife and taken the monastic vows as a son of St. Benedict in the Abbey of St. Albans. Very little is known of Nicholas' family, which appears to have been of respectable but humble origin, though some attempt has been made to prove that Breakspear was only the name of the birthplace of Nicholas, and that his father was really one Robert de Camera, of Norman birth, but there seems to be little evidence to support this theory, based rather on a wish to claim Norman descent for the future Pope than on facts. His mother was alive and in great poverty when Nicholas had risen to the Chair of Peter, for he was appealed to to relieve her and refused to use the Papal revenues for that purpose, but referred her case to the Court of Canterbury. Nicholas had certainly one brother, but we hear of no more than this one, whose son, Boso Breakspear, became his uncle's secretary and biographer and ultimately a Cardinal.

If the above theory of Robert Breakspear's life be true, it would account for his leaving his wife and family in poverty while he became a monk, instead of maintaining them, but it does not justify his subsequent harsh treatment of his little son, whom he drove away from the monastery, where he came daily for food and education, because he was ashamed of him.

It is said that before Nicholas was turned out of the monastery by his father he went to the abbot and asked to be received as a postulant, but Abbot Robert on examining him found him very ignorant and refused his petition, telling him he must study more before he could become a monk. Years after this, when the good abbot visited Adrian IV. at Benevento, the Pope received him most kindly and laughingly reminded him of his rejection of the unpromising aspirant to monastic life. Nicholas is described as a pretty boy of charming manners. He retained both his comeliness and his charm of address and grew up to be a handsome man of graceful carriage and courteous bearing. Indeed, his personality seems to have been very fascinating and to have won him not only popularity, but what he valued more—the friendship of a man like John of Salisbury, a great scholar and chronicler, his lifelong, faithful friend, and the devotion of his nephew, Cardinal Boso, his most important biographer.

Nicholas appears to have been a mere lad of fourteen when his father turned him adrift. He started at once begging his way, as many other poor scholars in those times did, till he finally arrived at Arles, in Provence, in the south of France. Living as he did about fifty years after the Norman Conquest, he was probably familiar with the French language; indeed, we know that he became in course of time an excellent linguist as well as a good classical scholar, and his knowledge of the French language may have facilitated his travels in France. He must have been a boy of no mean courage to have walked alone, in those rough times from St. Albans to the coast, whence he probably worked his passage across the Channel, and then to have tramped quite across the whole length of France in days when roads were few and robbers many.

We next find him entering the monastery of canons regular of St. Rufus as a lay Brother. His biographers are not quite agreed as to the exact situation of this monastery. Some place it at Avignon, others near Valence. Mr. Mackie,¹ the most modern authority on the subject, says it was certainly at or near Avignon and was afterwards moved to Valence. In this monastery he made such progress in his studies, and was so much liked for his personal beauty and charming manner, as well as for his prompt obedience and his

¹ Pope Adrian IV., *The Lothian Essay*, by T. D. Mackie, Oxford.

wisdom, that they raised him to the priesthood and made him a canon regular, and after some years he was so admired and esteemed for his learning, as well as for his eloquence, for he was a very fine preacher, that they elected him abbot. Then occurred an event not by any means unique in monastic history—the new abbot proved stricter than the canons liked, and partly on this account, partly because he was a foreigner, they revolted against him and took their cause to Rome.

Eugenius III., of saintly memory, was Pope at the time, and he made peace between the abbot and his unruly subjects, but at the end of a year the canons again rebelled, and when they and their abbot appeared a second time in Rome Eugenius sternly rebuked the monks and told them they were not worthy of such an abbot and sent them back to their monastery and retained Nicholas in Rome, where he was soon after made Cardinal Bishop of Albano. This was in the year 1146, and before we follow the fortunes of the future Pope any further it may be as well to take a glance at some of his contemporaries.

King Stephen was ruling in England, Theobald was Archbishop of Canterbury, Eugenius III. was occupying the Papal throne in troublous times, St. Bernard was preaching the second Crusade, Arnold of Brescia was stirring up rebellion in Europe by his heretical teaching, Conrad III. was Emperor of Germany, Louis VI., surnamed the Young, was King of France. One of the principal aims of St. Bernard and the Pope was to draw foreign countries into closer relationship with the Holy See, and for this purpose Cardinal Paparo was sent to Ireland and Cardinal Breakspear to Scandinavia on the same mission in 1152. Nicholas traveled through England on his way to Norway, and strange must have been the great Cardinal's feelings, traveling now in state and luxury with his suite over the same roads he had traveled, probably barefoot, begging his way, when he started on his search for fortune so many years ago. Then he was a poor, pretty, friendless, ignorant boy of fourteen or fifteen; now he was a great dignitary of the Church, a handsome man of fifty, a fine orator and preacher, a good linguist and a great diplomatist. It reads more like romance than history, and is only one more proof of the veracity of the hackneyed old saying that "truth is stranger than fiction."

Space does not allow us to dwell on his mission to Scandinavia; suffice it to say that it was an eminent success. The Cardinal settled the disputes that were raging in Norway between the three Kings then reigning there. He established the system of Peter's pence in all three countries of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, suppressed the evil of clerical marriages which had crept in, established a metro-

politan see at Nidaros for Norway and brought all three countries into closer relationship with the Holy See.

On his return to Rome, the date of which is uncertain, but it was between the beginning of July and the end of November, 1153, Anastasius II., who had succeeded Eugenius III. at the ripe old age of eighty, was occupying the Papal throne, but he died on December 3 of that same year, and the following day Cardinal Breakspear was elected by a conclave of thirty-two Cardinals as his successor. It is thought that his eminently successful mission in Scandinavia greatly conduced to his election.

Nicholas accepted the offer unwillingly, but believing it to be a Divine call he dared not refuse it, and took the name of Adrian IV. The state of the whole Catholic Church at that time was enough to make the boldest heart quail at having to rule it. A movement which might be called mediæval modernism was, like its twentieth century counterpart, though in a less degree, attempting to sap the very foundations of Christianity. This "new philosophy," as it was called, had two great exponents whose names stand above the others involved in it—Abelard, who retracted and died a holy death as a monk, and Arnold of Brescia, whose heresy was combined with revolutionary doctrines which, had they prevailed, would have been subversive of all order. He attacked the temporal power of the Pope and stirred the people up against the religious orders with exaggerated accounts of their wealth and luxury, declaring that no monk or priest holding property could be saved. He had been largely instrumental in establishing a republic in Rome, which had driven the saintly Eugenius III. from his capital into exile.

At the time of Adrian's accession the power of this republic was not quite so strong as it had been, but Arnold was inflaming the people with his revolutionary and schismatical ravings. While this internal discord was wringing the heart of Rome itself two other powers were threatening the Papal dominions. On the one hand Adrian's great enemy, Frederick Barbarossa, the German King, was advancing towards Rome from the north with a large army, with what intentions the new Pope did not yet know, and on the other hand William II., King of Sicily, then a great power, was threatening to attack the Holy City from the south.

These three men—Arnold of Brescia, Frederick Barbarossa and William of Sicily—were the three great enemies Adrian had to withstand and actually to take up arms against them and go out and fight them. Arnold of Brescia was soon quelled with Barbarossa's help; William of Sicily submitted ultimately, after a campaign which lasted nearly three years and was concluded by the peace of Benevento in 1156; but Frederick Barbarossa, although a reconciliation

between him and Adrian did take place, continued to trouble Adrian's peace all through his reign.

We shall content ourselves here by singling out the more dramatic episodes in Adrian's dealings with these three enemies, who with true English pluck he attacked and overthrew and defended the Church, his bride, against all the encroachments of the State and fought her battles in a way which ought to have earned for him the lasting gratitude of all Christendom, for seldom has the Catholic Church had so bold and brave a champion of her rights.

The root of all the strife which disturbed Adrian's reign was the struggle of the secular power to suppress the ecclesiastical and exalt itself over the Church, whether Arnold of Brescia was its exponent or William of Sicily or Frederick Barbarossa. Put briefly, the aim of each of these three was to exalt that power for which he stood over the Church. In Arnold it was the power of democracy; in William of Sicily, the regal power of an usurping neighbor, and in Frederick Barbarossa, the imperial power, all of which rose in rebellion against the Pope, determined to wrest the temporal power from him and to crush the Church as far as possible. How history is repeating itself in our day the briefest glance at the reign of the English Pope will show.

At the time of Adrian's accession Arnold had incited the Roman citizens to destroy the palaces of the Cardinals and of some of the nobility who were loyal to the Pope, and as the Cardinal of St. Pudenziana was going to the Vatican to congratulate Adrian upon his accession he was attacked and mortally wounded in the street. The new Pope immediately laid the city under an interdict, and this severe measure, well merited as it was, soon brought the people to their senses, for it was a terrible punishment. The churches were all closed. Mass ceased, the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion could only be administered to the dying, and even they could not receive Extreme Unction nor could the dead be buried in consecrated ground; marriages were celebrated with maimed rites on a tomb instead of at the altar. Adrian insisted upon the banishment of Arnold of Brescia before he would remove the interdict. The Senate agreed to this, and on Maunday Thursday the interdict was removed.

After this Adrian had William of Sicily to deal with, for at Easter he had invaded Italy at Salerno. Him the Pope excommunicated, but until Adrian had ascertained Frederick's intentions he could not take up arms against the Sicilian King. Barbarossa was now marching towards Rome, and when he reached San Quirico he met an embassy of three Cardinals from the Pope, which crossed with the ambassadors Frederick was sending to Adrian. Meanwhile Fred-

erick had induced the nobles who were sheltering Arnold of Brescia since his banishment to give him up, and he in his turn delivered him to the Cardinals, who took the turbulent demagogue back to Rome with them, where he was promptly executed by Peter, the Prefect of the city.

Some writers say this unfortunate man was burnt alive, others say he was hanged and his body burnt and the ashes thrown into the Tiber to prevent the Roman populace from causing another tumult by honoring his corpse as an emblem of liberty. Adrian was at Viterbo at the time, and neither he nor Barbarossa had anything to do with the execution, which was the work of Peter, the Prefect, who took the law into his own hands and precipitated matters for fear of another rebellion breaking out in Rome.

At length Adrian ascertained from Frederick's ambassadors that their master was coming to Rome with peaceful intentions as a faithful son of the Church, to ask the Pope to grant him the imperial crown. A meeting was then arranged between the Pope and the King at Nepi, near which place the German army was encamped. Here occurred one of the most famous historical scenes, typical as it was of the whole struggle of which it was an epitome, between the Pope and the Emperor; in other words, between the Church and the State.

When the Pope, mounted upon his white charger and surrounded by his suite of Cardinals, Bishops, priests and acolytes, arrived at the door of Frederick's tent Barbarossa went out to meet his spiritual sovereign, and according to custom and *étiquette* should have held the Holy Father's stirrup while he dismounted, but this the haughty young King refused to do. Then ensued a very awkward pause. Adrian, with great dignity, waited for the accustomed act of homage to be performed. Barbarossa remained rebellious and obstinate, while the Cardinals were frightened and fled to Castellano, leaving the Pope alone in his enemy's camp.

Adrian was quite equal to the occasion. He quietly dismounted and seated himself upon the throne prepared for him, and doubtless Barbarossa thought he had won the battle, instead of which he had met his master, for when he prostrated himself at the Pope's feet, as in duty bound, Adrian refused to give him the kiss of peace until he had performed the customary act of homage. Matters were now at a deadlock and ended by Adrian going back to Nepi for the night, while Frederick took counsel with his courtiers and slept upon the situation, which was probably rather an uneasy couch. However, the next morning Barbarossa, who strikes us as behaving rather like an ill-mannered boy, had come to a better mind, and when that day Adrian once more approached the royal tent the haughty monarch

dismounted and meekly held his stirrup "*cum jucunditate*," as Boso, who no doubt was an eye-witness of the scene, reports. Thereupon the Pope folded his rebellious son in his arms and gave him the kiss of peace. The Pope and King then returned to Rome, where Frederick and his soldiers helped to reduce the insurgent citizens to submission, and a few days later received the imperial crown he so greatly coveted from the hands of the Pope in St. Peter's.

This dramatic reconciliation did not prove a lasting one. Till the end of Adrian's reign Barbarossa continued to give him trouble from time to time. As soon as peace was restored in Rome itself, with Barbarossa's help, Adrian had to turn his attention to William the Norman of Sicily, who is described by Cardinal Boso as having "*insolently erected his horn*," and now Adrian himself took the field, Barbarossa went back to Germany with his tired soldiers and Adrian, who was not strong enough to enter his capital alone, took up his headquarters at Benevento. During the first part of this Sicilian campaign William was victorious, but ultimately he yielded to the Pope, and the celebrated peace of Benevento was concluded between them. Adrian, who had previously excommunicated William, absolved him and gave him the kiss of peace, and William then did homage for his crown.

By the terms of this treaty Adrian vindicated all the rights of Holy Church, from none of which would he budge an inch, and secured her supremacy in all matters ecclesiastical, and in return he granted to William and his heirs the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia and the principality of Capua, for all of which William swore fealty to the Holy Father.

This alliance of Adrian and William displeased Barbarossa and was doubtless one of the causes of his conduct at the great Diet of Besancon, when a letter from Adrian inquiring why Frederick had not taken steps to punish an outrage which had been committed in Burgundy against the aged Archbishop of Lund gave the haughty Emperor great offense. In this memorable letter Adrian spoke of having "*conferred the imperial crown*" upon Frederick, who chose to consider this expression "*conferred*" meant that he only held his crown as a vassal of the Pope.

When this letter was read at the Diet Barbarossa's rage knew no bounds. The Pope's legates had a narrow escape of being struck down by one of Frederick's courtiers, and they were sent away the next morning with instructions to go home the shortest way and not to turn aside to the east or the west, and they took with them a most insolent letter written by Frederick to their master.

Adrian returned a conciliatory reply to this epistle and sent it by two Cardinals, who on their journey fell into the hands of two robber

lords, but were eventually rescued and met Frederick at Augsburg. This letter had the desired effect, and peace between Pope and Emperor was once more proclaimed, but only to be broken very shortly afterwards. There were several causes for this final rupture. One was Barbarossa's marriage with Beatrice, a beautiful Burgundian heiress, during the lifetime of Adelheide, his first wife, whom he had divorced in 1153. Another cause was a dispute about the appointment of the Archbishop of Ravenna. Frederick wished to put a young imperialist, the Count of Blandrada, into the vacant see, but Adrian opposed this because he already held an appointment at St. Peter's, and, moreover, he desired to retain him in Rome.

A third cause was Frederick's insolence in taking upon himself to decide a quarrel which had arisen between the cities of Bergamot and Brescia, which the Pope was himself engaged in settling. For this impertinent and aggressive interference Adrian threatened to lay Frederick's kingdom under an interdict and Barbarossa complained that the messenger who bore this letter was in rags. He sent a very angry and insolent reply and ordered his scribe to put his name before the Holy Father's in inditing the reply. This led to a severe rebuke from Adrian in answer, and that in turn to another and still more impertinent and angry letter from the Emperor.

As Frederick persisted in living with the beautiful Beatrice, Adrian threatened him with excommunication and was on the point of carrying this threat into execution when his own death, from a quinsy, took place at Anagni on September 1, 1159, after a short illness. Frederick, however, did not escape excommunication, which was pronounced against him by Adrian's successor, Alexander III.

Even so slight a sketch of the reign of Adrian IV. as the present one must include the mention of the vexed question of the donation of Ireland to England and the celebrated bull "*Laudabiliter*," in which it is said to have been conferred. Great controversy has arisen upon this subject, and great authorities are quoted upon both sides, some writers, as Lingard, Mr. Raby² and Father Pfulf, asserting, and others, like Abbot Gasquet and Mr. Thatcher,³ denying the authenticity of the famous bull, of which no copy is to be found in the Vatican archives. We shall not presume to enter into this much disputed point beyond saying that the more modern critics believe the bull to be a forgery, but one thing is certain—whether "*Laudabiliter*" is genuine or spurious, Adrian IV. certainly bestowed Ireland upon Henry II. of England, for we have John of Salisbury's word

² "Pope Adrian IV.," by Richard Baky, London, 1854.

³ Of Chicago University. See his "Studies of the Bull '*Laudabiliter*,'" Chicago.

for this, and he is a most trustworthy authority. He tells us in his "Metalogicus" that Adrian made the donation at his request.

In treating of this delicate matter we must remember that England at this time was a Catholic country, and not being a prophet, Adrian could have had no idea that it would ever be anything else, or we may rest assured that he who defended the rights of Holy Church so nobly would have died rather than have put Catholic Ireland under a Protestant power, no matter what material advantages might have resulted to the Emerald Isle by so doing. Another thing must also be remembered—Adrian in thus bestowing Ireland upon England was quite within what were then the rights of the Pope, for by the donation of Constantine all islands, or, at any rate, all Christian islands, belonged to the Pope, and in those days he could have bestowed England upon another country had he chosen. Ireland then was a very weak power, England daily becoming stronger, and Adrian no doubt thought that Ireland would thrive better under England's protection.

Before his untimely death at Anagni he from time to time resided in Rome, where after the signing of the treaty of Benevento he took up his residence at the Lateran, and while there a deputation consisting of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and several Greek Bishops waited upon him. This fact is doubly interesting because Adrian's desire for the union of the Eastern and Western Churches is another instance of the similarity of his reign in many respects with that of the present Holy Father, who has recently received a similar deputation of Uniate Greek Bishops and expressed his desire for the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches to them.

Adrian made many improvements in Rome during his stay there and would have made many more had his life been prolonged. He frequently left the city for Anagni, where he eventually died. Among his letters, many of which are dated from Rome, it is interesting to note that one or two are to Héloïse, the former unhappy heroine of the romantic story of Abelard's love for her, who, when Adrian wrote to her, was an abbess, and the letters are simply to grant her certain permissions for her convent.

The character of Adrian IV. seems to have been a singularly lovable one. His great friend, John of Salisbury, says he was kind and patient, slow to anger and quick to pardon, a large and cheerful giver of alms, a mighty preacher, very eloquent and a proficient in church music. He was very humble, and so far from coveting the dignity to which he attained, he said that "the Chair of Peter was a thorny seat," and that "he had been between the hammer and the anvil ever since he had occupied it," and that "the only reason the

⁴ See his "Polycraticus," lib. VIII.

tiara was worth having was that it burnt like fire." His motto was "Oculi mei semper ad Dominum." The description John⁴ gives of his intimacy with Adrian, who opened his innermost heart fully to his friend, is one of the most charming examples of the joys of true friendship that history records. Although Adrian possessed all these milder and more saintly virtues, he was by no means deficient, as we have tried to show, in true English courage and pluck, and the strength of will with which he defended the Church from her enemies is characterized by his detractors as obstinacy. He was a very great as well as a very good man, highly gifted both by nature and by grace, and he had the power not only of winning the love of such men as John of Salisbury and Cardinal Boso, but also of whole nations like those of Norway, Denmark and Sweden, who idolized him. John of Salisbury says that the news of Adrian's death "disturbed all Christian peoples and moved our England with a deeper grief and watered it with profuser tears."

Circumstances seem to have obscured the fame of Adrian IV., who though so great and good is by no means one of the well-known Popes. In this present slight sketch we have not been able to do more than try to rouse the interest of our readers sufficiently to induce them to study his history for themselves.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF THE TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE POPES.

Duchesne, English translation. Kegan Paul & Co., London, 1908.

NOWADAYS in England to draft a bill, get it through all its parliamentary stages and make it finally a law by royal assent is a long business, but in the end the law becomes a working reality. Not so was it of old when an imperial edict was called a law—*quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*—yet was often in its result quite inefficient. Pathetically sometimes the Emperors had to appeal for compliance in their repeated enactments against fiscal abuses. Take another contrast: To-day a country is definitely independent or dependent; of old provinces nominally subject often asserted their power to do as they liked, in spite of the higher authority, which was like a weak master in a schoolroom over unruly boys who do as they are told not.

Observations of the above kind will serve to introduce what Mgr. Duchesne, on the principle that practice cannot exactly follow theory,

has said about the relation of the Popes as to the temporal domains towards the Byzantine Emperors in the sixth, the seventh and the eighth centuries. While in theory the Emperor regarded the Pope as a subject, "in reality the Pope was elected by the Romans at Rome, with imperial sanction as a matter of form. As a fact, he owed his prestige and position to the influence of St. Peter. The Papal influence was by no means confined to the Church. The Pope's experience, his moral authority, his sound financial position and his powers of administration were a valuable help in the conduct of temporal affairs. We see him concerning himself, apparently in no meddlesome spirit, with war operations, the arrangement of treaties, the appointment of officials, the management of the State exchequer, as well as with municipal enterprises such as the repairing of ramparts and aqueducts and schemes for the public food supply" (page 14). The writer further remarks that probably the moral power of the Popes would have become a strong factor in the political world "if the boundary line between the spiritual and the temporal sphere had been less jealously defined." In affairs as they actually occurred the distinction was not always kept as rigidly as it existed in the canons of councils; still its existence there was an important feature to be recognized, especially when, after the twelfth century, the inquiry became explicit into the relation of Papal to regal power. As to the multiplicity of the Pope's activities before civil States had fully developed their powers, a moderate acquaintance with the life of a Pontiff so well known to English readers as Gregory the Great will amply witness to the fact; beyond the cares officially his own he was overwhelmed with temporal administrations.

Thus we have brought before us a question well worth our study, the relation between *sacerdotium et imperium*—powers spiritual and powers temporal. The case is one of combined theory and practice, in which the latter often got ahead of the former; for though theory from the beginning was laid down in broad outlines, the detailed features were left to be evolved by the suggestions and the exigencies of events as they occurred. Even the Church of Christ, so perfect in its foundation and in the vital principle of its growth, needed time for the discovery of its varying adaptations to the world, in which it had to build up its ever extending structure. It was not at first, with a rigidity beyond alteration, settled how the Church was to work with the State towards the twofold end of human society, its welfare on earth and in heaven; of which double purpose only one part arrested the eye of St. Thomas of Canterbury when he told Henry II. that the aim of that monarch's sovereignty was *ut totum reducet ad pacem et unitatem ecclesia*.

FIRST PERIOD—UP TO CHARLEMAGNE.

I. Under the pagan Empire of Rome toleration was the small mercy which the Church at the outset sought from the State, with the addition of just an occasional act of protection such as was exemplified in St. Paul's appeal to Cæsar. At first the mighty world-power almost ignored the new faith, regarding it as a part of Judaism till the opposition of Jews to Christians was forced upon its notice by the manifest hostility of the former to the Nazarenes. Moreover, Rome saw that the Christian religion aspired to become a universal creed, everywhere dominant and exclusive, refusing the amalgamation which other foreign religions were ready to make with the cult of the Emperor, who personified the world-power as divine. Yet in regard to actual danger of encroachment, the contemptuous utterances about the religion of Christ showed how little it was expected by its enemies to fulfill its own boundless aspirations and to take rank side by side with the principate itself. A Roman lawyer of the time would have treated with incredulity a prediction that within about six centuries the statute book of his masters would contain the utterance: "The two greatest gifts vouchsafed by the divine clemency to men are the priesthood and the Empire, the one ministering in Divine things, the other ruling in human affairs, both proceeding from the same principle."¹ Long before this concord was reached the Apostles appreciated the advantages for religion derived from the *Pax et Delectis Romana* and from such justice as Rome laudably upheld, which, though not perfect, was relatively to the rule of other powers very good. St. Peter (I. Pet. ii., 13-18), after his Master's example, and St. Paul (Rom. xiii., 1-8) preached that to Cæsar should loyally be yielded the things of Cæsar. This was in the spirit of the Old Testament (Prov. viii., 15). Several interpreters of II. Thess. ii., 7 were of opinion that there the restraining power was that of the Roman Empire, which was keeping the world from falling to pieces, lapsing into chaos, a catastrophe which in the fifth century did begin to occur.

At the time saints witnessing the calamity thought that the end of the world had come and that the restoration of public order was hopeless. To a certain extent Christians had accepted for true the proud boast of *Roma æterna*,² which some fancied that they found sanctioned in the book of Daniel. Lactantius wrote: "This very state of things declares the ruin of the world but for the city of

¹ Justinian Novell. VI. Praefat. Cf. St. Fulgentius of Ruspa. De Veritate. In ecclesia nemo pontifice potior: in oculo Christianis nemo imperatore celsior.

² "His ego nec vetus rerum nec tempora pono: imperium sine fine dedi."

Rome standing in its integrity. There, there is the State which still sustains the world, and we must pray God to maintain it," and delay the coming of Antichrist.³

Yet St. John the Apostle had lived long enough to speak unfavorably of the Empire when writing his Apocalypse after his experience of the persecutions by Nero and Domitian; he took up against Rome the cry that a Roman had raised against Carthage and the prophets against Babylon: "The city shall be destroyed." The Roman Babylon must perish as had done the Mesopotamian. "Babylon the great has fallen; her sins have reached unto heaven, and God has remembered her iniquities" (Apoc. xviii.).

Meanwhile any mark of favor from the Empire was recorded with gratitude and with hope. Tertullian put on record that but for the opposition of the Senate Tiberius would have given Christ a place among the gods of the State. Alexander Severus ruled that a certain property had better be assigned for the benefit of the Church than made over to profane uses⁴—*melius esse ut quomodocumque Deus illic colatur*. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, praised Gallianus, who, however, was a persecutor in his turn, for befriending the Church after the Decian persecution: "The holy and pious Emperor, surviving the seventh year, is now in the ninth, of which we are about to celebrate the festival."⁵ And Aurelian received from the Christians the testimony of his honor that he lent his support to the Church when it deposed from his bishopric the heretic, Paul of Samosata, and tried to wrest from his unwilling hands the episcopal property.⁶ The Emperor decided that the ecclesiastical buildings should go to those who were in union with the Bishops of Italy and of Rome. As the pagan line of Emperors was ending in the West, the acknowledgment was paid Maxentius that he stopped the persecution and restored to the Christians their confiscated property.⁷ In such small favors the Church made her recognitions to an empire whose more general policy was conveyed in the stern words, *Non licet esse urbis*.

A new era started with the conversion of Constantine, who though he delayed his baptism to the end gave tokens of sincere attachment to the civil prosperity which he believed to follow upon his adherence to Christ; for there is no harm in rejoicing at a temporal reward. In the Justinian legislation we find the same idea: *Praeceptum imperatoris majestatis curam perspicimus verae religionis imaginem cujus si cultum tueri potuerimus iter prosperitatis*

³ De Div. Justit. VII., 25.

⁴ Lampidius, Alex. Sever., 49.

⁵ Euseb., H. E. VII., 23.

⁶ Idem, VII., 30.

⁷ Idem, VIII., 14.

*humanis aspicimus ineptis.*⁸ The argument from worldly success becomes bad when it stands alone, apart from conduct defensible on its own merits and more still when it is clearly impious. Such was the bad case of the Jews in their defiance of Jeremias: "As for the word which thou has spoken to us, we will not hearken to it; but we will certainly do whatever thing goeth forth from our mouth, to burn incense unto the Queen of Heaven, as we and our fathers have done before. For then we had plenty of food and fared well, and saw no evil." Upon this piece of profanity God's terrible curse came: "Behold I will watch over them for evil and not for good." (Jer. xxiv.)

A severe disappointment in regard to the Church met Constantine in the Donatist and the Arian heresy. Here the very mistress of peace fell into harsh discord within her own home of religion. The Emperor tried to have the disturbances quieted by synods, one following upon another in rapid succession. To his chagrin, the authority of the councils was not obeyed. And it was in these gatherings that there appeared foreshadowed another discord—that between the Church and the State. In theory Constantine declared correctly enough his own position as "Bishop in things external," without right to judge on doctrine.⁹ Rufinus reports his words thus: "God established you to be Bishops and gave you to be judges even over ourselves, whilst you cannot be judged by men."¹⁰ When, after a double condemnation, one at Rome and another at Arles, the Donatists still appealed to the Emperor, he finally yielded and himself listened to what they had to urge, though he assumed this office under protest: "They look for judgment to me who myself am looking to be judged by Christ. I tell the truth as it really stands when I say that the judgment of the priest is the judgment of our Lord Himself." Some theologians, however, go beyond strict limits when they teach that Constantine in his coöperation with the synods was using no power of his own, but was acting exclusively as Papal Delegate. There really was a joint employment of civil and ecclesiastical powers. In his own order, which was other than the Pope's order, the Emperor in early times, though not in the time of the Vatican Council, summoned, watched over and confirmed councils, embodying them in the Justinian legislation. Of his own coöperation Constantine speaks as a thing of "divine appointment."

Pope Celestine was not jealous in his acknowledgments when he wrote to Theodosius about the synod which the Emperor had ordered—*quam esse jussistis*¹¹—and the assembled fathers in session

⁸ Novel. Tit., III.

⁹ Euseb., Vita Constant, IV., 24.

¹⁰ Rufinus, H. E. I., 2, Migne, t. VIII., col. 488.

¹¹ Harduin, I., 146.

after session of a synod used such phrases as that they were gathered together "by the grace of God and the convocation of the Emperor," or "by the grace of God and the oracular voice of the Emperor."¹² These words are in the Acts of the Council, and to repudiate them would be worse than bad policy. We need not fear what so easily received an orthodox interpretation of the deference paid to Emperors when their aid was so opportune for the Church. The Roman Canonist Cavignis says: "*Data pace ecclesia ipsa aliquantulum defert imperatoribus Christianis; sed semper independentiam affirmat quoties ipsi nomine proprio se ingerunt.*"¹³ When later ages are under discussion Mgr. Duchesne tells how the Carolingian and other Emperors used a sort of corrective attitude to some abuses, and sought to rescue Papal elections from the hands of a very unworthy clique, who put into office not fit candidates, but their own creatures. Extreme necessities of this kind called for action which normally was beyond the office of an Emperor in regard to the Church. But if at times it was the Popes who needed some control, at other times the Emperors distinctly exceeded their powers in employing an unwarrantable coercion. Justinian, who had done so much good for the Church, treated Pope Vigilius with a disgraceful tyranny. In short, imperial action toward the Papacy was in part official and profitable; in part extra official and still profitable; in part usurpatory and injurious.¹⁴

It is one thing to have rights and another to be able to use them. At times the Popes were unable to give effect to their jurisdiction without lay help. To assemble the Vatican Council it was enough to issue the summons and leave the Bishops to make their own way to Rome; but so independent a process was not always within the Church's command. Of the feeble times Mgr. Duchesne writes: "*La papauté telle que l'occident la connaît plus tard était encore à naître. La place qu'elle n'occupait pas encore l'était s'y installa sans hésitation. La religion de l'empereur non seulement en ce sens qu'elle était professée par lui mais encore en ce sens qu'elle était dirigée par lui. Tel n'est pas le droit mais il est le fait.*"¹⁵ About the period here described violence was used when Constantine had Pope Martin seized in Rome and carried off to the East, there to die in exile. The Empress Theodora had the like treatment inflicted on Pope Silverius and the Gothic Emperor Theodoric copied the bad example in regard to Pope John I. Abuse of authority by those in

¹² Harduin, I., 437.

¹³ Jus. Eccles. lib. IV., Cap. III., 6.

¹⁴ Of the Emperor, Gregory the Great wrote: "Conservende sacerdotali caritati inarguit Deus dominari sum non solis militibus sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit." Regest 50, 37; 5, 37.

¹⁵ L'Histoire de l'Eglise, Tom. II., p. 660.

possession of it is what Bishop Creighton has declared to be one of the most revolting features of human history; and in view of so many undoubted cases of imperial tyranny which offers matter for our reprobation, we may spare our denunciation when in abnormal cases the Emperors acted somewhat as a wife might act to control her husband or parishioners might act to control their parishes. They are not the superior powers, and yet in an emergency they assume the direction. After the Popes had praised civil princes for their energetic suppression of heresy it became harder to stop their meddling in spiritual affairs when it became a sheer impertinence.

There are words of authoritative writers which may seem expressly to put Bishops into the dominion of secular princes. The case was not really to the point where Isidore of Pelisum wrote *ecclesiam esse in regno*, for he was speaking after the manner of the writer of the letter to Dioquetus, who said the Church was in the world in its life-giving soul. But there is some point in quoting St. Optatus, who wrote *ecclesia in republica, non republica in ecclesia*. The explanation is that he was referring to the assistance which the Church got from Christian Emperors in contrast to what she suffered from barbarous nations. "In the Roman Empire the priesthood, and chastity, and the virgin state are held sacred, whereas these have no such reverence among the barbarous."¹⁶ St. Ambrose gave the counterpart to the statement of St. Optatus in the words: "*Imperator intra ecclesiam non super ecclesiam est.*"¹⁷

Next we reach the third stage of the history between Constantine and Charlemagne, and it is marked by circumstances which called forth from two Popes especially a declaration of Papal and of imperial rights so clearly formulated as to leave nothing to be desired in the way of essential distinction. Pope Gelasius (492-496), in his contention with the Greek Emperor Anastasius I., proclaimed that there were two distinct powers, one having care of earthly, the other of heavenly concerns, but that Emperors in their relation to Christian subjects with duties to perform to the Church were bound to accept her authoritative teachings, though they were not so subject in their own temporal government as such. This Papal letter, which, after having been adopted by a synod of Paris, found its way into the Capitularies of Charlemagne and became quite a classical document, was occasioned by a difficulty raised in the Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno (474), who wished to mediate between Antichene Nestorianism and Alexandrian Monophysitism. With this pacificatory purpose Zeno ventured to modify the decrees of Chalcedon passed in 451 against Eutyches Simplicius, who was

¹⁶ De Schiam, III., 3.

¹⁷ Sermo.

Pope in Zeno's time. As a later consequence of Zeno's document, his successor, Leo II., fell under the reproof of Pope Felix II., and another successor, Anastasius I., under that of Gelasius. This is the incident with which we are now concerned. In his remembrance Gelasius appealed to precedents in Jewish history where Nathan, in things spiritual, assumed control over King David, and in Christian history where a like authority was shown by St. Ambrose over Theodosius I., by Leo I. over Theodosius II., by Pope Hilary over the Western Emperor Authencius, by Popes Simplicius and Felix II. over the Emperors Basiliscus and Zeno. Thence Gelasius conferred the right of the Popes to teach the Emperors as they taught other members of the Church,¹⁸ yet so as to keep distinct the two jurisdictions—the ecclesiastical and the civil—and to do no injury to the latter in its own proper domain. These two powers united in Melchisedech had been divided in Christendom *ita est imperatore pro ce tera vita pontificibus indigerent et pontifices pro temporalium cursu rerum imperialibus dispositioribus utantur*. Later on this harmonious combination, which is so needful and so exclusive of the idea that each power may go its own way in utter disregard to the other, was called by St. Peter Damian *una dignitas in Christiano populo, mutuo quadam foedere copulata*.¹⁹ A similar letter to that of Gelasius was written by his successor, Symmachus, in remonstrance to the same Anastasius.

A further ramification of our subject presents itself obtrusively in the large employment of clerics to discharge the offices which now is assigned to laymen. Civil government employed clerics very extensively. As long as the legal tribunals were still conducted by pagan administration St. Paul urged the Christians not to have recourse to their courts. He adopts even a tone of banter against the objection the Christians might have made among themselves qualified to arbitrate.²⁰ With the accession of Christian Emperors difficulty on the score of paganism in the civil processes began to cease. Constantine ordered his magistrates to execute the decisions of the Bishops in civil cases. So reports the historian Sozomon, though his account has been questioned. Over criminal cases, at

¹⁸ We must not lay undue stress on a sort of revival in the position when emperors gave exhortations to Popes. The incident belongs to a later date, but may be cited to illustrate our present topic. Duchesne writes, page 110: "The letters of Charlemagne to Leo III. are full of moral exhortations. Leo is to be a good Pope, pious, faithful in his duties and strict in maintaining discipline, especially in repressing simony. In all those directions Charlemagne displays a certain consciousness of moral authority and of the advantage of having good ecclesiastical leaders in his kingdom."

¹⁹ Labe Concll, IV., 1,298.

²⁰ I. Cor. v., 1-9; II. Cor. x., 6 Sqq.; II. Thess. v., 12-15; I. Tim. i., 2; II. Tim. iv., 13.

least those of the worst kind, the State reserved its claims. There came a decree of Arcadius and Honorius limiting the episcopal decisions to ecclesiastical causes, but its efficiency seems not to have been great: "*Quoties de religione agitur episcopis convenit judicare; caeteros vero causas legibus oportet rudisi.*"²¹ Civil cases, with consent of both parties, might go before the Bishops if they were not criminal, and effect could be given by the style of the sentences, which could not be done to-day. So far the Bishops were more than arbitrators. Criminal cases were reserved,²² yet clerical offenders, except for the greater crimes of treason, murder, etc., were committed to their own Judges; but the punishment was sometimes restricted by varying laws till Justinian tried to bring more conformity into the enactment. He exempted Bishops from the jurisdiction of secular courts on all charges against them.²³ Ecclesiastical sentences in their penalties stopped short of bloodshed, but could go as far as banishment, confiscation and imprisonment, but the execution was left to the civil magistrates. Not till the rise of their temporal sovereignty did the Popes get a full jurisdiction over crime.

Being made protectors of the defenseless and having a judgment in all cases such as wills in which oaths were concerned, the Bishops had a heavy charge in looking after the rights of widows, orphans, prisoners, slaves and minors. The rules of society being enforced by oath, disobedience of their statutes was tried under the head of perjury, and so fell under episcopal cognizance.²⁴ This rule held later when the universities were formed. No wonder that Bishops groaned under their multiplied responsibilities, as we hear from St. Augustine, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, Synesius Ep. 57, and the cares also grew with another development—that of public penance—which in some cases was allowed to stand as a substitute for a civil penalty.

As to municipal offices, Duchesne denies that in the fourth and fifth centuries those strictly to which were undertaken by Bishops, being forbidden by the canon law. In later times there is frequent mention of the Bishops as *defensor civitatis*.²⁵ Again, there was secular business as a source of income to the clergy. The lower ranks were necessitated to use some such means of self-support, and becoming occupations were quite within their rights, after the example of St. Paul, who supported himself by tent making. When the desire of greater gain arose devices were adopted which were wrong.

²¹ Cod. Theodosios, Lib. XVI, Tit. XI, N. 1.

²² Cod. Justin., Lib. I, Tit. V., N. 7.

²³ Thomassin, Lib. III., C. 103.

²⁴ Thomassin, Tom. II., Lib. III., Ch. 87-94.

²⁵ See Cod. Justin De Auctoritate Episcoporum.

At first pagan requirements connected with the situation had shut out Christians from lucrative employment, but as these were removed by the converted Emperors, the professional life of painters, sculptors, schoolmasters, lawyers, soldiers were opened to the faithful, and clerks were on the lookout for the new emoluments. St. Cyprian²⁶ has bitter complaints to make under this head of avarice in the clergy who frequented fairs and practiced usury. The canons were specially severe on these money-lenders, but encouraged agriculture. St. Paulinus of Nola loved to engage in the humble work of the fields. The soldier's life was not suitable to clerics, and we have to wait till they become feudal lords before we find them notoriously following this line of secular life, but even lax Christians at first had been shut out from it to some extent by its pagan requirements. Tertullian,²⁷ Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Lactantius and Basil dwell on the unsuitableness, but St. Augustine asserted the duty of the Christian soldier not to desert his standard.

As illustrative of the pre-Carolingian period, the case of St. Gregory I. and of the Church which he founded in England will afford a good example interesting to English readers. The close of the sixth century shows us Gregory I. a faithful helper of the Greek Emperor Maurice in the government of the western part of his domain. He was a Pope overburdened with a multiplicity of mundane cares, undertaken in no mundane spirit, during very troublous times. In his sense of oppressedness he exclaimed: "*Ecce jam pone nulla est saeculi actio quam non sacerdotes administrant.*"²⁸ To the Eastern Emperor he was habitually deferential, one of the most extraordinary instances occurring in regard to his post as distributor of the imperial decrees throughout his patriarchate. Maurice had sent him an order for publication that certain persons engaged in the service of the State should not abandon it to enter the religious life. Gregory despatched to its several quarters the ordinance, but told the Emperor that while he was complying he did so under protest. "Yielding to the mandate, I have circulated the letter; but inasmuch as it is not in accordance with God's will, I have called the attention of your Majesty to this fact. Thus I have observed a double duty—that of obedience to the Emperor and that of not having been silent on the divine claims."²⁹ He elsewhere gave it as his principle: "What the Emperor does we follow, if the canons allow; otherwise we bear it as far as it entails no sin."³⁰

²⁶ De Lapsu, 6.

²⁷ Apul 42. The mental character of work is easily removed if the workers are honorable, as we see in nurses, doctors, settlement helpers.

²⁸ Hom. XVII. in Evangel.

²⁹ Lib. III., Ep. 61.

³⁰ Ep. II., 22.

His acquiescence in the case of exclusion from religious life was not such as might be gathered from the letter above quoted. The letter shows that he proposed to the Emperor his plan not to take public servants into religion except with great caution, and he expressed his confidence that such consideration for the interests of the State would satisfy its ruler.³¹ More difficulty has been raised about an apparent disregard for Maurice in Gregory's loyal acceptance of his violent deposer, Phocas. Throughout it was to the Emperor that he looked for protection: "*Ab imperatore est suscipienda Christiana religionis defensor.*"³² Even when some Emperors were not all that could be desired.³³

A word in conclusion to this period may be added about Gregory's foundation, the English Church. Not much is known of ecclesiastical courts here prior to the Norman Conquest; but before that date at least we find the beginnings of those feudal dangers to the Church which were to put ecclesiastical benefices under the control of lay lords and their families, and to make temporal lords of those who held spiritual offices. Hence came prelates engrossed in secular interests and secular administration. Some Bishops, if they did not actually fight, yet accompanied their elders to battle. Bishop Stubbs states their first recorded appearance in arms 835. As to judicial functions, Lingard says that strictly these did not belong to the Bishops in civil cases, to which Stubbs adds that "the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns, acting in closest union with their Bishops, made laws which clothed the spiritual enactments with coercive authority and sometimes seemed to ignore the lines which separated the two legislatures."³⁴ England also by not accepting the Roman law kept its civil jurisdiction more national and less allied to the canon law. The penitential codes were often substituted for civil penalties, and England had some of the earliest of the known Penitential Books. Under the names of Theodore and Egbert Mosler Roland gives as an instance of the retribution that seven years penances stood in the place of the severer punishment of the State for homicide.³⁵ Nevertheless public penance was not introduced into England after the fashion of the East, where it was so elaborately organized, only to fall into speedy desuetude. It is the Penitential of Theodore that makes the observation, "*Reconciliatio penitentium in hac pronuncia*

³¹ Lib. VIII., Ep. 5; Lib. VII., Ep. 11.

³² Lib. IX., Ep. 3.

³³ In Gregory's pontificate the Lombards had not captured Rome, and one of his cares was to see to the defense of the walls and to select suitable governors, according to Justinian's commission. The Pope's anxiety extended also to his own patrimonies in Italy, Dalmatia, Gaul and Africa.

³⁴ Lectures on Medieval and Modern History.

³⁵ Gieth, Lecture XIII., Die Somtenren-Rolands, p. 248.

publica statuta non est." England was like other nations in entrusting to clerics high offices of the State. A prominent instance was St. Dunstan, who was a sort of Prime Minister to King Edgar. King Oswald made great use of his Bishop, St. Aidan. To the Archbishop of Canterbury, says Lingard,³⁶ "it belonged to summon the national councils." The Anglo-Saxon nobles being warriors, ignorant, prudent rulers, sought in educated prelates of the Church that intelligence which Plato and Aristotle agree in requiring for all true statesmanship, and Christian publicists add that the leavening of civil administration with theological principles was a great improvement to political science, especially after the barbarian conquerors had done much to lower the classical standard of Greece and Rome. The Anglo-Saxon tribes largely kept their old customs with such purification of them as Christianity required. It was a cry continued after the Norman Conquest: "We do not want the laws of England to be changed." Bishops as Ministers might at least change for the better the application of barbarous laws.

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RELATIVE ANGLO-SAXON AND GAELIC CIVILIZATION.

WHEN the cynical Roman governor asked the Apostle Paul, "What is truth?" he put a less difficult query than he thought. Had he asked him instead, "What is civilization?" perhaps Paul might have found it no easy task to give an instantaneous definition of the term to the representative of the power that recognized no civilization outside the boundaries of its own great empire. So when the Rev. Sydney Smith dogmatically declared (*Edinburgh Review*, 1807) that the Irish in the time of Queen Elizabeth "unquestionably were the most barbarous people in Europe," he wrote the verdict as a member of a packed jury. He belonged to the nation that had schooled the people in barbarism and then cynically taunted them with having been apt pupils. He himself controverts the verdict. Out of his own mouth he shows in the very same pages that the English in Ireland in that reign were more barbarous than the Irish. Writing about conditions within and beyond the Pale, and on the borders, he tells of the constant warfare that prevailed, mostly over trifles—commonly, as he says, for cows. To his mind, it seems, that it was not the question of property right that made a quarrel right or wrong, but the amount involved—not a

³⁶ Anglo-Saxon Church, Vol. I., Chap. II.

very creditable view for a clergyman of the Church of England to take, it may well be conceded. Then he goes on to say that "the Irish, over whom the sovereigns of England affected a sort of nominal dominion, were entirely governed by their own laws; and so very little connection had they with the justice of the invading country that it was as lawful to kill an Irishman as it was to kill a badger or a fox. The instances are innumerable where the defendant pleaded that the deceased was an Irishman, and that therefore the defendant had a right to kill him; and upon the proof of Hibernicism acquittal followed, of course."

Now, the reverend author of this self-stultifying illustration had the reputation of being one of the wittiest Englishmen of his time: and here is a new proof of the truism that what is called wit is not always wisdom. The Irish, whom he had branded as the most barbarous people in Europe, would have been quite justified in killing an Englishman in Ireland, because he was to him an invader, a robber and a murderer. What law was it that made it "lawful," as he says, to reverse the natural law, and permit the doer of the wrong to slay the man he had wronged, besides robbing him? Who was the true barbarian in this case, the "civilized" Englishman or the barbarous Hibernian?

It was on the testimony of men like Spenser, Raleigh, Campion and other settlers and adventurers in Ireland that this verdict of barbarism was rendered against the Irish nation. Edmund Burke said it was impossible to frame an indictment against a whole people, but the poets and writers of Elizabeth's time found no such difficulty. Some of these had assisted, as in the case of Spenser and Raleigh, in slaying and plundering the Irish people; and they completed the infamy—at least Spenser did—by maligning them most wickedly and infamously as well. This is a blot upon the name of the author of "*The Faërie Queen*" that not all the water in the ocean could wash out. It will cling to his memory forever.

The law which made it "lawful" to kill an Irishman simply because he was a native Hibernian was the atrocious enactment known as the Statute of Kilkenny. It was passed at the dictation of a monarch who in his own person offered one refutation of the false verdict of the Rev. Sydney Smith—Edward the Second. This unfortunate monarch furnishes in the manner of his death the most signal negation of the charge that the Irish were the most barbarous people of the Tudor age. He was an amiable and unaggressive king toward his subjects, but he was weak and foolish in his attachment to personal favorites like Pere Gaveston and young Spenser—men of gaiety and wit such as the French kings liked to have to amuse their dull hours. These weaknesses drew

on him the jealousy of even his own family. His very mother joined the cabal against him, and formed plans for his deposition and death. He was forced by the Parliament, at their instigation, to abdicate in favor of his son; and then seized and thrust into prison, under the care of two noted miscreants, Sir Thomas de Jounay and Sir John Mattrevers, who were in the pay of his enemies. These fell upon him once the gates of the castle had closed on his departing guards and put him to death by the most horrible form of torture that fiends in human shape could devise. They forced a red-hot iron into his body and burned out his intestines. To this frightful tragedy the wretched victim's mother, Queen Isabella, it should be remembered, was an indirect accessory, inasmuch as she participated in the plot that brought about his deposition and imprisonment. Such was the character of the English at that period. Let any one who may be skeptical regarding this conclusion take up Shakespeare's historical plays, and read "King John" and "King Henry VI." There he will find ample corroboration of the fact that even royal and aristocratic women were not restrained by the traditions of their sex from the indulgence of their passions when fallen enemies were in their power. The castles of the feudal lords in England were, during the Wars of the Roses and the Anglo-Norman regime, generally speaking, the scenes of tragedies as ghastly and revolting as ever were perpetrated by Oriental despots. Was not this barbarism? No English writer has ever charged against the Irish chiefs that they had the temerity to challenge their would-be conquerors' claim to preëminence in the invention of refinements of torture for captured enemies or conspiring members of their own families. The test of barbarism is the passion for inhuman cruelty, and this came into Ireland along with the Anglo-Norman adventurers, who laid the foundations of the present English monarchy.

It is difficult to understand why such a work as Fynes Moryson's "Travels" is republished now, after the lapse of three centuries, save on the theory that, alarmed at the progress of the Celtic Renaissance, the enemies of Ireland hope to injure the movement by a depiction of the manners and customs of the Celt in former times. Every race and every nation that ever became great had their own manners and customs, racy of the soil and the people; but there was no homogeneity of race and people in England when Moryson wrote his book. The Anglo-Saxons had been submerged, and the Anglo-Normans were on the upper crust. The process of assimilation was only beginning. Let us inquire into the grounds of the claim of superior civilization advanced by writers of the Elizabethan era as an excuse for the oppression of the Irish nation.

Charles Dickens and other English writers have endeavored to justify the invasion of Ireland by describing the last monarch of all Ireland, Roderick O'Connor, as a monster of cruelty. None of those gentlemen who thus criticized had made any pretense at studying Irish history or biography: they simply took the word of men like Cambrensis or Spenser as gospel. The Abbé MacGeoghegan, who did study the history and the biography of Ireland with the industry of a scholar having ample sources of information to his hand, in the archives of Louvaine and the Irish College of Paris, finds a very different verdict on the character and action of the last of the Irish High Kings. In the first year of his reign (A. D. 1166) occurred an event that while denoting the spirit of the age in the country that for long had enjoyed the distinction of being known as "the Island of Saints," also gave presage of the woe to come. This was the foundation of the Priory of All Saints, outside Dublin walls, by Dermot McMurrough, King of Leinster. It was given in charge of regular canons of the fraternity of Aronaise. A little more than four hundred years after its foundation this Priory was converted into a college, under the name of the Holy Trinity, by Queen Elizabeth of England, and endowed with the wealth of those Ulster chiefs who had resisted her power as usurpation; and Dermot McMurrough, who had originally established the foundation, was the villain who by his wicked conduct was the means of bringing that usurpation into being and destroying his country's liberty as well as the Catholic Church, which had existed in it for more than a thousand years. So that there is more than one reason why the people whom Cambrensis and Spenser and Fynes Moryson so vilely slandered should take a peculiar interest in the fortunes of Trinity College, Dublin, the successor of the foundation which formerly stood on Hoggin's Green, an extramural appanage of the city of Dublin in the period of the Pale.

"Roderick," remarks McGeoghegan, "governed the Kingdom of Ireland with wisdom and moderation. He convened a synod of the States—practically a Parliament—composed of clergy and laity, amounting in numbers to thirteen hundred members and with their help enacted such laws and had them carried out by such a system of police supervision that it might be said of the island as Bede observed of the Kingdom of Northumberland in the reign of Edwin, that a woman with a new-born infant might travel over the whole island, from one sea to another, without fear of insult. This monarch," the Abbé goes on, "who was mindful of everything, knowing that amusements are essential to youth, reestablished the games of Taitan in 1168. He was also a protector of learning,

and in 1169 founded a professor's chair in Armagh in favor of strangers; finally, he watched over the administration of justice, and punished crime with severity."

The only serious acts of cruelty laid against him by the Irish historians were provoked by the rebellion of his sons, Murchard and Connor, who, with strong forces backing them, made a determined effort to dethrone him and divide his power and resources between themselves. Having been defeated by the King's forces, these unnatural sons were cast into prison, and the elder of them was condemned to lose his eyesight. This cruel punishment on the part of a parent may be deemed sufficient ground on which to justify the charge that the last of the Irish monarchs was a monster of cruelty. But, in the first place, it must be remembered that deprivation of eyes or blinding was a common form of punishment for rebels or enemies, inflicted by those who had got them in their power; and, in the second, that the King, being the sworn dispenser of justice and defender of the law, could not escape his responsibility in the meting out of punishment for treason because of the fact that the principal traitors were his own flesh and blood. Had he acted otherwise, he could not escape the still more odious accusation of being a partial judge and a dishonest administrator of the national law. The practice of blinding was in common use in England and Ireland among rival members of royal houses. Henry I. disposed of his brother's claims to the crown of William the Conqueror by having his eyes taken out and imprisoning him for life. He had a poet, who had satirized him, similarly treated, despite a universal law of the chivalric ages that this class of entertainers was exempt and allowed a license not permitted to any others about the royal court. Henry II. inflicted the same cruel deprivation upon his numerous young hostages from Wales; children of the most powerful families, because the Welsh people had risen to resist the imposition of his rule upon their country, still an independent kingdom, ruled by its own sovereigns. His father, the redoubtable Conqueror, had gone further. He had decreed, in the making of his game and forest laws, that "whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. In the year 1250 the English garrison of Athlone put out the eyes of all the Connaught hostages held in the castle, in retaliation for some trouble given by the native tribes.

The practice was barbarous and most shocking to our more humane ideas of the modes in which punishment should be meted out for rebellion or resistance to authority or aggression. But it was no more barbarous in the Irish than it was in the English. Hence the attempt of English writers to affix a peculiar stigma

upon the Irish, so as to single them out for the sinister distinction of supremacy in rudeness, cruelty and disregard for the refinements of life, only prove that their authors shut their eyes to what their own writers in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* had set down, both in regard to the monarchs of the Heptarchy and those of the Norman and Plantagenet period.

The judgment which the Rev. Sydney Smith so sententiously delivered in the pages of the *Edinburgh* was arrived at on the strength of a work published by Mr. William Parnell, a member of the Irish Parliament, and an ancestor of the present family of the Parnells, of which the late Charles Stewart Parnell was the most famous member. The work was entitled "*Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics*," and was published in Dublin in 1807. Mr. Parnell, the author, was a Protestant, but one who had no sympathy with the means adopted by the Protestant English conquerors of Ireland to crush out both the religion and the nationality of the Irish people. But this spirit of justice did not prevent him from accepting without reservation the stories regarding the alleged barbarism of the native Irish—a barbarism shared in, after a little time, according to many authorities, by those Anglo-Norman adventurers who came to conquer the barbarian, but were in the end conquered by him so far as to adopt his language, his dress, his ways of life, his fosterage, his gossipred, his music and his national spirit.

Mr. Parnell took the word of Fynes Moryson for some wonderful things about the ways and morals of the native Irish, and he argued that the Catholics, if left alone and not persecuted as they had been, might never have been rebellious in Ireland. Both Mr. Parnell and the Rev. Mr. Smith were animated by the desire to have justice done by the English Government in regard to the Catholics of Ireland, and the latter points with satisfaction to the circumstance that after the cruelties to which the Irish were subjected in the reign of Queen Elizabeth—the slaughters under Carew and Mountjoy and Cosby, and the desolation of Munster by fire and famine—there was in the reign of Mary "no recrimination upon the Protestants"—that is, no retaliations—as reason why their conduct in the Elizabethan rebellions should be palliated. But does not the plea suggest that the previous argument for superior barbarity was foolish? Patience and magnanimity are surely incompatible with a state of barbarism.

If the reverend wit and satirist had looked into the matter in a way befitting the editor of a high-class publication, he would have hesitated ere committing himself to so sweeping an opinion as he did. He would, for instance, have looked into the laws and customs

which governed the people whom he branded as barbarians by way of apology for what seemed to him shortcomings on their part, and compared these with the laws and customs of the people who entered the country to rob them on the pretense of a desire to improve their religion, their morals and their manners.

Every thoughtful and humane person will admit that the system of laws which William the Conqueror imposed upon the people of England was inferior in justice and humanity to that older one which it supplanted. In Ireland the Breton laws, a much older system than that of Gavelkind, which the Saxons or Angles had brought into England, were constructed on strict principles of equity to women and children, securing to married women equality in possession of property to their husbands, and to children a proportionate share of the parents' property after death. But the law of primogeniture and entail, grafted on both the English and Irish systems after a long struggle, sacrificed the rights of all the rest to the privileges of the first-born—a truly iniquitous and barbarous system. So, too, with regard to the law of entail, the game laws, the landlord laws, and the law of debtor and creditor. All these creations of legislation were pieced together laboriously in order to carry out a fixed idea and policy of the Normans, working to an end to create and perpetuate a caste and an iron-clad system of aristocracy and feudal exclusiveness.

On their arrival in Ireland the newcomers became loud in denunciation of the Breton laws. But after they had settled down and became friendly with the people surrounding them, they found that these laws were exactly suited to the conditions of Irish life; and, throwing aside their English system, as well as their English language and garb, they proceeded to exhibit their change of mind by becoming more enthusiastic for Irish ideas than the original natives. This was the reason why a century or so after the landing of Strongbow it was found expedient by the English residents in the Pale to pass laws like the Statute of Kilkenny, prohibiting English settlers from intermarrying with the natives, adopting their dress and mode of life or becoming connected by fosterhood with such "barbarians." At the same time they made laws to compel the Irish to change their fashions in dress and the wearing of their hair, so that an Englishman who might desire to kill a mere Irishman, "*pour passer le temps*," might not be betrayed into the mistake of killing one of his own countrymen!

Cambrensis in his own person afforded good illustration of that insolence which his mission to Ireland embodied—the arrogant presumption of the highwayman who would lecture the man who

resisted his attack on his want of good breeding. In the presence of Maurice, Archbishop of Cashel, Cambrensis reproached the Papal Legate, Gerald, for permitting what he styled the indolence of the Irish clergy and the little care they took to instruct the people, thus leading, as he charged, to a decline in their morals. This was part of the deep game which lay at the bottom of his mission to Ireland—a design to make out a case for his master's use and the furtherance of his ambition. As proof of weakness on the religious side he pointed to the fact that none had been known to suffer martyrdom in Ireland for the cause of Christ. The Archbishop replied very quietly that it was true that the Irish people, who were reported to be barbarous, rude, and even cruel, have always behaved with honor and respect to the clergy, and none have been found among them impious enough to raise their hands against the saints of the Lord. If Cambrensis were not thick-headed, like other Anglo-Saxons, he must have winced at this neat retort, for his royal master had not scrupled to get ruffians to raise their hands against a saint, and the agent of the real murderer of Thomas à Becket was the individual who had the effrontery to upbraid the Irish clergy because of the gentleness of their flocks! Surely the force of cynical insolence could no further go. But the Archbishop of Cashel was no less shrewd as a seer than as a satirist, for he added immediately that: "There are among us now men who can make us suffer martyrdom, and Ireland, like other nations, shall henceforward have her martyrs."

It is impossible not to feel the force of that memorable prediction just now, when the cause of the venerable successor of the speaker, the glorious martyr Denis O'Hurley, is so near completion at the Vatican. Cambrensis was the forerunner of the storm of fire and blood that was to crown the efforts of the "philanthropic" murderer, Henry II., for the moral regeneration of the Irish Church and the Irish people.

Amongst the other heads of indictment formulated by Camden, another of the English critics, as reason for having the Irish people at large found guilty of want of civilization was the queer one of uncouthness of language. In writing a description of Westmeath, he mentions the names of chieftains, such as the McLaghlands and the McGeoghehans, which had, to his ears, a barbarous sound. The Irish language appeared to him and other Englishmen a barbarous jargon. When we consider the chaotic condition of things in England at the same period, as regards language, when the vehicle we now call the English language was only in formless embryo, and a ridiculous jumble of Anglo-Norman, Anglo-Saxon and Danish was the mess upon which the tongue was condemned to feed for a

couple of centuries, the sneer at the Irish language shows the rash audacity of extreme ignorance and vain contempt of things unfamiliar, and therefore distasteful.

The Irish had a scientific language—that is, a systematized form of elegant expression, like Greek, for at least two thousand years before the appearance of critics who spoke only a patch-work jargon, like the “lingua franca” of the Mediterranean seaboard, used among mariners of all countries—an ancient form of Esperanto, as we may fairly describe it. In the age of Elizabeth the English speech had been hammered into something like a symmetrical shape, but still it appeared “barbarous” to learned Irishmen. Shane O’Neill, who was a good linguist for his time, declared that he “never could get his tongue around the barbarous English,” and declined to attempt to get the habit of using it. The language, as we know it to-day, was only brought to anything like a civilized vehicle of expression in the eighteenth century, when Addison and Steele and Goldsmith and Johnson had given it form and shown what could be done with the hybrid compound because of its great flexibility and power of assimilation. In the era when the English were passing laws for the extinction of the Irish language, making it a capital offense for any schoolmaster to teach the Irish language, their own tongue was only a struggling jumble.

The truth of the matter seems to be that the social system which the English invaders were bent on annihilating and displacing was much superior to that which they sought to impose. In Ireland, from remote antiquity, a system of equity had been established which has never been enjoyed under the rule of the foreigner. The land was the property of the whole tribe or sept: the prince or chief got his share and no more, nor had he or any one else the right or the power to put the humblest member of the sept out of his dwelling or deprive him of his share of the soil on his mere caprice. There was no such thing as a feudal system; there was no vassalage, no serfdom. Justice was administered by judges trained in the law, according to the venerable Brehon code, and who had to fulfill the most rigorous requirements of examination as to learning and judicial fitness before receiving their appointments. Once appointed, it was not in the power of the chief to deprive them of their office: hence the security that a judge should possess to enable him to render decisions that would command respect was always theirs. The ancient literature of Ireland is full of evidence showing the great respect entertained in all ages for the Brehons or judges and the decisions which they rendered. Sir John Davies, the Attorney General for Ireland under King James I., in his writings on the Brehon Laws, gives the views of enlightened and unpreju-

diced Englishmen on this highly important phase of Irish social order. He wrote:

"For there is no nation of people under the sunne that doth love equall and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it bee against themselves; so as they may have the protection and benefit of the law, when uppon just cause they do desire it."

The foregoing extract is valuable, both for the emphatic expression of opinion given by a great legal and literary authority as well as for the proof afforded by the curious phraseology and spelling of the uncouthness of the English language even at the close of the seventeenth century.

Although the principle of a common right in the soil to all members of a tribe or sept was the original one, in the course of ages modifications grew out of accidental conditions, such as forfeiture of their portions by offenders against the law or persons falling into debt which they were unable to clear off. Hence there arose a class of landless persons, who, though not actually slaves, occupied a somewhat analogous position by being deprived of the privileges of the freemen. Hence when Giraldus Cambrensis went about in Ireland he found enough to justify him in enumerating amongst the causes of the indictment he drew up against the native system the existence of slavery. But he has to make the humiliating confession that it was a common custom at that time amongst the English to sell their children and other relatives as slaves to Irish purchasers. The great slave emporium when he wrote was Bristol, between which port and Irish ports along the southern and eastern coasts there had existed trading intercourse from time immemorial. Hence if there were any justification for King Henry's agent in making the custom of buying slaves a ground for an attack upon the institutions of the Irish Celts, the avowal that the institution of slavery was largely maintained by the unnatural avarice of British parents was no less an indictment—a far more damning one against the country whose superiority in civilization he had been specially despatched to demonstrate by odious comparisons. The slavery that he found in Ireland was much akin to that which existed in the Roman Republic, both in its origin—defaulting debtors and prisoners of war—and the personal disabilities it entailed on the hapless victims of evil fortune. The Irish condition would appear to have been better, though, than the Roman, since there are no allegations of cruelty toward the slaves by their masters, such as shock one at times when turning over the pages of Roman history. The feudal system which Cambrensis represented was at the period when he wrote fully established over England, and in some of its

features was quite as revolting to the humane as actual slavery, as it gave the lord of the soil an absolute right over the person of the serf and over his family.

The land of the chief, held as mensal estate, descended from him not to his heirs, but to the person elected to be his successor by the tribe. This is what was called the law of Tanistry. It was useful in protecting the tribe from the evils of a continuous tyranny, and in giving each member a voice in the government of the tribe and the policy that ought to be adopted toward neighboring tribes. The social order was also unique in the distinction accorded under it to poets, historians and bards. These ranked next to the nobles in the scheme of classification. They were held in high honor. They were held immune from legal assessments, and their residential places were given the privilege of sanctuary to fugitive persons flying from an enemy in times of war. In Christian times this privilege of sanctuary was extended to all the tithings, or demesne lands, of churches and monasteries. Such edifices and their demesnes were so many cities of refuge to the tenants as well as fugitives in time of war, and, as they also gave facilities for the storing of property, were an invaluable aid in the preservation of human life and the fruits of civilization in literary and artistic treasures.

An institution of chivalry existed in Ireland from time immemorial. The Knights of the Red Branch, as the brotherhood was called, formed a very noble institution. They were sworn to observe honorable methods in warfare and behave with humanity toward the weak and defenseless. Finally, an army when setting out on a campaign was attended by a corps of doctors and surgeons to look after the wounded. Medicine was an art well known and practiced in Ireland from a remote age. A system of hospitals for public use was maintained over the country long before the coming of the English critic and his congeners.

To men who came with the sole purpose of discovering what was unlovely it was easy enough, in rude times, to find much that might seem to demand censure: the excellences of the Irish social system were not apparent to their distorted vision. The republication of Fynes Moryson's book on travels gives the reading public an opportunity of gauging the depth of the prejudice which prevailed amongst the English people toward Irishmen as late as the close of Elizabeth's reign.

Moryson was an Englishman of property, and as his tastes were of an expensive order, he must have had no stint of money to be able to indulge them as he did. He traveled much, and in remote countries, the Far East and Russia and other distant places.

Traveling in those days was difficult and costly, far beyond what it is now; hence he must have been a man of no small wealth to be able to indulge his tastes. He was also a man of good education, and must have been a tolerable linguist to be able to go about among strange peoples so freely as he did. Amongst the places he visited was that one so grievously misgoverned by his own countrymen, unhappy Ireland. He went there in the capacity of private secretary to one of the worst of its governors, the ferocious Lord Deputy, Mountjoy. This Governor made his fame by "pacifying" the country in the manner described so pithily by the barbarian to the Roman Consul. He made a desert, and then boasted to his mistress, Elizabeth, that he had brought peace to Ireland. The desolation of Munster, after the "pacificator" was done with his work was complete. The crops were destroyed as well as the inhabitants. Most of the adult male population fell on the field, and the caves were filled with trembling women and children, who soon had the horrors of famine to contend with instead of the swords of the ruthless English.

Edmund Spenser, in his letters on the state of Ireland, tells how he saw women and children, driven by hunger, come creeping out of caves and eating grass for want of other food, and how some of the women, insane from the pangs of starvation, actually killed and ate their own offspring. Such was the work which Fynes Moryson's chief set out for Munster to execute, and such the work he subsequently carried out in the North as well as in the South. As an historian or observer he is not to be trusted, any more than Cambrensis, Spenser, Camden or any of the others who visited Ireland for the purpose of enriching themselves at the expense of the inhabitants and of painting their morals and habits in the darkest colors for the ignoble purpose of excusing the cruelties to which the English invaders subjected them.

It is singular that some Irishmen of national proclivities were to be found joining with the renegade Irish who joined "the garrison" in giving credence to the writings of Moryson. Mr. Henry Parnell, a member of the Irish Parliament and a man of letters, may be pointed to as an illustration of this extraordinary fatuity. In the preface to his book, above referred to, he observes:

"It is scarcely credible that in a climate like that of Ireland, and at a period so far advanced in civilization as the end of Elizabeth's reign, the greater part of the natives should go naked. Yet this is rendered certain by the testimony of an eye-witness, Fynes Moryson."

In his work on travel, now republished, Moryson states that, in Ireland in his period, not only men and women of the ordinary sort go naked, save for a strip of linen about the loins and a loose mantle

open in the front, but also the chiefs. He does not say their wives, but he allows it to be inferred that these were equally indifferent to weather and modesty. But, as if fearful that such a statement might be too much for even English readers, he goes on to cite the evidence of "a Bohemian baron" (name not given) coming from Scotland by the North of Ireland. "He told me," Moryson says, "with great earnestness, that he, coming to the house of O'Kane, a great lord among them, was met at the door by sixteen women, all naked, excepting their loose mantles. . . . They led him into the house, and there, sitting down by the fire, like tailors, desired him to sit down with them." Then this Bohemian baron is said to have told Moryson that O'Kane, the lord of the country, came in all naked, too, save for a mantle and shoes, and "in his best manner in the Latin tongue" desired him to take off his clothes and sit naked like the company.

Here is an extraordinary anomaly! A man who is described as "barbarous" able to speak Latin so well as to use it in ordinary conversation with an utter stranger. The women of Ireland were renowned for modesty, but Fynes Moryson was able to make learned Irishmen like Mr. Parnell believe that they had discarded that beautiful cloak, for he adds that the women in O'Kane's castle sat around the fire in such a fashion "as could not but offend chaste eyes." Furthermore, he says that "men and women, at night, going to sleep, lye thus naked in a round circle about the fire, with their feet towards it. They fold their heads and their upper parts in woollen mantles, first steeped in water to keep them warm, for they say that woollen cloth, wetted, preserves heat (as linen, wetted, preserves cold) when the smoke of their bodies has warmed the woollen cloth."

In similar unconscionable fashion Edmund Spenser set to work to traduce the women of the South of Ireland, going farther even than the anonymous "Bohemian baron" in his imputations on Irish female chastity. He describes in his work called "A View of the State of Ireland" the garb of the Irish women of his time. He says that a large over-mantle was the principal article, and that this covering served many purposes by day and night for the class that he styles "mona shul"—something like wandering mendicants. We can readily believe that Munster was overrun by such a class at the period when he wrote, for more than four centuries of warfare had reduced the manhood of the country to a mere handful and left the widowed and orphaned to eke out an existence by whatever shifts they could. The "mona shul," he says, used their ample mantles to conceal their immoral behavior—a stupid and ridiculous attempt at defamation, as any one may plainly perceive. His actual

language, in so describing the women, is so abominable that we do not feel justified in giving it here.

That the Irish were pious Catholics not one of the calumniating English chroniclers attempts to deny—nay, they rather make the fact a powerful argument for the persecutions which they encouraged and helped to foment. How, then, could they reconcile their piety with the glaring immodesty and immorality which they also laid at their door? Let us look at an incident that took place in Ulster about the very same period of which Fynes Moryson and Edmund Spenser were writing—the end of Elizabeth's reign. Hugh O'Donnell—"dauntless Red Hugh" of the song—was in the field measuring swords against Elizabeth's favorite, the fiery Devereux, Earl of Essex. Essex was cooped up in Cork, hemmed in by the O'Connors, the MacCarthy More's and the Earl of Desmond's army. But he got Clifford, the Governor of Connaught, to move toward Ulster to attack O'Donnell, who was moving to join forces with the armies besieging him in Cork. O'Donnell did not wait for Clifford to attack, but sallied out to meet him, and came up with his vanguard near the Curlew Mountains, outside Boyle. It was the eve of Lady Day. O'Donnell ordered a fast as a preparation for the battle, and that all his men go to confession and communion. In addressing his warriors he said: "As we have already often defeated the reformers through the help of the Blessed Virgin Mary, we have reason to hope for similar success this day. Yesterday we fasted in honor of the Virgin: this day we celebrate her festival, and thus let us combat her enemies and we will be the conquerors." Is it to be supposed that a people animated by such a beautiful spirit of devotion could be the barbarous savages that Sydney Smith, misled by Spenser and Moryson, believed them to be? Is it to be imagined that a state of society such as these writers depicted was capable of producing generals and soldiers capable of defeating Sir Conyers Clifford ignominiously, as O'Donnell did that day, and as Hugh O'Neill did on a couple of other not less memorable days when he crossed swords respectively with Marshal Bagenal and General Monroe? The battles of the Yellow Ford, the Pass of Plumes and the Curlew Mountains were amongst the most brilliant military achievements of a martial age, and it was Irish genius and Irish gallantry that, under God, were able to bring them about. Essex himself confessed the superiority of the Irish. "The men are stronger," he wrote to his royal mistress, "and they handle their arms with more skill than our people: they differ from us also in point of discipline." Are these points of superiority over veteran and disciplined armies the marks of an inferior civilization? we might ask any fair-minded reader.

In the year 1644 a book was published in Ireland describing what a French traveler, M. de la Boullaye le Gonz, had noted during a sojourn in Ireland only a few years after Spenser and Moryson had published their attacks upon the Irish because of their costume. He described the dress of "the Irish whom the English call savages." "Their breeches are a pantaloon of white frieze, which they call trousers; and for mantles they have five or six yards of frieze drawn round the neck, the body and over the head. The women wear a very large mantle, the cape being made of coarse woollen frieze, in the manner of the women of Lower Normandy." Dr. Massari, Dean of Fermo, who accompanied Cardinal Rinuccini as secretary on his mission to Ireland, kept a journal, in which, amongst other subjects, he described the dress of the women he saw there. Their costume, he wrote, somewhat resembles the French mode. "All wear cloaks," he wrote, "with long fringes; they have also a hood sewn to the cloak, and they go abroad without any other covering for the head; some wearing a kerchief as the Greek women do." Sir William Petty, a noted surveyor of the seventeenth century, wrote amongst other works a book called "The Political Anatomy of Ireland," in the course of which he says: "The diet, housing and clothing of the sixteen thousand families who are computed to have more than one chimney in their houses is much the same as in England; nor is the French elegance unknown in many of them, nor the French and Latin tongues, the latter whereof is very frequent amongst the poorest Irish, and chiefly in Kerry, most remote from Dublin." Linen vests were commonly worn by the better classes in Pagan times, as may be seen from the old writings; and in the fifteenth century much "linen cloth falding" was imported into Chester and Brabant from Irish houses, as old entries show. A habit of extravagance in their use of linen was indeed one of the grounds of complaint made against the Irish upper classes, and some legislation seeking to check it was even enacted in the year 1537, providing that no shirt should contain more than seven yards. The unknown author of this precious piece of lawmaking was even more ridiculous than the later Irish legislator who introduced a bill to enact that "every quart bottle should hold a quart."

Enough has been said, perhaps, to show that if Edmund Spenser, Fynes Moryson and the anonymous "Bohemian baron" did really see what has been partially described above (for, indeed, the actual description is in parts so indecent that we could not, without offense to our readers, reproduce its text), the cases must have been exceptional and the conditions the natural result of long-continued warfare and frequent famines upon the oppressed people. War

has always a brutalizing effect, as well on women sometimes as on men, and the scanty attire described may have been the result of some peculiarly harsh conditions. But as for the story about the immodest behavior of O'Kane's household, we say flatly that it is an invention, no matter how many Bohemian barons swore to it; and we say the same of Fynes Moryson's statement that he himself had a similar experience. The fact that he gives no names of persons or places where he says he had the experience puts his story on precisely the same plane as that of his Bohemian nobleman; and the entire passage may be ranked for veracity along with the story of "The Bohemian Girl" in the opera.

Let us take a glance at the state of civilization in England and Scotland in the same epoch, or a little earlier and a little later, as those traducers of Ireland chose for their onslaughts. Let us begin with the reign of Edward the Third. That king had a splendid court, and was surrounded constantly by the flower of English chivalry. He had won the tremendous victory of Crecy over the French and had overthrown the Scots under David Bruce. "The king," says the historian Green, "who was a model of chivalry in his dealings with knight and noble, showed himself a brutal savage to the burgesses of Calais. Even the courtesy to his queen, which threw a halo over the story of their deliverance, went hand in hand with a constant disloyalty to her. When once Philippa was dead his profligacy threw all shame aside. He paraded a mistress as Queen of Beauty through the streets of London, and set her in pomp over tournaments as the Lady of the Sun. The nobles were quick to follow their lord's example. 'In those days,' writes a chronicler of the time, 'arose a rumor and clamor among the people that wherever there was a tournament there came a great concourse of ladies, of the most costly and beautiful, but not of the best in the kingdom, sometimes forty and fifty in number, as if they were a part of the tournament—ladies clad in diverse and wonderful male apparel, in parti-colored tunics, with short capes and bands wound cordwise around their heads, and girdles bound with gold and silver, and daggers in pouches across their bodies. And thus they rode on choice coursers to the place of tourney, and so spent and wasted their goods and vexed their bodies with scurrilous wantonness that the murmurs of the people sounded everywhere. But they neither feared God nor blushed at the chaste voice of the people.' The establishment in 1346 of the Order of the Garter, in the new castle that Edward was raising at Windsor, marked the highest reach of the spurious "chivalry" of the day."

The scandalous abandonment of public decency that England then beheld would appear to have provoked Divine wrath, as while

the saturnalia was in full swing there came the most awful visitation England had ever staggered under. This was the plague known as the Black Death—probably the same pestilence we now call cholera. It swept away half the population; and in its wake came famine, for there was no one to till the fields or gather the harvest.

That Mr. Green was entirely justified in referring to the age “when knighthood was in flower” as one of “spurious chivalry” is not merely corroborated by the case of Edward’s brutality at Calais and his debauchery in Windsor, but by other examples elsewhere. His son, “the Black Prince,” as he was called, is commonly held up as the very paragon of knighthood and honor. After the victory of the English at Crecy the Black Prince was sent into Guienne, as he had no money to pay his army, and to give the country over to the troops for spoliation as an equivalent for pay. Up the Garonne the prince led his army of freebooters, into a country that had not known war for centuries before, and the mansions of the great and the cottages of the poor were soon stripped of everything valuable or useful. The marauders sacked Carcassone and Narbonne, and returned to Bordeaux laden with rich plunder and glutted with indulgence of the worst passions of a victorious horde—“a disgraceful success,” as the historian we have quoted justly terms the achievement. What a mockery of the laws of chivalry—a war upon a defenseless people and a pastoral country totally unprepared and unexpectant of a visitation! When the English armies crossed the border into Scotland, or the Pale in Ireland, they knew they were sure to encounter at some stage of their advance a worthy foe, able to give blow for blow. But in the descent upon the fields and farmhouses of Guienne there was no likelihood of an encounter with an enemy capable of offering resistance. It was merely, therefore, a promenade of loot and ravage that the Black Prince undertook—a most ignoble set-off to the brilliant and stunning performance of the same leader at Crecy. Hence it is no wonder that the historian refers to the theatrical knighthood of the period of Edward and his son as a spurious chivalry.

Having culled one or two illustrations of the ideals of civilization prevalent in England when Ireland was being held up as barbarous, let us now turn for a moment to what prevailed north of the Tweed, about the same epoch. It is inconceivable that if the Rev. Sydney Smith had devoted adequate consideration to the social state of Scotland, such as we find it cursorily depicted in Chambers’ “Social History” of that country, he could have honestly concluded that the Irish people in the reign of Queen Elizabeth were entitled to the palm for barbarity in their mode of living. In Scotland it was for several centuries a case of house against house and clan

against clan. These feuds were sustained by mutual deeds of savagery frequently descending to the mediæval Italian level. Mr. Chambers gives many particulars regarding them, all taken from unimpeachable sources. Let us take a glance at one example, taken from King's "Antiqua Monumenta." A celebrated Scotch astronomer, James Ferguson, was the guest for some months at Castle Dounie, the ancestral seat of Lord Lovat, a turbulent noble of the eighteenth century—more than one hundred years after the period referred to by Fynes Moryson. It was a large building, but comfortless. Ferguson says the nobleman received his company and kept public table, after the manner of a petty court, in the room where he slept; and the only place his lady had was, also, her bedroom! The servants and retainers had nothing but straw, spread on the four lower apartments of the house. About four hundred persons would often thus be kennelled together; and Ferguson says that of these wretched dependents he had often seen three or four, and sometimes half a dozen, hung upon trees, by the heels, for hours, outside the mansion, to expiate petty offenses. At the tables, which ran along the length of the great hall, the better class of retainers or guests were served with beef and mutton and a glass of port; the next rank had sheep's head and a glass of whisky; and the lowest hangers-on had to be content with the leavings of the more favored.

In his early days Lord Lovat had abducted a lady of the Frasers, a relative—for he was a Fraser—and forcibly married her. The mode of the nuptials is peculiarly illustrative of the manners of the time. It was described in the record of the judicial proceedings which were instituted by the lady's family shortly after the abduction. It sets out thus:

"The said Captain Simon Fraser takes up the most mad and villainous resolution that ever was heard of, for all in a sudden he and his said accomplices make the lady close prisoner under his armed guards, and then come upon her with three or four ruffians in the night time, and, having dragged out her maids, he proposes to the lady that she should marry him; and when she fell in lamenting and crying, the great pipe was blown up to drown her cries and the wicked villains ordered the minister to proceed. The lady fainted, but the great bagpipe was blown up as formerly, and the foresaid ruffians rent off her clothes, cutting her stays with their dirks, and so thrust her into bed."

Those who have read Sir Walter Scott's poems will recall the many superstitious practices of the Highlanders, noble as well as clansman, that he weaves into his magic robe of romance. These were not imaginary. Macaulay tells how the clansmen of the

MacCallum More, Argyll, were summoned to meet him in muster at the island of Tarbet when he headed the rebellion against James II., the signal being the sending out of the fiery cross, as described in "The Lady of the Lake." Argyll was a Scotch Presbyterian, but he did not hesitate to use a rite which Macaulay contemptuously scoffs at as "half Popish and half pagan." The cross, made from a bough of yew, was first set on fire, and then quenched in the blood of a sacrificial goat. It was venerated or dreaded as a sacred token, a message that no true clansman dare disregard when shown him by the running messenger sent out by the chief of his tribe.

In considering this picture of a Highland Chief's establishment, we must bear in mind that Lord Lovat was a Jacobite and a Catholic, and the writer a bitter Presbyterian. Lord Lovat was terribly hated because of his daring and the impossibility of capturing him, no matter how high the price that was offered for him dead or alive. He served afterwards for many years in the French Court, as a diplomat and statesman, and was a man of high literary distinction and scholarship. This disparity between environment and attainments was not greater in his case than in that of the Irish chiefs.

It is not strange, observes Macaulay, that the "Wild Scotch," as they were sometimes called, should in the seventeenth century have been considered by the Saxons as mere savages. By no means strange indeed, since nearly all outsiders were so considered by the egotistical Britons. They had been held up as savages by English rulers from the days of Mrs. Afra Behn to those of Dr. Johnson. Even Oliver Goldsmith, who was a fairly impartial Irish writer, joined in the discordant chorus. The writings in which these denunciations were published were well known to the Rev. Sydney Smith. Why, then, did he, in a Scotch magazine, attempt to give the palm for savagery to the Irish of the sixteenth century, when a century later his own countrymen and others had unanimously awarded it to the Scotch? Even the Scottish Lowlanders agreed in branding the Highlanders. In the "History of the Revolution in Scotland," published in Edinburgh in 1690, they are described:

"The Highlanders of Scotland are a sort of wretches that have no other consideration of honor, friendship, obedience or government than as, by any alteration of affairs or revolution in the government, they can improve to themselves an opportunity of robbing or plundering their bordering neighbors."

Mrs. Afra Behn, in a volume of Miscellanies published by her in 1685, which is equal in dirty language to any part of Rabelais, quotes from an old Lowland Scotch song some verses about the

making of the first Highlander to prove that stealing was his first impulse as well as ruling passion. Other Scotch writers of the Lowlands entertained the same opinion, and expressed it, but not so disgustingly as the English "lady" of the Restoration period. These facts ought to have weighed with the Rev. Sydney Smith, but, strangely enough, though living in the midst of books and libraries in the city that was proudly called "the Northern Athens," he altogether overlooked them.

But, after all, savagery is comparative and a matter of custom, ideals and geography. Edmund Spenser was a poet, living among a most poetical people, yet he found little but savagery in them and their bardic epics. He was an Englishman, and that fact colored his poetry and his views of a stranger race whom he neither could or would understand, and he regarded their speech as well as their poetry as barbarous, although in truth it was immeasurably purer and nobler than his own. Mrs. Afra Behn was an Englishwoman, and she brings forward as proof of Scottish savagery specimens of filthy speech. She had proved her fitness to be an "arbiter elegantiarum" by herself writing some of the foulest compositions that English literature contains. A French writer, not knowing the sex of the author, and reading some of her works, might be justified in describing them as that of a lascivious savage. Voltaire described Shakespeare's productions as those of "a drunken savage." Hence thoughtful people, as clergymen generally should be, might hesitate to accept the testimony of interested parties on the claims of people whom their governments had wronged as to the level of civilization these people had attained when their conquest and spoliation was the direct object in view.

But the Rev. Sydney Smith meant well. He was an honest friend of Ireland, and championed her cause. If Ireland were as savage as Fynes Moryson described her, he attributed that fact to the long course of penal laws and plunder that his countrymen had subjected Irishmen to. Therefore we may forgive him.

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IRISH NAMES IN COLONIAL MILITARY HISTORY.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for January, 1906, contained an interesting article by the late Bryan J. Clinch, entitled "Irish Names and Their Changes." The special object of the writer of the article was to throw light upon the volume of Irish blood contributed to our composite American people, and incidentally to provoke inquiry into that subject. Mr. Clinch indicated his purpose in the second sentence of the article, thus: "There are good grounds for thinking that the Irish Celts are the largest numerical element in the mixed population of our land, and family names are a valuable historical help in examining the question scientifically."

He then showed how a large number of unmistakable Celtic names had been more or less transformed by law and by various forms of spelling. The article was especially interesting to the present writer for the reason that he had been scanning for several years the annual volume as it appeared of a serial publication compiled from the State archives of Massachusetts, and published by the Secretary of State pursuant to an order passed by the Legislature in the year 1891. The work is entitled "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War." The sixteenth volume appeared a few weeks ago, completing the rolls alphabetically up to and including probably half the names beginning with the letter "W." The volumes are large octavo, and each contains at least one thousand pages. They contain the name of every man recruited in Massachusetts for land or naval service during the Revolution.

On these rolls are to be found material for profound surprise to those who are under the prevailing impression that the population of the Massachusetts province during the Revolution was composed practically of people of English blood. Consciously or unconsciously, that impression has been fostered carefully and cultivated by writers to whom the Puritan cult was the fount of civil and religious liberty in America, if not throughout the world. As an evidence of that, Mr. Palfrey, one of the leading historians of New England, in the preface to his five-volume edition, "The History of New England," published in 1858, informs the reader that "the people of New England are a singularly unmixed race. There is probably not a county in England occupied by a population of purer English blood than them. . . . A hundred and twenty Scotch Irish families came over in 1719 and settled at Londonderry, in New Hampshire, and elsewhere. Great numbers of foreigners (especially of Irish and, next to them, Germans) are now to be reckoned in the census of New England, but it is chiefly within the

last thirty years that they have come, and they remain for the most part unamalgamated with the population of English descent." It may be worthy of note to observe that this remark by Mr. Palfrey was made when the Knownothing party was most vigorous throughout the country, and had secured the election of a Governor in Massachusetts.

It may be worth while to give another instance of how this legend has been cultivated. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, the senior United States Senator from Massachusetts, gravely informs us in the first volume of his "Story of the Revolution," a work published in 1898, that the people of Massachusetts were "of almost pure English blood, with a small infusion of Huguenots and a slight mingling, chiefly in New Hampshire, of Scotch Irish from Londonderry." Mr. Palfrey is dead many years ago, but Mr. Lodge is living. Right here it will serve to state that, according to the Revolutionary records of Massachusetts, fourteen men named Palfrey, under the various forms of spelling that name, served in the Revolutionary ranks, while there are to be found not less than nineteen Learys. Not a solitary man named Lodge appears on these muster rolls, but there are to be found at least sixty-nine Larkins.

Before proceeding to apprise the reader of the amazing number of distinctively Irish names presented by these official records, it may be observed that the total population of the Massachusetts Bay province, slaves and freemen, black and white, Whigs and Tories, men, women and children, in the year 1776, according to the provincial census taken that year, was 299,841. Now, with that number of population borne in mind, we will glance at some of the unmistakable Celtic names on these rolls. Family names common to various countries, such as White, Black, Brown, Green, Smith and some others, will be passed over, although several of these on the rolls have such very suggestive surnames as Patrick, Michael, Bartholomew, John, James, Timothy, etc., while the Puritan surnames were generally those of the Hebrew lawgivers and prophets.

It may be instructive to observe that Robert Louis Stevenson, in the delightful sketch which he made in reference to whether or not his own name was originally Celtic, Norse or Saxon, makes the following enlightening statement: "A great Highland clan uses the name of Robertson, a sept in Appin that of Livingstone. Mac-Clean in Glencoe answers to Johnstone at Lockerby. There is but one rule to be deduced: that however uncompromisingly Saxon their name may appear, you can never be sure it does not designate a Celt." Stevenson seems to incline to the opinion that his name was originally in another form, Scottish Celtic.

These Massachusetts records furnish no proof as to the birth-

place or residence of probably a majority of the men's names borne upon them. In some instances the nationality is given, in others the residence. The editor, Colonel Olin, Secretary of State, in giving the commonly accepted form of spelling a name, indicates the various forms of spelling the same name, which appear in the proper alphabetical order. Thus, here is a precise transcript relating to the name Ahern as it appears in the first volume: "Ahern. This name also appears under the form of Aharn, Ahen, Ahzen." And then follows the record of the first Ahern, thus: "Ahern, Timothy. Private; Captain Nathaniel Cushing's Co. Col. Joseph Vose's Regt.; Muster Rolls for Jan., Feb., March and April, 1779, dated Providence; also list of deserters from Col. Joseph Vose's 1st regt., date Camp Highland, July 13, 1780; birthplace, Ireland. Age, twenty-eight years; stature, five ft. four in.; complexion, dark; hair, brown."

Six Aherns in its various forms appear on the list. They are followed by twenty-one Barrys and several Berrys. Of the latter, some are recorded as of Irish nationality. In the letter B catalogue a curious discovery is to be made, in view of the statements made by Palfrey, Lodge and others in reference to the Scotch Irish contribution to the population. It is that a corps of Irish volunteers served Massachusetts in the Revolutionary days. This is the official record:

"Brother, Martin. Private; list of men known as Irish volunteers. Service from Sept. 18, 1780, to Oct. 10, 1780, at Machias, under Col. John Allen."

The Scotch Irish myth had not yet been invented. Among the Browns it may be said there are four Michaels, eleven Peters, four Patricks, and a note attached to the record of one of the latter runs: "Reported foreigner." The spelling of some names is very peculiar.

Thus: Patrick Buckhannon, evidently Buchanan, most probably Irish or Scotch, is recorded as a corporal in Captain Heath's company, Colonel Gerrishe's regiment, while a man called Timothy Buggy, of Captain Cook's company, Colonel Porter's regiment, is thus described: "Age, forty; stature, 5 ft. 11 in.; complexion, dark; residence, Hadley; nationality, Irish."

The Burkes, under the various forms of that name, from Bourk to Burks, furnished seventy-nine men to the fighting line. One of these Burkes bears the curious surname "Africa," although not recorded as a Colored man, while following him appears Sergeant Anthony Burk, whose nationality is said to be Irish. There was a Sergeant Patrick Burk, whose residence is given as Boston and also Ireland, and who is described as an orderly to the General. There was one Elijah, one Jesse, one Jonah, four Josiahs, one Silas

and eleven Johns among the Burkes. Seven Bradys and sixty-one Burns appear. Among the latter there is one Patrick who enlisted from the town of Northampton, and another Patrick who served as artillery man, without any given residence. A numerous crowd are the Butlers, making a total of one hundred and eighty, quite a number being recorded as of Irish birth. The Callahans number four, the Kanes number thirty-nine and the Canons thirty-three. Forty fighting men of the Careys were enrolled, among whom one is to be found bearing the singular name of Syphax. Carroll, in its various forms, appears eighty-four times. Then follow the Collins, with a magnificent contingent of one hundred and fifty-eight recruits, while the Connollys back them up with thirty-four, and the Connors are supporting them with forty-three.

We now come to the name Corcoran. The compiler says that it is to be found under the form of Cochran, Cochrin, Corcorin and other forms. The first on this list is Patrick Corcoran, who was mustered in at Boston, January 19, 1777, for a term of three years; the next is a Patrick Corcorin, a corporal in Colonel Tupper's regiment, and the next is Patrick Corcoring, residence Boston, who enlisted in Captain Taylor's company. Twenty Corcorans at least are to be found. We find a goodly number of Costellos, with other forms of the name Costilo, Costileo, etc.

Costigan was spelled in various ways by the enlisting officers. It appears in the form of Costekin, Castiken, Castican and Castiken. In like manner we find Cosgrove, which appears as Cosgriff and Cosgrift. Under the name Cowen a numerous body appears, among whom are to be found four Patricks, while under the form of Cowin there are two Patricks, and there is also one Patrick Cowing. The Dalys furnished a quota of thirty-eight, while the Dolans numbered eight, one of the latter being Patrick Doolan, of the Berkshire county contingent. The name Donahoe appears with eleven different forms of spelling, such as Donahew, Donnohew, Dunahu, etc.

The Dorans rallied eighteen recruits, and the Donnellys thirty-three, and the Driscolls, under the various forms of spelling their name, contributed twenty. The Doyles numbered thirty-eight, the Donnells forty-three and the Donovans fourteen. Quite a number of Donegans and Duffs are to be found on the record in curious forms of spelling. Among the Duffys we are informed that one Patrick Duffy, of Boston, was a seaman on the ship Protector, and that Dan Duffy was a marine of the ship Alfred, commanded by Captain Paul Jones. Duggan appears as Douggan, Dugen, Duggins and otherwise. We also find the suggestive names of Flagerty, Flaugherty, Flaghtlery, etc.

Fitzgerald appears no less than sixty-nine times, under such curious forms as Michael Fetchcharld, of Haverhill; John Fitch Jeril, of Woburn; Michael Fitchgereld, of Bridgewater; Patrick William Fitz, of Salem; John Fitts Gerel, etc. Forty-one Flemings were at the front, backed up by twenty-nine Flynns. Flynn is spelled all the way from the phonetic form, Flin, to Fling. The Gleasons furnished a good-sized battalion, with one hundred and forty men. And there are Flanagens, Flaninghan, Flannighan and Flarnegan.

The Higgins matched the Gleasons with an equal number of men, one hundred and forty. One Peter Higgins, who enlisted in Boston, was rated as a gunner on the sloop *Machias Liberty*, commanded by Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, and one Levi Higgins was a "second lieutenant in Captain Sullivan's company of volunteers." Eighty-three Harts were in the ranks, and seventy-four Kennedys, one hundred and sixty-seven Kellys, ninety-two Kenneys, twenty-six Keefes and ten Leahys. The Larkins contributed sixty-nine men, and it may be noticed outside the military line that it was Deacon John Larkin, of the Charlestown church, who furnished the horse that carried Paul Revere on his memorable midnight ride to arouse the farmers of Middlesex county to the fact that the British were marching to Lexington and Concord.

Seventy-four Hughes were in line. The Mahans supplied eighteen men, while among the ten Mahoneys there were four surnamed Patrick. Maloney, Moloney, Meloney and other forms of that name appear to the number of fifty-four. Fifteen McGees are recorded, among them being four Patricks, three Peters, one Neil, one Michael and two Davids. McGraths and McGra are visible. Upon the list of McGuire the first name is spelled McGuiar, the succeeding one McGuier, and the last on the list is Timothy McGwyre. Other McGuires appear under the form of McGayre, Macwire, McQuire, and we can also find a Patrick McGuiris, who served as a member of the crew of the armed ship *Deane* in November, 1780. The list of McMahons is a large one of varied spelling, such as McMahone, McMain, McMann, McMehone, etc. The first McMahan on the roll is surnamed James, who enlisted for three years from Londonderry, New Hampshire, the very place from which Senator Lodge says "a sprinkling of Scotch Irish was the contribution." This James McMahan's occupation is given as a weaver, and his birthplace is said to be Ireland. The next McMahan on the roll is another James, who enlisted for the war in Boston, and who is "reported as belonging to Ireland; also reported killed." The McManus turned out a strong quota, and they were powerfully supported by the Mullens and McMullens.

Patrick McMayr, who enlisted in Boston, is hard to classify, owing to the evident misspelling of the family name. We find, however, close by a Patrick McMerry, who enlisted for the war on February 19, 1799, and who is reported as "belonging to Ireland." Another Patrick McMerry is credited to the town of Topsfield from 1777 to December 31, 1779.

The McNamaras make up a large list, running through a variety of forms, such as McNamar, McNamor, McNimarra, Micknamarra, etc. The Murphys rallied a good company of eighty men, with such choice specimens of spelling as Murphe, Morphey, Morfey, and such like. Among these Murphys there are found several saints' names common in Ireland, as well as a few Hebrew surnames. There are fourteen Johns, seven Patricks, five Toms, five Jims, two Mikes, two Tims, two Israels, one Cato, one Lemuel and one Lambeth among the fighting Murphys.

The McCarthys turned out to the number of forty-two, under various forms of spelling, running from McCarte to McLarty. Behind them come eleven McSweeneys under various forms. When we turn to O'Brien, under its various forms—O'Brian, O'Brion, O'Bryan, Obrine, Obrien, Obrian, Brien, Brian, Briant, Bryant and others—we find no less than three hundred and sixty-six men.

Here is the record from Volume II. in reference to Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, of Machias, who fought the first naval battle of the Revolution in Machias Bay, five days before the Battle of Bunker Hill, an event which Fenimore Cooper, in his "Naval History of the United States," designates as "the Lexington of the sea:"

"Obrian, Jeremiah. Capt., Sloop Machias Liberty; list of officers of armed vessels; commissioned March 15, 1766; also petition dated Boston, August 12, 1777, signed by Daniel Martin in behalf of himself and others, owner of the schooner Resolution, privateer, asking that said Obrian be commissioned as commander of said vessel; ordered in Council August 13 that a commission be issued; also petition dated Boston, Sept. 8, 1780, signed by John O'Brien, of Newburyport, asking that said Jeremiah Obrian be commissioned as commander of the ship Hannabal, privateer; order in Council Sept. 8, 1780, that a commission be issued."

Such is the simple record of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, in whose memory the torpedo boat O'Brien was named by the Hon. John D. Long when Secretary of the Navy some years ago. Captain O'Brien's latest biographer, the Rev. Andrew M. Sherman, writing of him in his work printed in 1802, says: "To Jeremiah O'Brien, of Machias, Maine, unquestionably belongs a peculiar honor of having been the Yankee commander in the first naval engagement

resulting in the first victory of the war of the American Revolution, and of having subsequently commanded, in connection with the same war, the first American armed cruiser and the first American flying squadron."

Serving under Captain O'Brien in this first fight in Machias Bay were his five brothers. One of his biographers informs us that it was "only with some difficulty his father Maurice, then sixty years of age, was deterred from his purpose to accompany them on that perilous enterprise." At least two of Captain Jeremiah's brothers held commissions on armed ships during the Revolution. And, as might be expected, the roll of O'Briens contains a heavy sprinkling of Pats, Mikes, Jerrys and Johns, although some are recorded with surnames such as Lemuel, Abraham, Levi and other Old Testament names so fashionable among the Godly Puritans.

O'Neill, in the form Oneal, O'Nall, O'Niel, Neil, Neall, etc., appears to the number of forty-eight. Among these are Patrick Neale, and close by is Patrick Neaf, probably a misspelled name. There are few O'Donahys, one being a corporal in Captain Charles Parson's company. O'Donnell appears seven times with a prefix O', while the Donnells, already referred to, numbered forty-three. There are two O'Haras, two Ohearns, one O'Herrin, one Ohogan and three O'Connors. Connor, Connar, etc., have been already noticed.

The Ryans, under such forms as Rion, Ryon, Ryans, etc., mustered a good company, amounting to ninety-two. The Sheas, under various pellings, such as Sha, Shay, Shey and Shays, count up a total of twenty-four, including two Patrick Shays. Shields, from the phonetic form Sheels to Shiels, number eighteen. Sheehan is well represented. There was a Dan Sheehan of the crew of the armed ship Rambler; Patrick Shehane, of Colonel Craft's regiment; Patrick Shehean, an artillerist, and Patrick Shehin, who enlisted in 1776 to serve in the Continental army during the war.

Sullivan, under the forms of Sulavan, Sulleven, Sullivent, Sulloven, Sullivin, is found to the number of fifty-seven. Here is the brief reference to General Sullivan while under the military jurisdiction of Massachusetts: "Sullivan (John). General order, dated Headquarters, Cambridge, July 22, 1775, making disposition of the forces about Boston and dividing the army into three grand divisions to consist of two brigades each; said Sullivan, Brigadier-general, assigned to the command of a brigade which was to form part of left wing, or second division, of the army under Major-general Lee, and to be stationed at Winter Hill."

The Tobins turned out twenty-five strong. Among these are three Patrick Tobins, one Patrick Toban, one Patrick Toben and a

Patrick Toborn. Only three Toomeys appear. Walsh appears under the form of Walch, Welch, Welsh, etc. They make a very large contingent, among whom the surnames of Patrick, Paul, Peter, Joseph, John and Dennis are to be found. We find John Welch credited at Boston, whose birthplace is given as Ireland, while Patrick Welch, who is described as red-haired, has no birthplace given, but simply his residence as Boston. But Patrick Welsh, credited to Plymouth county, whose complexion was dark, is recorded as a resident of Plymouth.

The names just selected are a few of the distinctively Irish names about which there can be scarcely a doubt. Fitzgerald was not originally a Celtic name, but by right of Irish birth for over seven centuries, and its absorption into the national life, it may be fairly claimed as Irish. So also with the names Barry and Burke. It may be observed that the writer in giving the total number of men of any of the given names is never over the mark, rather under it. As the search through these volumes of any specific name has often been made in widely separated portions of one or two or more volumes, owing to the different forms of spelling and the strict alphabetical order of printing the record carried out by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, it can be truthfully said that the number is not exaggerated.

It may be further observed that these distinctively Irish names compare quite favorably in point of number with the best-known English names on the rolls. Certainly this is more than a little surprising in the face of the carefully cultivated story that Massachusetts up to the beginning of the last decade of the first half of the nineteenth century was composed almost exclusively of people of English blood. The official record of the men who defended Massachusetts in the Revolutionary days on land and sea tells a different story. And a curious commentary that story is upon the old legend illustrated by Senator Lodge's bold assertion in his "Story of the Revolution," printed in 1898, that the people of Massachusetts in the Revolutionary War were "almost pure Englishmen, with a small infusion of Huguenots and a slight mingling, chiefly in New Hampshire, of Scotch Irish from Londonderry."

When did all these fighting men of Celtic name come into Massachusetts? That query involves another story, which the present writer will not now enter upon, save in a general way. It may be remarked that an intimate intercourse between Ireland and the Massachusetts Bay colonies commenced during the Cromwellian period—that is to say, as early as 1646, in the very infancy of the colony. How intimate this intercourse was may be gathered in part from Mr. Prendergast's authoritative work, "The Crom-

wellian Settlement of Ireland," which presents for the first time extracts from the State papers of Cromwell's commissioners for the affairs of Ireland.

Prendergast says: "In the early part of the year 1651, when the country, by their own description (Cromwell's commissioners) to the Council of State, was a scene of unparalleled waste and ruin, the commissioners for Ireland affectionately urged Mr. Harrison, then a minister of the Gospel in New England, to come over to Ireland, which he would find experimentally was a comfortable seed plot (so they said) for his labors. . . . It was their chief care to plant Ireland with a Godly seed and generation. Mr. Harrison was unable to come, but some movement appears to have been made towards a plantation from America, as proposals were received in January, 1655, for the planting of the town of Sligo and lands thereabouts with families from New England; and lands on the Mile Line, together with the two little islands called Oyster Island and Coney Island, were leased for one year, from the 10th of April, 1655, for the use of such English families as should come from New England, in order to their transplantation. In 1656 several families arriving from New England at Limerick had the excise of tobacco brought with them for the use of themselves and families remitted; and other families in May and July of that year, who had come over from New England to plant, were received as tenants of State lands near Garristown, in the County of Dublin, about fifteen miles north of the capital. . . . They, the commissioners, had agents actively employed through Ireland seizing women, orphans and the destitute, to be transported to Barbadoes and the English plantations in America."

During Puritan control in Ireland ships passed frequently between ports of the Massachusetts Bay and Irish ports, carrying freight and willing and unwilling passengers. In 1654 the ship *Goodfellow*, Captain George Dell, arrived in the port of Boston with merchandise and a large number of Irish, who were sold as "redemptioners." The marriage records of the sparsely settled town of Boston at that time contain many such facts as the following: Under the date 1656 appears an entry that "Edmond Cousins, of Pulling point, and Margaret Bird, an Irish maid-servant to John Grover, were married." Under date 1659, "John Morrell, an Irishman, and Lysbell Morrell, an Irishwoman, were married on the 31st of August by John Endecott, Gov." Under 1666, "John Reylean, an Irishman, and Margaret Brene, an Irishwoman, were married on the 15th of March by John Endecott, Gov." And "Bryan Morfrey, an Irishman, and Margaret Mayhoone, widow, were married on the 20th of July by John Endecott, Gov." There

are a number of such entries. The Brigantine Ann and Rebecca, Captain Thomas Hendry, brought passengers from Dublin, Ireland, at the same period, who agreed to serve four years for the cost of their transportation and for certain clothing. Some of these passengers were obliged to petition the Government in Boston to compel Captain Hendry to complete his contract, as is shown by their petition preserved in the Massachusetts archives.

The Catholic Irish who reached Massachusetts at that time, and that means practically the great majority of the native-born Irish, were regarded by the Puritans with contempt and aversion. They escaped from under the Cromwellian harrow to come under the Massachusetts Bay roller. As may be readily realized, they were destitute, wretched and, save probably in very few cases, unable to speak any language save their native speech, the Gaelic. The cultivated segment of their nationality, the natural chiefs and leaders of their people, had been plundered, killed or driven to Connaught. Forty thousand Irish soldiers, including most of the old nobility and principal persons in Ireland, found a refuge in staying alone before the close of the Cromwellian era. Those of the wretched residue who managed to reach Massachusetts found a religious penal code in existence there just as antagonistic to Catholicism as the rule of Cromwell.

Catholics were not tolerated within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay colony, and, of course, Catholic priests were strictly prohibited from entering within the domain of the Puritan theocracy. Here is the Puritan statute enacted in 1647 in reference to Catholic priests. The law is quoted verbatim, and the spelling of the words is given precisely as in the original.

"JESUITES.

"This court taking into consideration the Great Wars, Combustions and Divisions which are this day in Europe, and that the same are observed to be raised and formented, chiefly by the secret underminings, and solicitations of those of the Jesuitical Order; Men brought up and Devoted to the Religion and Court of Room, which hath occasioned divers states to expel them their Territories, for prevention whereof among our selves;

"It is Ordered and Enacted by Authority of this Court, that no Jesuite or Spiritual or Ecclesiastical person (as they are termed), Ordained by the Authority of the Pope or See of Room, shall henceforth at any time repair to, or come within this Jurisdiction; And if any person shall give just cause of suspition, that he is one of such Society or Order, he shall be brought before some of the Magistrates, and if he cannot free himself of such suspition, he

shall be committed to Prison, or bound over to the next Court of Assistants, to be tryed and proceeded with, by banishment or otherwise as the Court shall see cause.

"And if any person so Banished, be taken the second time within the Jurisdiction, upon lawful tryal and conviction, he shall be put to death. Provided this law shall not extend to any such Jesuite, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical person, as shall be cast upon our Shores by Ship-wreck or other accident, so as he continue no longer than till he may have opportunity of Passage for his departure; nor to any such as shall come in company with any Messenger hither upon publick occasions, or Merchant, or Master of any Ship belonging to any place, not in enmity with the State of England or our selves, so as they depart again with the same Messenger, Master or Merchant, and behave themselves inoffensively during their abode here."

So radically opposed to anything savoring of the Pope or "See of Room" were the Massachusetts Puritans that they abolished the observance of Christmas Day as a holiday by the following law in 1670:

"For preventing disorders arising in several places within this jurisdiction by reason of some still observing such festivals, as were superstitiously kept in other Countries, to the great dishonour of God and offense of others;

"It is therefore Ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof, that whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forbearing labour, feasting, or any other way upon any such account as aforesaid, every such person so offending, shall pay for every such offense five shillings as a fine to the County."

Another law, passed as early as 1641, prohibited the franchise to any one save members of the Church in good standing.

Such were a few of the laws confronting the wretched Irish Catholics who reached the Massachusetts shores in those days. It is not surprising, therefore, to find in the early town records of Boston announcements of the marriage ceremony as having been performed by the Governor or other competent official where one or both the contracting parties were of Irish birth and probably baptized Catholics, such as Collins, Healy, Kelly, Kenny, Larkin, McCarty, McLaughlin, Murphy, O'Connell, etc. It may be noticed also as bearing on the closeness of intercourse between the Massachusetts Bay and Ireland that at the close of the fierce war with the Indians led by King Philip, the colonists being reduced to a state of extreme destitution, were relieved by a liberal donation from Ireland in 1677. This donation was in the form of a cargo of

provisions and clothing, despatched from Dublin by friends of the Boston Churches per the ship *Katherine* of Dublin, consigned to a Boston committee of three, Messrs. William Ting, James Olliver and John Hull, who were authorized by the consignors to sell a sufficient portion of the cargo to defray the expenses of the voyage and then distribute the balance among the most destitute. Persons in Boston, as well as in the surrounding towns, received their pro rata share of this donation. A detailed account of the distribution in the various towns is given and preserved in a record of the State archives. From this may be seen the peculiar but somewhat close connection between Irish ports and those of Massachusetts at that early time. Not only "redemptioners" arrived, but doubtless many who paid their transportation, and probably others who worked their passage.

It may be that the majority of the Irish who landed in Massachusetts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were baptized as Catholics. There is no means of definitely determining the probable number. But this we know, that the original Catholic emigrants were obliged to conform outwardly at least to the Church established by law, and we know further that their descendants, with few exceptions, became to all intents and purposes, Puritans. It was not before the close of the Revolutionary War that any substantial relaxation of the laws against Catholicism was made.

Many years ago the present writer ran across quite a settlement of Yankee farmers named Murphy a short distance from the seaboard in the State of Maine. They were typical Yankees, tall, sinewy and angular. They attended the Methodist, Baptist or other Protestant form of worship, and I found a few of them very suspicious that the Pope had some ulterior designs on the American Republic, but each admitted that they were originally of Irish extraction and that the first of the name who settled in that neighborhood was probably a Catholic.

A similar settlement of Larkins outside the city of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, traced their descent back to an Irish Larkin who settled there in the early part of the eighteenth century, during the time when the first great exodus of the Irish to America began. Irish Protestant woolen manufacturers, as well as their Protestant and Catholic employees, were involved in the general ruin superinduced by the legal wiping out of the native woolen trade in the reign of William III. and Queen Ann. Then it was that the ships sailing from Cork, Youghal, Dungarvan, Waterford, Dublin, Newry, Belfast and Derry brought their freight of human beings to the American colonies. Massachusetts received quite a portion of this exodus, including Catholics, notwithstanding the radical

prohibition of Catholicism. Maltreated people, such as the Catholics of Ireland were in those days, do not investigate very closely the probable environment which the future may have in store; they only wish to escape from the pressing hardship of present conditions. Then it was that Derry, Peterborough and other practically exclusive Irish settlements were made in New Hampshire. Then it was that the fleeing Irish drifted into the sparsely settled territory of Massachusetts. They had strong hands, inured to toil, and willing hearts to win them a sustenance.

Into the two ports of Boston Harbor, Charlestown and Boston, the records show that a little over one thousand emigrants from Ireland came between 1737 and 1740. In 1737 the Charitable Irish Society of Boston was founded. It is the oldest Irish organization in North America. According to its original constitution, Irish Protestants only, or those of Irish extraction, were eligible as officers, but the election of these officers and the annual celebration of the society were fixed to take place annually on St. Patrick's Day. This organization in the time of the Revolution furnished several officers to Washington's army, including General Knox. A very few of them preferred to take the English side, and they removed from Boston when General Howe evacuated the city on March 17, 1776. But it is quite clear that not a man of them professed to be or had ever heard of the mythical tribe designated by some writers of the nineteenth century as Scotch Irish.

Take the case of Maurice O'Brien, the father of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, of the naval service, already referred to. All that the most careful biographer of the O'Briens, the Rev. Andrew M. Sherman, can learn about the old gentleman, who lived until 1799, is that he was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1715; that he was a tailor by trade; that about the year 1738 he emigrated to America; that he settled first in Kittery, opposite Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and that about 1739 or 1740 he married Mary Cain, who, the biographer naively informs us, "was of the Protestant faith." They reared a family of six sons and three daughters. In another place Rev. Mr. Sherman says: "In religious belief Maurice O'Brien was a Baptist," but, there being no church of the Baptist persuasion in Machais, he attended the Congregationalist church in the village. He further says that Maurice had an old portrait of King Brian Borohime, which he brought with him from Ireland and prized highly to the end of his days, and that he used to tell his neighbors thrilling tales of his grandfather's exploits (more probably his father's) under the leadership of Patrick Sarsfield at the Boyne and other engagements during the war between James II. and William III. at the close of the seventeenth century.

The probabilities, by enormous odds, are that Maurice O'Brien and his wife, Mary Cain, were Catholics. But as Catholics they were not tolerated within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and they conformed to the local religious forms, and naturally their children followed them. The law in Massachusetts, as well as in Ireland at that time, did not recognize the existence of a Catholic, save as an enemy. A powerful light is thrown upon the situation of Catholics in Massachusetts at that time by the following: Maurice O'Brien, his eldest son, Jeremiah, and the next oldest son, Gideon, with seventy-seven other males, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to grant them a territory for a township on the southerly side of the Machias River. The grant was finally made by the Legislature on the 26th of April, 1770, by which each of the petitioners became owners in fee simple of two hundred and fifty acres of land on the river front toward the sea, upon the following conditions: "That the petitioners should within six years after they should have obtained his Majesty's approbation of the grant, unless prevented from so doing by war, settle the township with eighty good Protestant families, build eighty houses . . . that they build a suitable meeting-house for the public worship of God, and settle a learned Protestant minister and make provision for his comfortable and honorable support."

The suitable meeting-house was built and the Protestant minister was secured in 1772. That seems to throw considerable light upon Tailor Maurice O'Brien, who is declared to be a Baptist while attending the Congregationalist Church services, which was really the State religion. Schoolmaster John Sullivan, of Berwick, and his distinguished family and many other families stand in like case. But it can be truthfully said of these transmogrified Catholics that they were among the foremost and boldest in challenging King George's power from the very dawn of the Revolution.

The spirit of intolerance to Catholics was such that on the very eve of the Revolution itself the authorities of the town of Boston officially voted that "in regard to religion, mutual toleration in the different professions thereof is what all good and candid minds in all ages have ever practiced," but they excepted "the Roman Catholics or Papists," because their belief was "subversive of society."

These authoritative muster rolls of "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War" tell a curious and surprising story. It destroys in large measure the old legend so carefully propagated that the population of Massachusetts up to the middle of the nineteenth century was almost of unmixed English blood. And it makes a scathing criticism of Senator Lodge's statement

that "there was only a slight sprinkling, chiefly in New Hampshire, of Scotch Irish from Londonderry." This cyclopean compilation, now practically completed, will do something to correct erroneous impressions and to cause a revision of the ancient legend.

P. O'NEILL LARKIN.

Boston, Mass.

A PREFECT OF THE AMBROSIANA.

"In memoria de Monsignore Antonio Maria Ceriani, Prefetto della Biblioteca Ambrosiana." Con illustrazioni. Milan, 1908.

"Le Cardinal Frédéric Borromée." Par Charles Quesnel, Lille, 1890.

ON THE afternoon of the feast of the Blessed Virgin's Conception, in the year 1609, a memorable gathering was held in the Church of S. Sepolcro at Milan. Thither had come, at the bidding of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, then Archbishop of Milan, the chancellor, Senators, magistrates and officials of the city, together with the canons of the Duomo and representatives of various religious orders. In the words of Manzoni, which Milan has engraved on the pedestal of the statue erected in 1865 in memory of the Cardinal, "Federico Borroméo was one of those men, rare in all ages, who have used their splendid talents, the resources of their great fortunes and the privileges of their high rank in constantly seeking after and doing good." Nephew of the great St. Charles, the Cardinal's fame, it has been remarked, was overshadowed by that of his uncle. But as long as the Ambrosian Library at Milan stands or is remembered his name will live in the annals of literature as its founder. From the days of Virgil and Ovid to those of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, so its annals tell us, Milan had been a literary centre. Under the Sforzas Milan attained such a reputation in art and letters that it was called the New Athens. In the days of St. Charles this reputation had been lost. He did much to combat the ignorance into which clergy and people had sunk. He founded his splendid seminaries for the former and the great College of Brera for the latter, but his short life, although miraculous as it seems to us in what he was able to do, could not suffice for all, and so many things had to be left to his successors. Chief among these was the revival in art and letters. In reforming the clergy and by gathering around himself learned men from all parts he made this work possible. Cardinal Federico Borromeo determined to carry it out, to revive in Milan its ancient love for the fine arts and learning, which too many then, as in our times, despised as useless to enable them to push their way in the world.

The gathering in the Church of S. Sepolcro was called to celebrate the opening of the library and college of the Ambrosiana, greatest of the institutions the Cardinal founded to promote culture. After some sacred music had been heard, and the Cardinal had listened to a Latin speech from one of his canons, he received nine Oblates of St. Ambrose as "Doctors of the Ambrosiana." To each he gave a gold medal, having on its obverse a Madonna, with the words "Monstra Te esse Matrem," while on its reverse were the heads of St. Charles and St. Ambrose, with the motto of the doctors, "Singuli singula." Among the doctors received were Olgiati, first prefect, or keeper of the Ambrosian Library, and Salmazzio, both of whom had been keen and diligent searchers after literary treasures to fill the shelves of the new library.

Olgiati had ransacked Central Europe, buying books and manuscripts with funds liberally supplied by Cardinal Borromeo. But many he was given by the learned lovers of learning in Germany, the Netherlands and France, donors eager to help the good work of the Milanese Cardinal. Indeed, Olgiati was at times overwhelmed with gifts, as, for instance, at Antwerp, where the Jesuit, Andrew Scott, "usque ad invidiam ditavit." Salmazzio made his way to the east, and, in spite of corsairs at sea and brigands on land, and the jealousy of the Greeks, he was able to procure many valuable manuscripts, and was preparing to visit Crete and Mount Athos when he was recalled to Milan. To him belongs the glory of having been the forerunner of Curzon and many others who in the last century went to Greece, Syria, Egypt and Sinai on a like quest. Among the remaining doctors received were Ripamonti, historian of the Diocese of Milan; Gigao, familiar with Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic and Arabic, and Prusca, the commentator of our English Ockham.

As soon as the doctors of the Ambrosiana had been received, they conducted the Cardinal and his guests to the library, built beside the Church of S. Sepolcro, because that was the quietest spot in Milan—a quietude which the library still enjoys amid the noisy bustle of the modern city. All were amazed at the beauty of the library and college, which Mangone had designed and Bussola had arranged and ornamented. The buildings had taken six years to erect. But all wondered more when the Cardinal showed them the rich literary treasures he had already amassed, not indeed for his own personal gratification, not to be hoarded away in cupboards, as was then the case in many Italian libraries, but to be enjoyed freely by all comers from all lands and for all time. The opening of the Ambrosiana was hailed with delight by Justus Lipsius and all the learned men of that time. As Mabillon remarked, had the Cardinal

in founding the library sought glory for his family, his desire would have been fully satisfied. But the motto of his family, "Humilitas," had turned his thoughts to higher things, more worthy of the Borromeos, who inscribed that device on all their palaces. In the lifetime of the Cardinal the Ambrosiana counted its thirty-five thousand volumes and its fifteen thousand manuscripts. These might be consulted or studied during the working hours of every day by students, at whose disposal chairs, desks, paper, pens and ink were placed. In those days men marveled at facilities and such helps to enable thirsty students to slack their thirst for knowledge. Libraries then were rather the burial than the birthplaces of literature.¹

The Ambrosian Library has attached to it the names of several great scholars, men whom the stores of manuscripts and books and the trained staff of "Doctors of the Ambrosiana" enabled to render deathless service to science and learning. Among these, two stand out nobly. One was Muratori, whom Leo XIII., in his "Letter on Historical Studies," names as having collected an unsurpassed mass of material for Italian history. He was during six years the keeper of the Ambrosian Library, before he was called back in 1700 to Modena by its duke, whose subject he was. The other is also named in Pope Leo's letter as "the honor and glory of the Sacred College." This was Cardinal Angelo Mai, "the discoverer of more lost works and the transcriber of more ancient manuscripts, sacred and profane, than it has fallen to any one else's share in modern times to publish."² While still a student at Orvieto an edict of the first Napoleon forced him to return to his native province, and he took up his residence in Milan, where he was received Doctor of the Ambrosiana. Cardinal Wiseman is mistaken, however, when he attributes to Mai the "wonderful discovery consisting in the reading of manuscripts twice written, or, as they are more scientifically called, palimpsests, from the vellum having been scraped again to prepare it for a second writing."³ The earliest deciphered palimpsest appears to have been the well-known "Codex Ephremi."⁴ But the process was brought to perfection by Mai, who with incredible patience and labor "poured out an unintermitting stream of volumes containing works or portions of works lost, as it was supposed, irrecoverably."⁵ His reputation became world-wide.

¹ Our account of the founding of the Ambrosiana is taken from Quesnel's interesting biography of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, Chapter V., *passim*.

² Wiseman, "The Four Last Popes," p. 481.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 484.

⁴ See *Dublin Review* for November, 1841, p. 409, in an article on Cardinal Mai, by Dr. C. Russell.

⁵ Wiseman, *Op. cit.*, p. 486.

From prefect of the Ambrosiana he was, at the instance of Cardinal Consalvi, transferred to Rome to be keeper of the Vatican Library, to continue there the wonderful discoveries and a labor of love that only ended at his death, on September 8, 1854, at Albano, at the age of eighty years.

Between Cardinal Mai and Antonio Ceriani, one of his successors as prefect of the Ambrosian Library, whose death a little more than a year ago was mourned wherever learning is honored, there is much in common. Both sprung from that sturdy race of peasants scattered over the upper half of Italy who have given to the See of Peter a Sixtus the Fifth and a Pius the Tenth. Cardinal Mai dearly loved the little mountain village where he was born, and, adds Cardinal Wiseman, he enriched "the community of the poor" of his birthplace by making them his heirs. Ceriani was born on May 2, 1828, in the obscure little village of Uboldo, near Saronno, in one of those humble Lombardian homesteads, built of roughly-hewn stones, with heavily tiled roofs, in which the living-rooms of the family and the shelters for domestic animals are so mingled that on seeing them our thoughts instantly travel to that inn at Bethlehem. But the love of home, "be it ever so humble," is intense among Italian peasants, and although poverty forces many of them to seek fortune abroad, their hearts remain true to their old homes. It is no rare thing in the villages on the slopes of the Alps or of the Apennines to meet men of middle age, speaking English with an American accent, who have come back with their hard-earned gains across the Atlantic to spend the evening of life in the poor village where they were born, and then, "life's toils o'er," to be laid to rest under the shadow of the rustic church in which they were baptized. Of peasant parentage, "figlio di poveri contadini," Ceriani's native village of Uboldo was dear to his heart. There, by some freak of Italian law, though living all his long life in Milan, he was able to keep his legal domicile. Thither he would return to give his vote as a parliamentary elector, or to take part in the deliberations of its communal council, of which he was a member. These visits to Uboldo formed the sole change he allowed himself from his labors in connection with the Ambrosian Library. When hot winds swept the plains of Lombardy, and Milan sweltered beneath the broiling summer sun, and others fled to the bracing breezes of the mountains or to the cool evenings by the sea, he stayed at his post, deeming, as the great Muratori did, that "not rest, but change of toil gives rest."

His early education was received in a college at Monza. From there he proceeded to study for the Church in the seminaries of Milan. In 1852 he was ordained priest. Having obtained at the

University of Pavia the diploma of professor of humanities, he taught these during three years, when he was appointed keeper of the catalogue of the Ambrosian Library. From that moment, as one who knew him well has said, "the library became his home—his kingdom. In its vast halls, lit by lofty windows and encumbered with books, where were gathered the thoughts of so many dead generations, he lived and conversed with the great men of twenty and more centuries. He made them live again in his own mind, and by his writings in the minds of his contemporaries and of future generations."⁶ And adds the same authority: "His way of life is soon told. It was a life of study and prayer." His early mornings were spent in prayer and meditation. Out of respect he always read the Divine Office with his head bared. His devotion in saying Holy Mass kept him over three-quarters of an hour at the altar. At 10 o'clock, the hour when the library opened, he was at his post, remaining at it until the hour for closing struck. At mid-day he allowed himself a few minutes to take standing in some quiet nook of the library a frugal lunch of bread and a couple of eggs. In the evening he broke off work to take a simple dinner, after which he gave to his friends a couple of hours' delightful conversation. Then he resumed his studies, continuing them until midnight and even later. Thus in his daily labors Ceriani only allowed himself two brief breaks.

Other breaks there were now and again that must have been irksome indeed. These were caused when strangers came, with little or no claim on his attention, as did the present writer, to be shown some of the literary treasures under Monsignore Ceriani's charge. Our visit to the library was in 1899, when he had been nearly thirty years—since January, 1870—the prefect, or head librarian, of the Ambrosiana. It is a thing of joy to remember the somewhat bent figure, bent from habitual labor, not with age, of the learned librarian, his hair white from study, his broad forehead, his rugged, powerful features, and his eyes so shrewd yet so kind. They expressed a twofold love, love of the treasures under his charge and love of his neighbors, passing strangers though they were. In this, again, Ceriani and Mai were alike, for, as Cardinal Wiseman has recorded, "seldom was it my lot to lead any party to visit the Vatican Library while Monsignor Mai was its librarian without his leaving his own pursuits to show us its treasures, and not the least valuable of them himself."⁷ But the courtesy shown

⁶ See speech by D. Carlo Pellegrini in the "In Memoria" mentioned at the head of this article, p. 74. It is from this book we have taken most of our details about Monsignore Ceriani.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 489.

us by Ceriani appears to be traditional with the prefects of the Ambrosian Library. The late Bishop Amherst tells us how he was shown round the Ambrosian Library as we were. He was then a youth of twenty-three. The party with whom he was traveling was in charge of a Bishop. "As we walked round a case of open books and manuscripts in different Oriental languages," writes Dr. Amherst, "the Bishop explained the various languages, and what the books and manuscripts were about, to the evident admiration of the librarian, who presently came up to me and asked if that was Monsignor Wiseman." The Bishop was none other. Dr. Wiseman's reputation as an Orientalist had made the librarian suspect that his learned visitor could be none other than the future Cardinal. This was in 1842, but had the Cardinal lived to revisit the Ambrosian Library some thirty years later, he would have found in Ceriani his peer in Oriental learning.⁸

Padre Ceriani had taught himself perfectly both Hebrew and Syriac. He was also familiar with Sanscrit, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian and other Oriental languages. He spoke English and French perfectly, and he could read German. But his fame rests on his mastery of Syriac, Greek and Latin palaeography. In this he was without his equal in Europe. Of the works he wrote or edited, and of the papers he contributed to reviews or to the transactions of learned societies, among which must be noted the Palaeographical and Henry Bradshaw Societies, of London, a bibliography will be found in the "In Memoria" already quoted.

Much of the work Ceriani undertook he was able to complete with success. But his critical edition of the "Peshito," which it was the desire of his heart to carry through to the end, was left unfinished at his death. He sacrificed its completion by himself when he made an act of almost heroic obedience to his Archbishop. The latter, in 1872, requested him to undertake the revision of the Ambrosian Missal. He accepted, though he knew that this undertaking would prevent his carrying on his other cherished work. His keen eyes quickly detected that changes had been made in the Missal, in the editions printed in 1594 and in 1751. The Archbishop of Milan and the Holy See agreed in desiring that the new edition should be purged of all the modifications that had been introduced into the Missal without reasonable motives. Four years later, after collating all the editions of the Missal he could find, after a comparative study of the earliest codices of the Ambrosian liturgy with the earliest liturgies of the East and West, Ceriani produced the new edition of the Ambrosian Missal. In presenting it, on behalf of the Archbishop of Milan, to the Sovereign Pontiff

⁸ Roskell's "Memoirs of Dr. Amherst," p. 141.

he was able to say that he had not changed an iota of the text through caprice; that he had taken away modern additions, and had substituted the older versions that through ages had been used in the Ambrosian liturgy. D. Carlo Pellegrini expresses the hope that a complete edition of Ceriani's liturgical studies may be published. Their value may be gauged by his "*Notitia Liturgiae Ambrosianae*," in which he shows that the Ambrosian is none other than the ancient Roman Liturgy.

The works of Padre Ceriani were appreciated highly by the learned of all nations, but perhaps more among the English-speaking peoples than even by his own nation. The present Anglican Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Wordsworth, in his learned work on the Vulgate, calls him "*doctissimus et dulcissimus Ceriani*." Sir E. Maunde Thompson, the librarian of the British Museum, in offering his condolence to the Ambrosiana on Ceriani's death, speaks of him as "a great scholar whose memory will be cherished by many English friends." Long before his death his works had attracted the notice of various learned societies. In the 60's of the last century he had been elected member of the Royal Societies of Science and Letters of Lombardy, of Naples and of Berlin. In 1898 he was chosen honorary member of the Royal Irish Academy, and in the same year the Boston Society of Literature and Biblical Exegesis enrolled him among its members. The Italian Government honored itself by making him a member of the ancient order of knighthood of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and by approving of the appointment as his successor at the Ambrosian Library of Monsignore Achille Ratti, whom Ceriani was wont to call "the son of his heart."

Above all, Ceriani was a priest, deeply impressed with the nobility of his priesthood. Immediately after his ordination he joined the Congregation of the Oblates of St. Ambrose and St. Charles, and, although he lived apart from the community, in a modest house with his sister—"La Sorella," as he affectionately called her—to keep house for him, he always observed, as far as circumstances allowed, the rule of the Oblate Fathers. In obedience to it he went twice a week to confession, and made his yearly retreat at the house of the Oblates at Rhè. During the half century and more of his connection with the Ambrosian Library these yearly retreats, his flying visits to his native village and four literary voyages were the sole occasions of his absenting himself from his post of duty. In 1861 he visited England. In the following year he went to Naples. He returned in 1866 to England to continue his researches at the British Museum and in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge. On both his English visits he was the honored

guest of his brethren, the Oblates of St. Charles, in the house founded at Bayswater by Cardinal Manning. As a token of his affection for his English brethren, he sent copies of his works to enrich their library at St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater. And if any of the Oblate Fathers from London came to Milan, Padre Ceriani was ever ready to offer them hospitality. Indeed, his affection for all who spoke "our own dear tongue" was so great that it is said that even in his official reports he was unable to conceal it. His last literary voyage was to Rome in 1888. Nine years later he was created a Protonotary Apostolic, and in 1903 he was appointed a consultor of the Pontifical Biblical Commission. Amid all his vast researches and studies he found time to lecture on palaeography at the Royal Academy of Milan, and to take an active share in the work of the official archæological commission of Lombardy. Yet, notwithstanding all the honors forced on him and all the various and ample labors with which he was burdened, Ceriani remained ever the same humble priest to the last, delighting in giving lessons in catechism to little children in the Church of S. Sepolcro, even to the closing year of his life.

If Ceriani had a great mind, he had a still greater heart. His love for his birthplace has been recorded; his love for his parents was shown by the way he kept, as a precious relic, a bit of cloth his dear mother had woven. And in the production of his learned works how heartily he thanked all who had helped him in any wise! Not merely his copyists—students of the seminary—and his printer received his thanks, but even the foreman of the printer's compositors comes in each for his meed of thanks. And when his printer died, leaving his family in need, Ceriani, out of his slender purse, provided for the education of the printer's children. No wonder, then, that Ceriani, as he had lived, so he died, a poor priest. The only riches he had laid up in his humble home were his books. These he left to the Ambrosian Library, and the authorities of the Ambrosiana have decided wisely to keep Ceriani's collection of books together, not to scatter its volumes over the shelves of the vast library.

Monsignore Ceriani's long life only fell short of the fourscore years allotted to Cardinal Mai by fourteen months. What changes his beloved Lombardy had seen during that long lapse of time! He was already a youth of twenty when Radetzky and his white-coated Austrians victoriously reëntered Milan in 1848; he had been two years a doctor of the Ambrosiana when the cannon of Solferino sounded the knell of Austrian tyranny over Lombardy. We may believe that Ceriani felt patriotic and legitimate joy when the hated strangers were turned away from Milan's gates, when he saw the

double-headed eagle of Austria replaced by the cross of Savoy. But the complete story of his life has yet to be told. Meanwhile Milan has shown its sorrow at his passing away. The end came swiftly on March 2, 1907, not without all the consolations the Church provides for the dying. "That he was good, that his life was saintly we can easily understand when we know how high a standard he always put before him of the Catholic faith, in which he lived and in which he died." So spoke the Italian official delegate in his oration over the body of the deceased prelate. A similar note is struck by the delegate of the Royal Institute of Lombardy when he speaks of Ceriani's "simple and holy life." These official utterances by sons of the kingdom of Italy strongly contrast with what the republican officials of France would utter under similar circumstances!

At the funeral in the ancient Church of St. Ambrose, in Milan, were present the Auxiliary Bishop of Cardinal Ferrari, representing His Eminence, detained in Rome; a representative of the Italian Minister of Public Instruction, the Syndic, or Mayor, of Milan, its Senator, the canons of the Duomo and of St. Ambrose, the doctors of the Ambrosiana, the civil and military authorities of the city, delegates of many learned societies and laity, rich and poor.

On the following day they laid him to rest in the church of that little village of Uboldo that he had made famous. His own fame cannot die so long as the learned possess his magnificent "*Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*," of which he published the first volume when he was barely thirty-three years of age. This great work is Ceriani's best monument, though his grateful fellow-citizens did well to erect in the courtyard of the Ambrosian Library a marble memorial of the great scholar. But it is not the recollection of his vast learning that recalls to mind Longfellow's lines:

The lives of great men all remind us
That we may make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

The learning of Ceriani has left footprints behind that time will not quickly obliterate. But if we would know what made his life sublime, we find it in his humility. Humility was the keynote of his life. The motto of the Borromeos, "*Humilitas*," the sons of St. Charles have ever taken as their own. Few ever practiced this virtue so perfectly as the subject of this short sketch. When he kept the golden jubilee of his priesthood, Leo XIII. had honored him with a gold medal. Later, in 1905, when he celebrated the half century during which he had been attached to the Ambrosian

Library, Pius X. sent his own portrait to him, and in his own handwriting congratulated him on his long connection with the Ambrosiana "cum summo Ecclesiae decore studiorumque sacrorum profectu." And the same year, when Ceriani offered to the Holy Father a splendid phototype of a manuscript of the Ambrosian Library, Pius X. thanked him in an autograph letter. This letter Ceriani never showed even to his nearest friends, but it was found among his private papers after his death. His humility had hidden it. He tried, says his panegyrist, to ward off all honors, and would say with a smile: "Honors will not make an old man young. All I desire is to be left in peace." But if he avoided honors, if in his humiliation he refused to display them even when accorded by the Sovereign Pontiff, he valued highly the blessings the Popes bestowed on his works. And, as a humble child, he delighted to be allowed to lay the first fruits of his rich harvests at the feet of the Holy Father.

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CONSTITUTIO APOSTOLICA DE ROMANA CURIA

PIVS EPISCOPVS

SERVVS SERVORVM DEI

Ad Perpetvam Rei Memoriam.

SAPIENTI consilio sa. me. Pontifex Xystus V, Decessorum vestigiis inhaerens eorumque coepta perficiens, sacros Cardinalium coetus, seu Romanas Congregationes, quarum aliquot iam erant ad certa negotia institutae, augeri numero voluit, ac suls quamque finibus contineri. Quare Apostolicis Litteris, die XXII mensis Ianuarii an. MDLXXXVII, queis initium, *Immensa*, eiusmodi Congregationes constituit quindecim, ut, "partita inter eos aliosque romanae Curiae magistratus ingenti curarum negotiorumque mole," quae solet ad Sanctam Sedem deferri, iam necesse non esset tan multa in Consistorio agi ac deliberari, simulque possent controversiae diligentius expendi, et celerius faciliusque eorum expediri negotia, qui undique, sive studio religionis ac pietatis, sive iuris persequendi, sive gratiae impetrandae, aliisve de causis ad Summum Pontificem confugerent.

Quantum vero utilitatis ex sacris his Congregationibus accesserit sive ad ecclesiasticam disciplinam tuendam, sive ad iustitiam administrandam, sive ad ipsos Romanos Pontifices relevandos, crescentibus in dies curis negotiisque distentos, compertum ex Ecclesiae historia exploratumque omnibus est.

Verum decursu temporis ordinatio Romanae Curiae a Xysto V potissimum per memoratas Apostolicas Litteras constituta, haud integra perstitit. Nam et Sacrarum Congregationum numerus, pro rerum ac temporum necessitatibus, modo auctus est, modo deminutus; atque ipsa iurisdictio unicuique Congregationi primitus attributa, modo novis Romanorum Pontificum praescriptis, modo usu aliquo sensim inducto ratoque habito, mutationibus obnoxia fuit. Quo factum est ut hodie singularum iurisdictio, seu *competentia*, non omnibus perspicua nec bene divisa evaserit; plures ex Sacris Congregationibus eadem de re ius dicere valeant, et nonnullae ad pauca tantum negotia expedienda redactae sint, dum aliae negotiis obruuntur.

Quapropter haud pauci Episcopi ac sapientes viri, maxime vero S. R. E. Cardinales, tum scriptis tum voce, et apud Decessorem Nostrum fel. rec. Leonem XIII., et apud Nos ipsos saepe institerunt ut opportuna remedia hisce incommodis afferrentur. Quod Nos quidem pro parte praestare curavimus datis Litteris die VII mensis

Decembris anno MCMIII, *Romanis Pontificibus*; aliisque datis die XXVIII mensis Ianuarii anno MCMIV, *Quae in Ecclesiae bonum*; itemque aliis datis die XXVI mensis Maii anno MCMVI, *Sacrae Congregationi super negotiis*.

Cum vero in praesenti res quoque sit de ecclesiasticis legibus in unum colligendis, maxime opportunum visum est a Romana Curia ducere initium, ut ipsa, modo apto et omnibus perspicuo ordinata, Romano Pontifici Ecclesiaeque operam suam praestare facilius valeat et suppetias ferre perfectius.

Quamobrem, adhibitis in consilium pluribus S. R. E. Cardinalibus, statuimus ac decernimus, ut Congregationes, Tribunalia et Officia, quae Romanam Curiam componunt et quibus Ecclesiae universae negotia pertractanda reservantur, post ferias autumnales decurrentis anni, hoc est a die III mensis Novembris MDCCCVIII, non alia sint, praeter consueta sacra Consistoria, quam quae praesenti Constitutione decernuntur, eaque numero, ordine, competentia, divisa et constituta maneant his legibus, quae sequuntur.

I.

SACRAE CONGREGATIONES.

I. CONGREGATIO SANCTI OFFICII.

1. Haec Sacra Congregatio, cui Summus Pontifex praeest, doctrinam fidei et morum tutatur.

2. Eidem proinde soli manet iudicium de haeresi aliisque criminibus, quae suspicionem haeresis inducunt.

3. Ad ipsam quoque devoluta est universa res de Indulgentiis, sive quae doctrinam spectet, sive quae usum respiciat.

4. Quidquid ad Ecclesiae praecepta refertur, uti abstinentiae, ieiunia, festa servanda, id omne, huic Sacro Consilio sublatum, Congregationi Concilii tribuitur; quidquid ad Episcoporum electionem spectat, sibi viindicat Congregatio Consistorialis; relaxationem vero votorum in religione seu in religiosis institutis emissorum, Congregatio negotiis sodalium religiosorum praeposita.

5. Etsi peculiaris Congregatio sit constituta *de disciplina Sacramentorum*, nihilominus intergra manet Sancti Officii facultas ea cognoscendi quae circa privilegium, uti, aiunt, Paulinum, et impedimenta disparitatis cultus et mixtae religionis versantur, praeter ea quae attingunt dogmaticam de matrimonio, sicut etiam de aliis Sacramentis, doctrinam.

2. CONGREGATIO CONSISTORIALIS.

1. Duas haec Sacra Congregatio, easque distinctas partes complectitur:

2. Ad primam spectat non modo parare agenda in Consistoriis, sed praeterea in locis Congregationi de Propaganda Fide non obnoxiiis novas dioeceses iam constitutas dividere; Episcopos, Administratores apostolicos, Adiutores et Auxiliarios Episcoporum eligere; canonicas inquisitiones seu *processus* super eligendis indicare actosque diligenter expendere; ipsorum periclitari doctrinam. At si viri eligendi vel dioeceses constituendae aut dividendae sint extra Italiam, administri Officii a publicis negotiis, vulgo *Secretariae Status*, ipsi documenta excipient et *Positionem* conficient, Congregationi Consistoriali subiiciendam.

3. Altera pars ea omnia comprehendit, quae ad singularum diocesum regimen, modo Congregationi de Propaganda Fide subiectae non sint, universim referuntur, quaeque ad Congregationes Episcoporum et Concilii hactenus pertinebant, et modo Consistoriali tribuuntur. Ad hanc proinde in posterum spectent vigilantia super inpletis vel minus obligationibus, quibus Ordinarii tenentur; cognitio eorum quae ab Episcopis scripto relata sint de statu suarum dioecesium; indictio apostolicarum visitationum, examenque earum quae fuerint absolutae, et, post fidelem rerum expositionem ad Nos delatam singulis vicibus, praescriptio eorum, quae aut necessaria visa fuerint aut opportuna; denique ea omnia quae ad regimen, disciplinam, temporalem administrationem et studia Seminariorum pertinent.

4. Huius Congregationis erit, in conflictatione iurium, dubia solvere circa *competentiam* Sacrarum Congregationum.

5. Huius Sacri Consilii Summus Pontifex perget esse Praefectus. Eique Cardinales a *secretis* S. Officii et *Secretarius Status* semper ex officio accensentur, praeter alios, quos Summus Pontifex eidem adscribendos censuerit.

6. A secretis semper esto Cardinalis a Summo Pontifice ad id munus eligendus; alter ab ipso erit Praelatus cui *Adessoris* nomen, qui idem fungetur munere a secretis Sacri Collegii Patrum Cardinalium, et sub ipso sufficiens administratorum numerus.

7. Consultores huius Congregationis erunt *Adessor* Sancti Officii, et a *secretis* Congregationis pro negotiis ecclesiasticis extraordinariis, durante munere: quibus accedent alii, quos Summus Pontifex elegerit.

3. CONGREGATIO DE DISCIPLINA SACRAMENTORUM.

1. Est huic Sacrae Congregationi proposita universa legislatio circa disciplinam septem Sacramentorum, incolumi iure Congregationis Sancti Officii, secundum ea quae superius statuta sunt, et Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis circa caeremonias quae in Sacramentis conficiendis, ministrandis et recipiendis servari debent.

2. Itaque eidem Congregationi tribuuntur ea omnia, quae huc

usque ab aliis Congregationibus, Tribunalibus aut Officiis Romanae Curiae decerni concedique consueverant tum in disciplina matrimonii, uti dispensationes in foro externo tam pauperibus quam divitibus, sanationes in radice, dispensatio super rato, separatio coniugum, natalium restitutio seu legitimatio prolis; tum in disciplina aliorum Sacramentorum, uti dispensationes ordinandis concedendae, salvo iure Congregationis negotiis religiosorum sodalium praepositae ad moderandam eorundem ordinationem; dispensationes respicientes locum, tempus, conditiones Eucharistiae sumendae, Sacri litandi, adservandi Augustissimi Sacramenti; aliaque id genus.

3. Quaestiones quoque de validitate matrimonii vel sacrae Ordinationis, aliasque ad Sacramentorum disciplinam spectantes, eadem Congregatio dirimit, incolumi iure Sancti Officii. Si tamen eadem Congregatio iudicaverit huiusmodi quaestiones iudiciario ordine servato esse tractandas, tunc eas ad Sacrae Romanae Rotae tribunal remittat.

4. Congregationi huic, quemadmodum ceteris omnibus quae sequuntur, erit Cardinalis Praefectus, qui praeerit sacro Ordini, aliquot Patribus Cardinalibus a Pontifice Summo eligendis conflato, cum *secretario* aliisque necessariis administris et consultoribus.

4. CONGREGATIO CONCILII.

1. Huic Sacrae Congregationi ea pars est negotiorum commissa, quae ad universam disciplinam Cleri saecularis populique christiani refertur.

2. Quamobrem ipsius est curare ut Ecclesiae praecepta servantur, cuius generis sunt ieiunium (excepto eucharistico, quod ad Congregationem de disciplina Sacramentorum pertinet) abstinencia, decimae, observatio dierum festorum, cum facultate opportune relaxandi ab his legibus fideles; moderari quae Parochos et Canonicos spectant; item quae pias Sodalitates, pias uniones, pia legata, pia opera, Missarum stipes, beneficia aut officia, bona ecclesiastica, arcas nummarias, tributa dioecesana, aliaque huiusmodi, attingunt. Videt quoque de iis omnibus, quae ad immunitatem ecclesiasticam pertinent. Eidem Congregationi facultas est reservata eximendi a conditionibus requisitis ad assecutionem beneficiorum, quoties ad Ordinarios eorum collatio spectet.

3. Ad eandem pertinent ea omnia quae ad Conciliorum celebrationem et recognitionem, atque ad Episcoporum coetus seu *conferentias* referuntur, suppressa Congregatione speciali, quae hactenus fuit, pro Conciliorum revisione.

4. Est autem haec Congregatio tribunal competens seu legitimum in omnibus causis negotia eidem commissa spectantibus, quas ratione

disciplinae, seu, ut vulgo dicitur, *in linea disciplinari* pertractandas iudicaverit; cetera ad Sacram Romanam Rotam erunt deferenda.

5. Congregationi Concilii adiungitur et unitur, qua Congregatio specialis, ea quae *Lauretana* dicitur.

5. CONGREGATIO NEGOTIIS RELIGIOSORVM SODALIVM PRAEPOSITA.

1. Haec Sacra Congregatio iudicium sibi vindicat de iis tantum, quae ad Sodales religiosos utriusque sexus tum solemnibus, tum simplicibus votis adstrictos, et ad eos qui, quamvis sine votis, in **communi** tamen vitam agunt more religiosorum, itemque ad tertios ordines saeculares, in universum pertinent, sive res agatur inter religiosos ipsos, sive habita eorum ratione cum aliis.

2. Quapropter ea omnia sibi moderanda assumit, quae sive inter Episcopos et religiosos utriusque sexus sodales intercedunt, sive inter ipsos religiosos. Est autem tribunal competens in omnibus causis, quae ratione disciplinae, seu, ut dici solet, *in linea disciplinari* aguntur, religioso sodali sive convento sive actore; ceterae ad Sacram Romanam Rotam erunt deferendae, incolumi semper iure Sancti Officii circa causas ad hanc Congregationem spectantes.

3. Huic denique Congregationi reservatur concessio dispensationum a iure communi pro sodalibus religiosis.

6. CONGREGATIO DE PROPAGANDA FIDE.

1. Sacrae huius Congregationis iurisdictio iis est circumscripta regionibus, ubi, sacra hierarchia nondum constituta, status missionis perseverat. Verum, quia regiones nonnullae, etsi hierarchia constituta, adhuc inchoatum aliquid praeseferunt, eas Congregationi de Propaganda Fide subiectas esse volumus.

2. Itaque a iurisdictione Congregationis de Propaganda Fide exemptas et ad ius commune deductas decernimus—in *Europa*—ecclesiasticas provincias Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Hollandiae, ac dioecesim Luxemburgensem;—in *America*—provincias ecclesiasticas domini Canadensis, Terrae Novae et Foederatarum Civitatum, seu *Statuum Unitorum*. Negotia proinde quae ad haec loca referuntur, tractanda in posterum non erunt penes Congregationem de Propaganda Fide, sed, pro varia eorundem natura, penes Congregationes ceteras.

3. Reliquae ecclesiasticae provinciae ac dioeceses, iurisdictioni Congregationis de Propaganda Fide hactenus subiectae, in eius iure ac potestate maneant. Pariter ad eam pertinere decernimus Vicariatus omnes Apostolicos, Praefecturas seu missiones quaslibet, eas quoque quae Congregationi a Negotiis ecclesiasticis extraordinariis modo subsunt.

4. Nihilominus, ut unitati regiminis consulatur, volumus ut Congregatio de Propaganda Fide ad peculiare alias Congregationes

deferat quaecumque aut fidem attingunt, aut matrimonium aut sacrorum rituum disciplinam.

5. Quod vero spectat ad sodales religiosos, eadem Congregatio sibi vindicet quidquid religiosos qua missionarios, sive uti singulos, sive simul sumptos tangit. Quidquid vero religiosos qua tales, sive uti singulos, sive simul sumptos attingit, ad Congregationem Religiosorum negotiis praepositam remittat aut relinquat.

6. Unitam habet Congregationem pro negotiis Rituum Orientalium, cui integra manent quae huc usque servata sunt.

7. Praefectura specialis pro re oeconomica esse desinit; omnium vero bonorum administratio, etiam *Reverendae Camerae Spoliorum*, ipsi Congregationi de Propaganda Fide committitur.

8. Cum hac Congregatione, coniungitur Coetus pro *unione Ecclesiarum dissidentium*.

7. CONGREGATIO INDICIS.

1. Huius sacrae Congregationis in posterum erit non solum delatos sibi libros diligenter excutere, eos si oportuerit prohibere, et exemptiones concedere; sed etiam ex officio inquirere, qua opportuniore licebit via, si quae in vulgus edantur scripta cuiuslibet generis, damnanda; et in memoriam Ordinariorum reducere quam religiose teneantur in perniciose scripta animadvertere, eaque Sanctae Sedi denunciare, ad normam Const. *Officiorum*, XXV. Ian., MDCCCXCVII.

2. Cum vero librorum prohibitio persaepe propositam habeat catholicae fidei defensionem, qui finis est etiam Congregationis Sancti Officii, decernimus ut in posterum omnia quae ad librorum prohibitionem pertinent, eaque sola, utriusque Congregationis Patres Cardinales, Consultores, Administri secum invicem communicare possint, et omnes hac de re eodem secreto adstringantur.

8. CONGRERATIO SACRORVM RITVVM.

1. Haec Sacra Congregatio ius habet videndi et statuendi ea omnia, quae sacros ritus et caeremonias Ecclesiae Latinae proxime spectant, non autem quae latius ad sacros ritus referuntur, cuiusmodi sunt praecedentiae iura, aliaque id genus, de quibus, sive servato iudiciario ordine sive ratione disciplinae, hoc est, uti aiunt, *in linea disciplinari* disceptetur.

2. Eius proinde est praesertim advigilare ut sacri ritus ac caeremoniae diligenter servantur in Sacro celebrando, in Sacramentis administrandis, in divinis officiis persolvendis, in iis denique omnibus quae Ecclesiae Latinae cultum respiciunt; dispensationes opportunas concedere; insignia et honoris privilegia tam personalia et ad tempus, quam localia et perpetua, qua ad sacros ritus vel caeremonias pertineant, elargiri, et cavere ne in haec abusus irrepant.

3. Denique ea omnia exequi debet, quae ad beatificationem et canonisationem Sanctorum vel ad Sacras Reliquias quoquo modo referuntur.

4. Huic Congregationi adiunguntur *Coetus liturgicus*, *Coetus historico-liturgicus* et *Coetus pro Sacro Concentu*.

9. CONGREGATIO CAEREMONIALIS.

Haec Sacra Congregatio iura hactenus ipsi tributa integra servat; ideoque ad eam pertinet moderatio caeremoniarum in Sacello Aulaque Pontificali servandarum, et sacrarum functionum, quas Patres Cardinales extra pontificale sacellum peragunt; itemque quaestiones cognoscit de praecedentia tum Patrum Cardinalium, tum Legatorum, quos variae nationes ad Sanctam Sedem mittunt.

10. CONGREGATIO PRO NEGOTIIS ECCLESIASTICIS EXTRAORDINARIIS.

In ea tantum negotia Sacra haec Congregatio incumbit, quae eius examini subiiciuntur a Summo Pontifice per Cardinalem *Secretarium Status*, praesertim ex illis quae cum legibus civilibus coniunctum aliquid habent et ad pacta conventa cum variis civitatibus referuntur.

II. CONGREGATIO STUDIORUM.

Est huic Sacrae Congregationi commissa moderatio studiorum in quibus versari debeant maiora athenaea, seu quas vocant Universitates, seu Facultates, quae ab Ecclesiae auctoritate dependent, comprehensis iis quae a religiosae alicuius familiae sodalibus administrantur. Novas institutiones perpendit approbatque; facultatem concedit academicos gradus conferendi, et, ubi agatur de viro singulari doctrina commendato, potest eos ipsa conferre.

II.

TRIBUNALIA.

I. SACRA POENITENTIARIA.

Huius sacri iudicii seu tribunalis iurisdictio coarctatur ad ea dumtaxat quae forum internum, etiam non sacramentale, respiciunt. Itaque, externi fori dispensationibus circa matrimonium ad Congregationem de disciplina Sacramentorum remissis, hoc tribunal pro foro interno gratias largitur, absolutiones, dispensationes, commutationes, sanationes, condonationes; excutit praeterea quaestiones conscientiae, easque dirimit.

2. SACRA ROMANA ROTA.

Quum Sacrae Romanae Rotae tribunal, anteaetis temporibus omni laude cumulatum, hoc aevo variis de causis iudicare ferme destiterit, factum est ut Sacrae Congregationes forensibus contentionibus

nimum gravarentur. Huic incommodo ut occurratur, iis inhaerentes, quae a Decessoribus Nostri Xysto V., Innocentio XII. et Pio VI. sancita fuerunt, non solum iubemus "per Sacras Congregationes non amplius recipi nec agnosci causas contentiosas, tam civiles quam criminales, ordinem iudicarium cum processu et probationibus requirentes" (Litt. Secretariae Status, XVII. Aprilis, MDCCXXVIII.); sed praeterea decernimus ut causae omnes contentiosae non maiores, quae in Romana Curia aguntur, in posterum devolvantur ad Sacrae Romanae Rotae tribunal, quod hisce litteris rursus in exercitium revocamus iuxta *Legem propriam*, quam in appendice praesentis Constitutionis ponimus, salvo tamen iure Sacrarum Congregationum, prout superius praescriptum est.

3. SIGNATURA APOSTOLICA.

Item supremum Signaturae Apostolicae tribunal restituendum censemus, et praesentibus litteris restituimus, seu melius instituimus, iuxta modum qui in memorata *Lege* determinatur, antiqua ordinatione tribunalium *Signaturae papalis gratiae et iustitiae* suppressa.

III.

OFFICIA.

I. CANCELLARIA APOSTOLICA.

1. Huic officio praesidet unus ex S. R. E. Cardinalibus, qui posthac Cancellarii, non autem Vice Cancellarii nomen assumet. Ipse iuxta pervetustam consuetudinem in sacris Consistoriis, ex officio, notarii munere fungitur.

2. Ad Cancellariae officium in posterum hoc unum tamquam proprium reservatur munus, Apostolicas expedire litteras *sub plumbo* circa beneficiorum consistorialium provisionem, circa novarum dioecesium et capitulorum institutionem, et pro aliis maioribus Ecclesiae negotiis conficiendis.

3. Unus erit earum expediendarum modus, hoc est per *viam Cancellariae*, iuxta normam seorsim dandam, sublati iis modis qui dicuntur per *viam secretam*, *de Camera* et *de Curia*.

4. Expedientur memoratae litterae seu *bullae* de mandata Congregationis Consistorialis circa negotia ad eius iurisdictionem spectantia, aut de mandato Summi Pontificis circa alia negotia, servatis ad unguem in singulis casibus ipsius mandati terminis.

5. Suppresso collegio Praelatorum, qui dicuntur *Abbreviatores maioris vel minoris residentiae*, seu *de parco maiori vel minori*; quae ipsius erant munia in subscribendis apostolicis bullis transferuntur ad collegium Protonotariorum Apostolicorum, qui vocantur *participantes de numero*.

2. DATARIA APOSTOLICA.

1. Huic officio praeest unus ex S. R. E. Cardinalibus, qui in posterum Datarii, non vero Pro-Datarii nomen obtinebit.

2. Ad Datarium in posterum hoc unum tamquam proprium ministerium tribuitur, cognoscere de idoneitate eorum qui optant ad beneficia non consistorialia Apostolicae Sedi reservata; conficere et expedire Apostolicas litteras pro eorum collatione; eximere in conferendo beneficio a conditionibus requisitis; curare pensiones et onera quae Summus Pontifex in memoratis conferendis beneficiis imposuerit.

3. In his omnibus agendis normas peculiare sibi proprias, aliasque seorsim dandas servabit.

3. CAMERA APOSTOLICA.

Huic Officio cura est atque administratio bonorum ac iurium temporalium Sanctae Sedis, quo tempore praesertim haec vacua habeatur. Ei officio praeest S. R. E. Cardinalis Camerarius, qui in suo munere, Sede ipsa vacua, exercendo se geret ad normas exhibitae a Const. *Vacante Sede Apostolica*, XXV. Dec. MDCCCXVI.

4. SECRETARIA STATUS.

Officium hoc, cuius est supremus moderator Cardinalis a *Secretis Status*, hoc est a publicis negotiis, triplici parte constabit. Prima pars in negotiis extraordinariis versabitur, quae Congregationi iisdem praepositae examinanda subiici debent, ceteris, pro diversa eorum natura, ad peculiare Congregationes remissis; altera in ordinaria negotia incumbet, ad eamque, inter cetera, pertinebit honoris insignia quaeque concedere tum ecclesiastica tum civilia, iis demptis quae Antistiti pontificali domui Praeposito sunt reservata; tertia expeditioni Apostolicorum Brevium, quae a variis Congregationibus ei committuntur, vacabit.—Primae praeerit *Secretarius* Congregationis pro negotiis extraordinariis; alteri *Substitutus* pro negotiis ordinariis; tertiae *Cancellarius* Brevium Apostolicorum. Inter harum partium praesides primus est *Secretarius* Sacrae Congregationis negotiis extraordinariis praepositae, alter *Substitutus* pro ordinariis negotiis.

5. SECRETARIAE BREVIVM AD PRINCIPES ET EPISTOLARVM LATINARVM.

Duplex hoc officium sua munia, ut antea, servabit, latine scribendi acta Summi Pontificis.

In posterum vero in omnibus Apostolicis Litteris, sive a *Cancellaria* sive a *Dataria* expediendis, initium anni ducetur, non a die Incarnationis Dominicae, hoc est a die XXV. mensis Martii, sed a Kalendis Ianuariis.

Itaque Congregationes, Tribunalia, Officia, quae diximus, posthac Romanam Curiam constituent, servata eorum quae ante Nostras has litteras exstabant, propria constitutione, nisi immutata fuerit secundum superius praescripta aut secundum legem ac normas sive generales sive speciales quae Constitutioni huic adiiciuntur.

Congregatio quae dicitur *Reverendae fabricae S. Petri*, in posterum unam sibi curandam habebit rem familiarem Basilicae Principis Apostolorum, servatis ad unguem in hac parte normis a Benedicto XIV. statutis Const. *Quanta curarum* die XV. mensis Novembris MDCCLI. data.

Coetus studiis provehendis sive *Sacrae Scripturae*, sive *historiae*; *Obulo S. Petri administrando*; *Fidei in Urbe praeservandae*, permanent in statu quo ante.

Sublata Congregatione *Visitationis Apostolicae Urbis*, quae ipsius erant iura et munia, ad peculiarem Patrum Cardinalium coetum, penes urbis Vicariatum constituendum, deferimus.

In omnibus autem et singulis superius recensitis Congregationibus, Tribunalibus, Officiis hoc in primis solemne sit, ut nil grave et extraordinarium agatur, nisi a moderatoribus eorundem Nobis Nostrisque pro tempore Successoribus fuerit ante significatum.

Praeterea, sententiae quaevis, sive gratiae via, sive iustitiae, pontificia approbatione indigent, exceptis iis pro quibus eorundem Officiorum, Tribunalium et Congregationum moderatoribus speciales facultates tributae sint, exceptisque semper sententiis tribunalis Sacrae Rotae et Signaturae Apostolicae de ipsarum competentia latis.

Huic Constitutioni accedunt leges propriae, ac normae tum generales tum particulares, quibus disciplina et modus tractandi negotia in Congregationibus, Tribunalibus, Officiis praestituitur; quas leges et normas ad unguem ab omnibus observari mandamus.

Atque haec valere quidem debent Apostolica Sede plena; vacuâ enim standum legibus et regulis in memorata Constitutione *Vacante Sede Apostolica* statutis.

Decernentes praesentes Litteras firmas, validas et efficaces semper esse ac fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri atque obtinere et illis ad quos spectat aut pro tempore quomodolibet spectabit, in omnibus et per omnia plenissime suffragari, atque irritum esse et inane si secus super his a quoquam contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus Nostra et Cancellariae Apostolicae regula de iure quaesito non tollendo, aliisque Constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis, consuetudinibus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque etiam specialissima mentione dignis.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis

Dominicae millesimo nongentesimo octavo, die festo Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, III. Kal. Iulias, Pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL, *A Secretis Status.*

A. CARD. DI PIETRO, *Pro-Datarivs.*

VISA

DE CVRIA I. DE AQVILA E VICECOMITIBVS,

Loco ✠ Plumbi,

Reg. in Secret Brevium,

V. CVGNONIVS.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION ON THE ROMAN CURIA.

PIUS BISHOP

SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD.

For Perpetual Memory.

WITH wise design the Pontiff Sixtus V., of holy memory, following in the footsteps of his predecessors and perfecting what had been begun by them, decided to increase the number and define the limits of the sacred bodies of Cardinals, or the Roman Congregations, some of which had been already instituted for the transaction of certain matters. He therefore, by the apostolic letters beginning with the word "Immensa," of January 22, 1587, established fifteen of these congregations, that, "dividing among them and the other offices of the Roman Curia the immense weight of the cares and affairs" habitually brought before the Holy See, it might be no longer necessary to treat of and deliberate upon so many things in Consistory, and at the same time that controversies might be more diligently gone into and a more speedy and easier solution be given to the business of those who apply to the Supreme Pontiff from all sides in the interests of religion and devotion, to seek justice, to ask favors or for other reasons.

The utility accruing from these sacred congregations for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, the administration of justice and the relief of the Roman Pontiffs, themselves overpowered by daily increasing cares and affairs, is shown by the history of the Church and is well known to all.

But in the course of time the organization of the Roman Curia, mainly effected by Sixtus V. in the above mentioned letters apostolic,

lapsed from its original state. The number of the Roman Congregations was increased or diminished according to the necessities of time and circumstance, and even the jurisdiction originally attributed to the different congregations underwent changes either by new enactments of the Roman Pontiffs or by the gradual growth of customs which became accepted. The result is that to-day the jurisdiction, or competence, of each of them is not quite clear to all nor is it well apportioned, that many of the sacred congregations have the right to define the law on the same matters, and that some of them have been reduced to the transaction of very little business, while others are overcharged with work.

For these reasons many Bishops and thoughtful men, especially the Roman Cardinals, both in writing and orally, and both with our predecessor Leo XIII., of happy memory, and with ourself, have frequently urged that suitable remedies should be provided for the inconveniences above mentioned. And we took pains to make partial provision in our letters "*Romanis Pontificibus*," of December 7, 1903; by those "*Quae in Ecclesiae bonum*," of January 28, 1904, and again by those "*Sacrae Congregationi super negotiis*," of May 26, 1906.

But now that there is also the question of the codification of the ecclesiastical laws, it has seemed highly fitting that a beginning should be made with the Roman Curia so that, once this has been organized suitably and in a manner clear to all, it may be in a position to perform more easily its work for the Roman Pontiff and the Church and to be of the greatest possible assistance.

Wherefore, after having taken counsel with several of the Roman Cardinals, we have determined and we do decree that the Congregations, Tribunals and Offices which compose the Roman Curia and to which the affairs of the Universal Church are referred for treatment shall, after the autumn holidays of the current year, that is, after the third day of November, 1908, be only those, besides the usual Sacred Consistories, which are defined in the present constitution, and which shall remain divided and constituted in number, order and competence by the laws which here follow:

THE SACRED CONGREGATIONS.

I. THE CONGREGATION OF THE HOLY OFFICE.

1. This sacred congregation, over which the Supreme Pontiff presides, guards the teaching of faith and morals.
2. To it alone, therefore, belongs the judgment of heresy and of other crimes which lead to a suspicion of heresy.
3. To it also is devolved all matters concerning indulgences, both as regards the doctrine and as concerns practice.

4. Everything appertaining to the precepts of the Church, such as the abstinences, fasts and feasts to be observed, is now transferred from this sacred congregation and handed over to the Congregation of the Council; everything relating to the election of Bishops belongs to the Consistorial Congregation; the relaxation of religious vows made in religious institutes belongs to the congregation assigned for the affairs of religious societies.

5. Although a special congregation is established for the discipline of the sacraments, nevertheless the Holy Office preserves intact its faculty to treat of those questions which concern what is known as the Pauline Privilege and the impediments *disparitatis cultus* and *mixtae religionis*, as well as those connected with dogmatic teaching on matrimony, as also on the other sacraments.

2. THE CONSISTORIAL CONGREGATION.

1. This sacred congregation comprises two distinct parts.

2. To the first appertains not only the charge of preparing what is to be done in the consistories, but also, in places not subject to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, of founding new dioceses and chapters, both cathedral and collegiate; of dividing dioceses already constituted; of electing Bishops, apostolic administrators and adjutors and auxiliaries of Bishops; of instituting the canonical investigations or *processus* concerning those to be elected and of diligently sifting the acts of these processes; of ascertaining the knowledge of those who are to be elected. But when the men to be elected, or the dioceses to be constituted or divided are outside Italy, the officials of the Office for Public Affairs, commonly called the Secretariate of State, shall themselves receive the documents and draw up the statement (*Positionem*), to be submitted to the Consistorial Congregation.

3. The second part embraces all those matters which concern the government of the different dioceses not subject to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, and which hitherto belonged to the Congregation of the Bishops and of the Council, and are now transferred to the Consistorial Congregation. To this latter, therefore, for the future belongs the vigilance over the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of the obligations by which ordinaries are bound, the cognizance of the written reports of Bishops on the state of their dioceses, the ordering of apostolic visitations, the examination of what has been done in them, and after a faithful exposition made to us each time, the ordering of what may seem necessary or opportune; finally, everything appertaining to the government, discipline, temporal administration and studies of the seminaries.

4. It shall be the province of this congregation, when conflicts

of law arise, to solve doubts concerning the competence of the sacred congregations.

5. Of this sacred council the Supreme Pontiff is to be the Prefect. And to it the Cardinal Secretary of the Holy Office and the Cardinal Secretary of State shall always be attached *ex officio*, besides the others whom the Supreme Pontiff may think well to make members of it.

6. The Secretary shall always be a Cardinal selected for this office by the Supreme Pontiff; with him there shall be a prelate with the title of Assessor, who shall also fill the office of Secretary of the Sacred College of the Fathers Cardinals, and under him a sufficient number of officials.

7. Consultors of this congregation shall be the Assessor of the Holy Office and the Secretary of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs while in office; to these shall be added others elected by the Supreme Pontiff.

3. CONGREGATION ON THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

1. To this sacred congregation is assigned the entire legislation concerning the discipline of the Seven Sacraments, without prejudice to the authority of the Congregation of the Holy Office according to the provisions above defined, and of the Congregation of Sacred Rites regarding the ceremonies to be observed in the performing, administration and reception of the sacraments, which were hitherto decided or granted by other congregations, tribunals or offices of the Roman Curia.

2. So also to this congregation are assigned all those matters connected with the discipline of matrimony, such as dispensations in *foro externo* for the poor as well as for the rich, *sanationes in radice*, dispensations *super rato*, the separation of married couples, the restitution of birthright or legitimation of offspring, as well as in the discipline of the other sacraments, such as dispensations for candidates for orders, without prejudice to the right of the Congregation for the Affairs of Religious to regulate the ordinations of religious; dispensations concerning the place, time and conditions for the reception of the Eucharist, the offering of the Holy Sacrifice, the reservation of the Most August Sacrament and the other matters of the same nature.

3. The same congregation decides, without prejudice to the right of the Holy Office, questions regarding the discipline of the sacraments. But when this congregation decides that any such questions are to be treated by judicial process, then it shall hand them over to the tribunal of the Sacred Roman Rota.

4. For this congregation, as well as for the others that follow,

there shall be a Cardinal Prefect who shall preside over the sacred order consisting of a number of Fathers Cardinals to be elected by the Supreme Pontiff, with a secretary and the other necessary officials and consultors.

4. THE CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL.

1. To this sacred congregation is committed that branch of affairs which relates to the universal discipline of the secular clergy and of the Christian people.

2. It is, therefore, its province to provide for the observance of the precepts of the Church, such as fasts (except the Eucharistic fast, which belongs to the Congregation on the Discipline of the Sacraments), abstinence, tithes, the observance of feasts, with the faculty of releasing the faithful from these laws on occasion; the government of everything relating to parish priests and canons and of all things affecting pious sodalities, pious unions, pious legacies, pious works, honorariums for Masses, benefices or offices, ecclesiastical property, funds of money, diocesan tributes and other affairs of the same kind. It sees also to everything relating to ecclesiastical immunity. To the same congregation is reserved the faculty of dispensing from the conditions required for the obtaining of benefices when the conferring of these belongs to the ordinary.

3. To it also appertains all that regards the celebration and recognition of councils and gatherings or conferences of Bishops, as the special congregation till now in existence for the revision of councils is suppressed.

4. This congregation, too, is the competent or legitimate tribunal in all causes relating to the affairs committed to it which it shall decide are to be treated in a disciplinary manner or in *linea disciplinari*, as the phrase goes; the others are to be handed over to the Sacred Roman Rota.

5. To the Congregation of the Council is added and united as a special congregation that known as the Lauretan.

5. THE CONGREGATION FOR THE AFFAIRS OF RELIGIOUS.

1. This sacred congregation decides only those matters throughout the world which relate to the affairs of religious of both sexes, whether bound by simple or solemn vows, and of those who, although without vows, lead a life in common after the manner of religious, and also of secular third orders, and whether the matters to be treated are between religious themselves or relate to them and others.

2. It therefore assumes the regulation of all matters arising either between Bishops and religious of both sexes or between religious themselves. It is also the competent tribunal in all causes which are

treated in a disciplinary manner, or in *linea disciplinari*, when a religious is either defendant or complainant; other causes are to be handed over to the Sacred Roman Rota, without prejudice, however, to the right of the Holy Office in the causes appertaining to that sacred congregation.

3. Finally, to this sacred congregation is reserved the concession of dispensations from the common law for religious.

6. THE CONGREGATION DE PROPAGANDA FIDE.

1. The jurisdiction of this sacred congregation is limited to those regions in which the sacred hierarchy not being yet constituted the missionary state still exists. But as there are some regions which although they possess a hierarchy are still somewhat inchoate, it is our will that these be subject to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide.

2. Wherefore, from the jurisdiction of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide we decree the transference under the common law: in Europe, of the ecclesiastical provinces of England, Scotland, Ireland and Holland, and of the Diocese of Luxembourg; in America, of the ecclesiastical provinces of the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland and the United States. Hence, affairs relating to these places shall for the future not be treated by the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, but by the other congregations according to the nature of the business.

3. The other ecclesiastical provinces and dioceses hitherto subject to the jurisdiction of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide are to remain under its right and authority. So, too, we decree that to it shall belong all vicariates apostolic, prefectures and missions whatsoever, including those which are at present in a special manner under the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs.

3. Still, in order to provide for unity of government, it is our will that the Congregation de Propaganda Fide hand over to the other special congregations everything concerning the faith, or matrimony, or the discipline of the sacred rites.

5. As regards religious, the same congregation takes upon itself everything affecting religious, whether singly or in bodies, considered as missionaries. But all things affecting religious as religious, both individually and as bodies, it shall remit or leave to the Congregation for the Affairs of Religious.

6. To it is united the Congregation for the Affairs of Oriental Rites which are to continue entirely as before.

7. The special prefecture for administration ceases to exist, and the administration of all the property, including that of the Reverenda

Camera Spoliorum, is committed to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide itself.

8. With this sacred congregation is joined the Commission for the Union of the Dissident Churches.

7. THE CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX.

1. For the future it shall be the province of this sacred congregation not only to examine diligently the books delated to it, to prohibit them if this should seem well, and to concede dispensations, but also officially to investigate in the best way available whether writings of any kind that should be condemned are being circulated, and to remind the ordinaries how solemnly they are bound to condemn pernicious writings and to denounce them to the Holy See in conformity with the Constitution *Officiorum* of January 25, 1897.

2. As the prohibition of books has very frequently the scope of defense of the Catholic faith, which is also the object of the Congregation of the Holy Office, we decree that in future in all things, and in those alone relating to the prohibition of books, the Fathers Cardinals, the consultors and the officers of both congregations may communicate with one another and that all of them in this matter shall be bound by the same secret.

8. THE CONGREGATION OF THE SACRED RITES.

1. This sacred congregation has the right of examining and decreeing all things which relate proximately to the sacred rites and ceremonies of the Latin Church, but not those which in a broader sense are related to the sacred rites, such as the laws of precedence and other matters of that kind which are to be treated either according to judicial process or in a disciplinary manner or in *linea disciplinari*.

2. It is, therefore, especially its province to watch over the diligent observance of the sacred ritual and ceremonial in the celebration of Mass, in the administration of the sacraments, in the performance of the divine offices, in short, over all that regards the worship of the Latin Church; to grant opportune dispensations; to bestow insignia and privileges of honor, both personal and temporary, as well as local and perpetual, relating to the sacred rites and ceremonies, and to prevent the introduction of abuses in these matters.

3. Finally, it has to deal with everything relating in any way to the beatification and canonization of the saints or to the sacred relics.

4. To this congregation are joined the Liturgical Commission, the Historico-Liturgical Commission and the Commission for Sacred Music.

9. THE CEREMONIAL CONGREGATION.

This sacred congregation retains all the rights hitherto attributed to it; hence to it appertain the regulation of the ceremonies to be observed in the Pontifical Chapel and Court and of the sacred functions which the Fathers Cardinals perform outside the Pontifical Chapel; it also takes cognizance of the question affecting the precedence both of the Fathers Cardinals and of the Legates whom many nations send to the Holy See.

10. THE CONGREGATION FOR EXTRAORDINARY ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

This sacred congregation concerns itself only with those matters which are submitted to its examination by the Supreme Pontiff through the Cardinal Secretary of State, and especially with such of them as have some connection with civil laws and relate to the pacts entered upon with different States.

11. THE CONGREGATION OF STUDIES.

To this sacred congregation is committed the regulation of the studies which are to be gone through in the major athenæums known as universities or faculties, which depend on the authority of the Church, including those which are administered by the members of religious societies. It examines and approves new institutions; it grants the faculty for the conferring of academic degrees, and may confer them itself in the case of men distinguished for special learning.

II.

TRIBUNALS.

I. THE SACRED PENITENTIARIA.

The jurisdiction of this sacred court or tribunal is limited entirely to those things which regard the forum internum, non-sacramental as well as sacramental. Hence matrimonial dispensations of the forum externum being assigned to the Congregation for the Discipline of the Sacraments, this tribunal for the forum internum concedes favors, absolutions, dispensations, commutations, sanations, condonations; moreover, it examines questions of conscience and decides them.

2. THE SACRED ROMAN ROTA.

As the Tribunal of the Sacred Roman Rota, which in former times was an object of universal praise, has in these times through various causes almost ceased to judge, the result has been that the Sacred

Congregations have been burdened excessively with forensic cases. To meet this evil, following the lines laid down by our predecessors, Sixtus V., Innocent XII. and Pius VI., we not only ordain "that for the future contentious cases, civil as well as criminal, requiring judicial procedure with trial and proofs, shall not be received or taken cognizance of by the Sacred Congregations (letter of the Secretariate of State April 17, 1728), but we moreover decree that all contentious cases, not major ones, which are treated in the Roman Curia shall for the future devolve to the Tribunal of the Sacred Roman Rota, which we do by these letters again call into exercise according to the special law which we place in the appendix of the present Constitution, without prejudice, however, to the rights of the Sacred Congregations as above set forth.

3. THE APOSTOLIC SEGNATURA.

We have also deemed it well to restore the supreme Tribunal of the Apostolic Segnatura and by these present letters we do restore it or rather we institute it in the manner determined in the above mentioned law, suppressing the ancient organization of the Papal Segnatura of Grace and Justice.

III.

OFFICES.

I. THE APOSTOLIC CANCELLERIA.

1. This office has for president one of the Cardinals of Holy Roman Church, who for the future shall assume the title of Chancellor instead of Vice Chancellor. According to very ancient custom he fulfills *ex officio* the office of notary in the Sacred Consistories.

2. Henceforth the sole proper function reserved to the office of the Cancelleria shall be that of forwarding *sub plumbo* the apostolic letters concerning the provision of consistorial benefices, the institution of new dioceses and chapters and the transaction of the other greater affairs of the Church.

3. There shall be only one manner of forwarding these, that is *per viam Cancellariae*, according to rules to be given separately, the former methods known as *per viam secretam*, *de Camera* and *de Curia* being suppressed.

4. The above mentioned letters or bulls shall be sent by command of the Consistorial Congregation concerning the affairs belonging to its jurisdiction, or by command of the Supreme Pontiff concerning other affairs, the terms of the mandate being in each case observed to the letter.

5. With the suppression of the College of Prelates known as *Abbreviatores majoris vel minoris residentiae*, or *de parco majori vel minori*, their office in the signing of apostolic bulls is transferred to the College of Protonotaries Apostolic called *participantes de numero*.

2. THE APOSTOLIC DATARIA.

1. This office is under the presidency of one of the Cardinals of Holy Roman Church, who shall for the future have the title of Datary and not that of Pro-Datary.

2. For the future the one special function of the Dataria is to be that of taking cognizance of the fitness of those who aspire to non-consistorial benefices reserved to the Apostolic See; to draw up and forward the apostolic letters conferring these benefices; to dispense from the requisite conditions for the conferring of these benefices; to look after the pensions and charges which the Supreme Pontiff shall have imposed for the conferring of them.

3. In the performance of all this it shall observe the rules special to it which are to be given separately.

3. THE APOSTOLIC CAMERA.

To this office belong the care and the administration of the property and temporal rights of the Holy See, especially during the periods of vacancy. It is presided over by a Cardinal Chamberlain of Holy Roman Church, who in the fulfillment of his office during the vacancy of the see shall be governed by the rules contained in the Constitution *Vacante Sede Apostolica* of December 25, 1904.

4. THE SECRETARIATE OF STATE.

This office, of which the supreme ruler is the Cardinal Secretary of State, that is, of public affairs, will consist of three parts. The first part will be concerned with extraordinary affairs, which shall be submitted for examination to the congregation assigned for them, the others being handed over, according to their nature, to the special congregations to which they belong; the second shall deal with ordinary affairs, and to it, among other things, shall belong the right of granting all marks of honor both ecclesiastical and civil, with the exception of those reserved to the prelate who presides over the Pontifical household; the third shall occupy itself with the sending of the apostolic briefs committed to it by the various congregations. Over the first part shall preside the Secretary of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs; over the second the Substitute for ordinary affairs; over the third the Chancellor of the apostolic briefs. Among the presidents of these parts the first is the

Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs, the second the Substitute for ordinary affairs.

5. THE SECRETARIATES OF BRIEFS TO PRINCES AND OF LATIN LETTERS.

This double office shall perform as heretofore its functions of writing in Latin the acts of the Supreme Pontiff.

But for the future in all apostolic letters sent either by the Cancellaria or by the Dataria the beginning of the year shall be taken not from the day of the Incarnation of Our Lord, that is, from March 25, but from the 1st of January.

Wherefore the Congregations, Tribunals and Offices which we have mentioned shall constitute the Roman Curia, preserving their own constitutions as in existence before these our letters, unless in as far as they may have been changed by the above prescriptions or according to the law and to the rules, general or special, added to this Constitution.

The congregation known as that of the Reverenda Fabrica S. Petri shall for the future have as its sole care the domestic affairs of the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, in this observing to the letter the rules laid down by Benedict XIV. in the Constitution *Quanta curarum* of November 15, 1751.

The commissions for the promotion of the study of Scripture and of history, for the administration of Peter Pence, for the Preservation of the Faith in the City remain in their former state.

With the removal of the Congregation for the Apostolic Visitation of the City, its right and functions we transfer to a special commission of Fathers Cardinals to be constituted at the vicariate of the city.

But for all and several of the above mentioned Congregations, Tribunals and Offices let this first of all be a solemn rule: that nothing grave and out of the ordinary be done until it shall have previously been made known to us and to our successors for the time being by the rulers of the same.

Moreover, all sentences, whether of grace or justice, require the Pontifical approval, exception being made for those for which special faculties have been granted to the rulers of the said Offices, Tribunals and Congregations, and always excepting the sentences of the Tribunal of the Sacred Rota and of the Apostolic Segnatura passed by them within their competence.

To this Constitution are added special laws and rules, both general and special, by which the discipline and the method of treating affairs in the Congregations, Tribunals and Offices is regulated; which laws and rules we order to be scrupulously observed by all.

And these are to have force while the Apostolic See is occupied, for when it is vacant the laws and rules laid down in the above mentioned Constitution *Vacante Sede Apostolica* are to hold.

Decreeing the present letters to be of force, valid and efficacious, now and in the future, and to have and obtain their plenary and integral effects, and to be in all things and for all things of force on behalf of those whom it concerns or shall in any way concern for the time being, and that any attempt against these made by anybody shall be null and void. Notwithstanding our rule and that of the Apostolic Cancellaria regarding the non-abolition of acquired rights, and the Apostolic Constitution and Ordinances, or statutes based on any other sanction, customs and anything else whatsoever, even those calling for special mention, to the contrary.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eight, on the feast of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, June 29, in the fifth year of our Pontificate.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL, *Secretary of State.*

A. CARD. DI PIETRO, *Pro-Datary.*

Authenticated:

I. of the Viscounts De Aquila of the Curia.

Loco ✕ Plumbi.

Reg. in the Secr. of Briefs.

V. CUGNONI.

EXHORTATION

TO THE CATHOLIC CLERGY OF OUR MOST HOLY LORD.

PIUS X.,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE POPE,

ON THE OCCASION

OF THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF HIS PRIESTHOOD.

PIUS X., POPE.

Beloved Sons, Health and the Apostolic Benediction:

DEEDLY impressive and full of warning are those words of the Apostle of the Gentiles to the Hebrews when, admonishing them of the duty of obedience to their superiors, he solemnly affirmed: "For they watch as being to render an account of your souls" (xiii., 17). But if this sentence applies to all who rule in the Church, it falls in a special way on us, who, unworthy as we are, have from God the supreme authority in it. Hence we are night and day full of solicitude, nor do we ever cease meditating upon and working for whatever may tend to the salvation and increase of the Lord's flock. But there is one subject that mainly occupies us: that all those in sacred orders should be completely what their state requires them to be. For we are convinced that it is principally on this that the present welfare and the future hopes of religion depend. It was on this account that immediately on entering upon the Pontificate, although taking the clergy as a whole we found many reasons for praise, we yet deemed it well to exhort most earnestly our venerable brothers, the Bishops of the whole Catholic world, to bend all their constancy and all their energy to the task of forming Christ in those who are duly destined to form Christ in others. We know well the good-will shown by the sacred prelates in this matter; we know with what foresight and diligence they strive assiduously to lead the clergy to virtue, and for this they have merited not so much praise as the open expression of our thanks.

But while we are glad that as a result of the work of the Bishops many of the clergy have been imbued with a heavenly ardor, reviving or intensifying in them the grace they received with the laying on of hands of the priesthood, there is still ground for complaint that some others in different countries do not so approve themselves that the faithful looking on them may see in them as in a mirror an example for them to imitate, as should be the case. To

such as these we wish in this letter to open our heart, as the heart of a father beating with anxious tenderness at the sight of a sick son. For this reason, therefore, we add our exhortations to the exhortations of the Bishops, premising that while they are designed principally to bring back the erring and to rouse the slothful to a better life, they may serve as a stimulus to the others. We wish to point out the way in which all may more earnestly strive every day to be in truth what the apostle has admirably described as "men of God," and answer to the just expectation of the Church. Nothing that we shall say will be entirely unfamiliar to you or new to anybody, but it will be something that should certainly be remembered by all, and God gives us the hope that our words will not be without much fruit. What we earnestly beg is: "Be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man who, according to God, is created in justice and holiness of truth" (Eph. iv., 23, 24). And this shall be the most beautiful and acceptable gift you can offer us on the occasion of the fiftieth year of our priesthood. And while we, "in a contrite heart and in the spirit of humility" (Dan. iii., 39), go over with God the years we have passed in the priesthood, we shall be seen in a manner to expiate the human shortcomings in them that are to be lamented, admonishing you and urging you "that you may walk worthy of God, in all things pleasing" (Coloss. i., 10). And in this appeal we shall be consulting not merely your own profit, but that of all Catholic people, for your profit cannot be separated from theirs. In truth, it is not possible for a priest to be good or bad for himself alone, for the character and life of a priest cannot but have its deep influence on the people. When a priest is good, what a great blessing it is for his surroundings!

Hence, beloved sons, we begin our exhortation by stimulating you to that holiness of life which the dignity of your rank demands of you. For the priest is not priest for himself alone, but for others: "For every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in the things that appertain to God" (Hebr. v., 1). Christ Himself has pointed out this truth when He explained the end for which the priest's action is destined by comparing it with that of salt and of light. The priest is the light of the world, the salt of the earth, and it must be clear to all that he is this by proclaiming the truth of Christianity. But is it not equally clear that the priesthood will be of but little use if the priest compromises by his conduct what he preaches in words? His hearers, contumeliously indeed, but not without reason, object: "They profess that they know God, but in their works they deny Him" (Titus i., 16); they reject the teaching and fail to profit by the light of the priest. Hence Christ Himself,

made in the form of the priests, taught first by His action, then by His words: "Jesus began to do and to teach" (Acts i., 1). So, too, if sanctity is neglected, the priest cannot be in any way the salt of the earth, for what is itself corrupt and contaminated is quite unfitted for preserving soundness, and when sanctity is lacking corruption cannot but be present. Wherefore Christ, dwelling on the same similitude, calls such priests salt without savor, "good for nothing" any more but to be cast out, and therefore "to be trodden on by men" (Matth. v., 13).

All this becomes still more clear when it is remembered that we do not possess the office of the priesthood in our own name, but in that of Jesus Christ: "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the mysteries of God" (I. Cor. iv., 1); "for Christ therefore we are ambassadors" (II. Cor. v., 20). It was on this account, too, that Christ numbered us not among His servants, but among His friends: "I will not now call you servants. . . . But I have called you friends, because all things whatsoever I have heard of my father I have made known to you. . . . I have chosen you and appointed you, that you may go and bear fruit" (John xv., 15). It is for us, therefore, to bear the person of Christ, and the embassy conferred by Him is to be so carried out that we may attain the aims He set for us. And since the highest sign of friendship "is to love and reject the same things" as the friend, we are bound as friends to feel within us what was also in Christ Jesus, who is "holy, innocent, undefiled" (Hebr. vii., 28). So that as His legates we must win the faith of men to His teachings and His law, by observing them first ourselves; that as partakers of His power in freeing souls from the bonds of sin, we must strive with all our strength to avoid being ourselves implicated in sin; but most of all as His ministers in the most august sacrifice, which is renewed with perennial virtue for the life of the world, we must be filled with the spirit with which He offered Himself to God, an immaculate victim, on the altar of the cross. For if so much sanctity was required of the priests of old, under appearance and in symbol, what is to be expected of us when the victim is Christ Himself? Very aptly St. Charles Borromeo in his addresses to the clergy insisted: "If we remembered, beloved brethren, how many wonderful things the Lord God has placed in our hands, what force this thought would have in impelling us to lead lives worthy of ecclesiastics! What is it that the Lord has not put in my hands when He has put in them His own only begotten Son, co-eternal and co-equal with Himself? In my hands He has put all His treasures, sacraments and graces; He has put the souls than which nothing is dearer to Him, which in His love He pre-

ferred to Himself, which He redeemed with His blood. In my hands He has placed heaven, which I can open and close to others. . . . How, therefore, can I ever be so ungrateful for such bounty and love as to sin against Him, as to offend His honor, as to soil this body which is His, as to stain this dignity, this life consecrated to Him?"

This holiness of life, of which it will be well to treat at length, the Church seeks to promote with great and constant solicitude. To this end her sacred seminaries have been instituted, where if the youths who grow up in the hope of entering the ranks of the clergy are imbued with letters and knowledge, they are also, and principally, to be formed in all piety from their tender years. When she gradually and at long intervals promotes the candidates for orders, like a good mother she never spares her exhortations on the necessity of sanctity. It is sweet to recall here these exhortations. When she first chose us for the sacred army, she willed that we should duly profess: "The Lord is the portion of my inheritance and of my cup: it is thou that wilt restore my inheritance to me" (Ps. xv., 5). By which words, says Jerome, "the cleric" is admonished "that as he is the portion of the Lord and has the Lord for his portion, so he should show himself as possessing the Lord and being possessed by the Lord" (Ep. lii., and Nepotianum). How solemnly she addresses those about to be numbered among the sub-deacons! "Again and again you should consider attentively what a great burden is that you further desire to-day . . . but if you take this order, it will be no longer lawful for you to withdraw from your determination . . . but you must serve God perpetually and with the help of His grace observe chastity." And, finally: "If hitherto you have been remiss at church, now you must be assiduous; if hitherto somnolent, now vigilant; if hitherto unclean, now chaste. . . . Remember whose ministry it is that is given to you." For those about to be advanced to the diaconate the Bishop beseeches from God: "That all virtue may abound in them, modest authority, constant modesty, the purity of innocence and the observance of spiritual discipline. Let Thy precepts shine forth in their conduct, that the people may acquire holy imitation from the example of their chastity." But far more severe is the admonition addressed to those about to be initiated in the priesthood: "With great fear is such a step to be made, and care is to be taken that heavenly wisdom, upright conduct and long observance of justice commend those who are chosen to make it. . . . Let the odor of your life be the delight of the Church of Christ, that by your preaching and example you may build up the house—that is, the family of God." And most impressive of all is that most solemn

addition: "Imitate the things wherewith you treat," which agrees perfectly with the precept of Paul: "That we may present every man perfect in Jesus Christ" (Col. i., 28).

Such being the mind of the Church on the life of priests, nobody will be surprised to find that all the Holy Fathers and doctors with one accord speak on this subject in a manner that might to some appear to be extreme; but if we weigh their words carefully, we shall find that what they teach is most true and right. Their opinion may be summed up thus: Between the priest and any upright man there should be as much difference as there is between heaven and earth, and for this same reason priestly virtue must shun not only graver sins, but even the slightest. The Council of Trent held by the judgment of those venerable men when it admonished clerics to avoid "even light faults as being in them most serious" (Sess. XXII., de reform., c. I.); most serious, that is, not in themselves, but by reason of the person who commits them, of whom with better right than of material temples it may be said: "Holiness becomes Thy house" (Ps. xcii., 5).

And now let us see in what consists this sanctity which should not be lacking in the priest, for if a man is ignorant of this or misunderstands it he is certainly in great danger. For there are those who think, nay, proclaim aloud, that the merit of a priest should consist in the fact that he is entirely occupied in working for others, so that paying but little heed to the virtues by which a man is perfected himself (and which they thus call "passive" virtues) they proclaim that all a man's strength and zeal should be put forth in fostering and exercising the "active" virtues. This teaching is utterly fallacious and destructive, and concerning it our predecessor of happy memory in his wisdom thus pronounced concerning it (Testem benevolentiae, ad episc. Baltimor., 22 Jan., 1899): "That some of the Christian virtues were meant for other times can only be held by one who fails to remember the words of the apostle: 'Whom he foreknew he also made destined to be conformable to the image of His Son.' The teacher and exemplar of all sanctity is Christ, and upon His rule are to be modeled all who wish to have a place among the blessed. Now, Christ does not change with the progress of ages, but 'is the same' yesterday, to-day and forever (Hebr. xiii., 8). To men of all times, therefore, are applicable the words: 'Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart' (Matth. xi., 29); and there is no time when Christ does not show Himself forth to us 'having become obedient unto death' (Phill. ii., 8); and to every age belongs the sentence of the apostle: 'They who are of Christ have crucified their flesh, with its vices and concupiscences' (Gal. v., 24)." And these quotations, while applying to every one

of the faithful, refer more specially to priests, who should also, above others, take to themselves what our predecessor, with apostolic zeal, proceeds to add: "Would that these virtues were now practiced by many more in our times as they were practiced by those most holy men of former ages, who in their humility, obedience and abstinence were 'powerful in their works and words,' to the great advantage not only of religion, but of civil society." Here it is well to observe that the most prudent Pontiff rightly makes special mention of abstinence, which, in the language of the Gospel, we call self-denial. Truly, beloved sons, under this head is contained the strength and virtue and all the fruit of the sacerdotal office: this neglected, the way is opened for everything that is capable of offending the eyes and souls of the people in the life of a priest. For if a man works for filthy lucre, if he mixes himself with the affairs of the world, if he seeks after the first places and despises the others, if he yields to flesh and blood, if he strives to please men, if he puts his trust in the plausible words of human wisdom—all this happens because he neglects the commandment of Christ and rejects the condition laid down by Him: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself" (Matth. xv., 24).

But while we inculcate this truth, we none the less admonish the priest that not for himself alone is he to live a holy life, for he is the "workman whom Christ went out to bring into His vineyard" (Matth. xx., 1). It is for him, therefore, to pluck up fallacious plants, to sow useful ones, to water the ground, to watch lest the enemy sow tares. Hence the priest must take care not to be led by a species of misguided zeal for his own private perfection to omit any part of his office for the good of others, such as preaching the word of God, hearing confessions properly, assisting the sick, especially when they are near death; instructing those who are ignorant of their faith, consoling those in affliction, bringing back the erring, in all things imitating Christ, "who went about doing good and healing all oppressed by the devil" (Acts x., 38). But let that important warning of the apostle be carefully remembered: "Neither he that planteth is anything nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase" (I. Cor. iii., 7). For men may go forth weeping and sowing their seed, and they may till it with much labor, but it belongs to God and to His most powerful help to make the seed germinate and bring forth the desired fruit. Besides, it must always be borne in mind that men are but as instruments which God utilizes for the salvation of souls, and that it is required of them that they should be fit to be handled by God. Wherefore? Do we think that God is moved by any natural or acquired excellence of ours to use our assistance for the increase of His glory?

By no means, for it is written: "The foolish things of the world hath God chosen that He may confound the wise; and the weak things of the world hath God chosen that He may confound the strong; and the base things of the world and the things that are contemptible and things that are not hath God chosen, that He might bring to naught things that are" (I. Cor. i., 27, 28). One thing alone joins man with God, makes him pleasing and a not unworthy minister of His mercy: holiness of life and conduct. The priest who lacks this, the supereminent knowledge of Christ, lacks all. For disjoined from this, even the abundance of acquired knowledge (which we ourself are seeking to promote among the clergy) and skill and quickness in acting, although they may prove of some profit to the Church and to individuals, are not unfrequently a lamentable cause of loss to them. But how much can be attempted and accomplished by the man, however lowly, who is adorned with and rich in sanctity is shown by numerous examples in all ages, and very brilliantly by one of recent date, that model pastor of souls, John Baptist Vianney, to whom we rejoice to have decreed the honors of the blessed in heaven. Sanctity alone makes us what our divine vocation requires us to be: men crucified to the world, and for whom the world itself is crucified; men walking in newness of life, who, as Paul admonishes, should show themselves as the ministers of God "in labors, in watchings, in fastings, in chastity, in knowledge, in long-suffering, in sweetness, in the Holy Ghost, in charity unfeigned, in the word of truth" (II. Cor. vi., 5 foll.); whose thoughts are fixed only on heavenly things, and who strive by all means to lead others thither.

But since, as all are aware, sanctity of life is the fruit of our will, only in as far as our will is strengthened by Divine grace, God Himself makes abundant provision that we may never, if we so wish, be destitute of grace, and this we acquire chiefly by the practice of prayer. Truly between prayer and sanctity the connection is so close that one cannot exist without the other, and Chrysostom was quite in the truth when he said: "I think it must be plain to all that it is simply impossible to live virtuously without the help of prayer" (*De precatone, orat. I.*), while Augustine acutely concludes that "he truly knows how to live rightly who knows how to pray rightly" (*Hom., IV. ex 50*). But Christ Himself brings home to us still more forcibly, by His frequent exhortations, and most of all by His example, the force of these quotations. For in order to pray He was wont to retire into desert places or to go up in the mountains alone. He used to spend whole nights in prayer. He frequently went into the temple; nay, even when the crowds pressed around Him, He used to pray openly with His eyes raised to

heaven. And at the end, when nailed to the cross, amid the pains of death, He implored the Father with a loud cry and with tears. Let us have it for certain, therefore, that a priest, to fulfill worthily his dignity and his office, must be given in a marked way to the practice of prayer. Too often it is to be lamented that he applies himself to it rather from custom than from devotion when he recites the psalms negligently or hurries through a few prayers at stated hours and for the rest of the day never thinks of addressing God or piously turning his mind upwards. Yet the priest should obey much more diligently than others the command of Christ: "We ought always to pray" (Luke xvii., 1), and hence Paul was so earnest in urging: "Be instant in prayer, watching in it in thanksgiving" (Coloss. iv., 2). "Pray without ceasing" (I. Thess. v., 17). For the soul that is desirous of its own sanctity, as well as of the salvation of others, how many occasions are given every day for turning to God! Inward troubles, the strength and obstinacy of temptations, lack of virtues, remissness in labor and the sterility of it, most frequent offenses and negligences, the fear of the divine judgments—all these are powerful incentives to us to cry out before the Lord and thus, in addition to receiving the aid we seek, to become easily rich in merits. Nor is it for ourselves alone that we should weep. Amid the deluge of iniquity which is spreading on all sides, it is for us especially to implore and beseech the Divine mercy, for us to entreat Christ, so benignly lavish of all grace in the wonderful sacrament: "Spare, O Lord, spare Thy people."

On this head it is of the first importance that a certain time should be allotted every day for meditation on the things of eternity. No priest can omit this without being guilty of serious negligence and to the detriment of his soul. Writing to Eugene III., formerly his pupil, but at the time Roman Pontiff, the most holy Abbot Bernard frankly and urgently admonished him never to omit his daily meditation on divine things, on any pretext of the great and many cares that accompany the supreme apostolate. He contended that he was justified in this, thus enumerating most prudently the advantages of the practice: "Meditation purifies the source—that is, the mind—from which it springs. Then it governs the affections, directs the acts, corrects the excesses, regulates the conduct, brings purity and order into the life of him who practices it; finally it confers knowledge both of human and divine things. Meditation separates what is confused, brings together what is divided, collects what is scattered, reveals what is hidden, investigates what is the truth, examines what is probable, discovers what is false and fictitious. Meditation ordains what is to be done, reflects on what has been performed, so that nothing remains in the mind either incor-

rect or needing to be corrected. In prosperity it has the sense of coming adversity; when adversity comes, it comes unfelt; and of these, the latter is the fruit of fortitude, the former of prudence."

This summary of the advantages which meditation is designed to secure for us also teaches and admonishes us not only how salutary it is in every way, but how very necessary.

For august and venerable as are the various offices of the priesthood, it happens that those who have to perform them frequently and familiarly come to treat them in a way not consonant with their dignity. Hence the soul gradually losing its fervor, the way to carelessness is made easy, with consequent distaste for the most sacred things. Then, again, the priest is obliged to be in daily intercourse, as it were, "in the midst of a wicked people," so that frequently even in the very performance of his work of pastoral charity he has reason to fear the secret wiles of the serpent. And are not even religious hearts prone to be soiled by the dust of the world? It is apparent, then, that there exists a great and urgent necessity to return daily to the contemplation of eternity, that the mind and the will, deriving fresh strength therefrom, may be fortified against the allurements of the world. Moreover, it behoves a priest to be possessed of a certain facility of rising to and dwelling on heavenly things, for it is his duty to relish, to declare, to persuade heavenly things, and to so order his life above human affairs that whatever he does in the fulfillment of his sacred office he may do it according to God under the instinct and the guidance of faith. Now, this habit of mind and this, as it were, native union with God is greatly furthered and protected by the practice of daily meditation—a truth which must be so plain to every thoughtful man that it is unnecessary to dwell longer on it.

A confirmation, albeit a painful one, of all this is to be found in the lives of those priests who make light of meditation on divine things, or have open antipathy for it. See those men in whom "the sense of Christ," that most estimable gift, languishes, entirely occupied with earthly things, following vanity, babbling of trifles, performing their sacred duties negligently, coldly, perhaps even unworthily! Once, while the gift of the sacerdotal unction was fresh upon them, they used to prepare their souls diligently for the psaltery, to seek out the most favorable time and place, far from the din of the world, to endeavor to penetrate the sense of the divine words, to praise and weep and exult, to pour out their spirit with the psalmist. But now how changed are they from of old! And thus hardly anything is left in them of their former ardent devotion towards the divine mysteries. How pleasant were those tabernacles in the days gone by! How the heart rejoiced to be

present in the circle of the table of the Lord, and to call others and still others thither! What purity before the sacrifice, what prayers issued forth from the desiring soul! And during its progress how great was the reverence, how perfectly the august ceremonies were performed in all their beauty! What heartfelt thanksgiving, and how happily the good odor of Christ went out among the people! "Call to mind," we beseech you, beloved sons, "call to mind the former days," for then the soul was aglow, when it fed on holy meditation.

Among those who are loath or who neglect "to consider in their hearts" (Jer. xii., 11) there are some who do not hide their consequent poverty of soul, but rather excuse it on the plea that they are entirely given up to the bustle of ministerial life for the manifold utility of others. But they are miserably deluded. For when priests not accustomed to converse with God speak of Him to others, or give counsel on the Christian life, they are utterly destitute of the divine impulse, and their preaching of the Gospel seems to be, as it were, half dead. Their voice, be it ever so rich in **prudence and** eloquence, bears no resemblance to the voice of the Good Shepherd, which the sheep listen to for their salvation. It makes a noise and flows away emptily, and sometimes it is fruitful in bad example, to the shame of religion and the offense of the good. So is it also with the other parts of the busy life, they are either altogether without result or the results are fleeting through lack of that heavenly dew which "the prayer of him that humbleth himself" (Eccl. xxxv., 2) calls forth so abundantly. And here we cannot but bitterly lament the conduct of those who, taken up with pestiferous novelties, are not afraid to contradict all this, and who consider the time spent in meditation and prayer as lost! O fatal blindness! Would that such considered the subject rightly within themselves and recognized at last how this neglect of and contempt for prayer ends! From it have sprung pride and contumacy, producing those bitter fruits which our paternal heart recoils to think of and ardently wishes to see wither away. May God grant the wish, and looking down in His kindness on the erring, pour out upon them "the spirit of grace and of prayer" in such abundance that they may bewail their errors, and, to the joy of all, return to the paths they have so unfortunately abandoned, and for the future walk in them with more circumspection. And so may God be our witness, as of old for the apostle, how we "long after them all in the bowels of Jesus Christ" (Phil. i., 8).

For them and for all of you, beloved sons, let this exhortation of ours, which is that of Christ the Lord, take deep root: "Take ye heed, watch and pray" (Mark xiii., 33). But especially in the

practice of pious meditation let the efforts of all be engaged, let the soul win confidence from frequent repetition of the words, "Lord, teach us how to pray" (Luke xi., 1). There is one special reason which should have much weight in urging us to practice meditation—the wealth of counsel and virtue derived therefrom for that most difficult of all tasks, the proper care of souls. St. Charles in one of his pastorals dwells on this in a manner worthy of being remembered: "Understand, brethren, that nothing is so necessary for all ecclesiastics as mental prayer, preceeding, accompanying and following all our actions. 'I will sing and I will understand,' says the Prophet (Ps. c., 2). If you administer the sacrament, O brother, meditate on what you are doing; if you celebrate Mass, meditate on what you are offering; if you are reciting the psalms, meditate to whom and what you are speaking; if you are engaged in the care of souls, meditate by whose blood they have been washed." (Ex oration, ad clerum.) Hence it is that the Church rightly and justly commands us to repeat frequently those words of David: "Blessed is the man who meditates on the law of the Lord; his will shall remain by night and by day; all things that he shall do shall prosper." Finally there remains one noble incentive worth all the others. For if the priest is called *Another Christ*, and is so by reason of the communication of authority, should he not entirely become so, and be held as such, also by reason of his imitation of the actions of Christ? "Let our chief care, therefore, be to meditate on the life of Christ" (Imitation i., 1).

With the daily contemplation of divine things it is of great importance that the priest should unite the assiduous reading of pious books, especially those that are divinely inspired. Thus Paul commanded Timothy: "Attend unto reading" (I. Tim. iv., 13). So also Jerome, training Nepotian in the priestly life, inculcated: "Let sacred reading be never out of your hands," and he proceeds to give a reason for his advice: "Learn yourself what you are to teach, attain that faithful speech which is according to knowledge, that you may be able to exhort in sound teaching, and put to silence those that contradict" (Ep. lviii. ad Paulinum, no. 6). What great profit from this exercise for the priests who practice it constantly, how full of savour is their preaching of Christ, and how forcibly the minds and hearts of their hearers, instead of being smoothed and petted, are drawn to better things and raised to heavenly desires! But for another reason, and one, beloved sons, greatly profitable to you, should the counsel of Jerome be taken to heart: "Let sacred reading be never out of your hands" (Ep. ad Paulinum, no. 6). For who does not know of the great influence exercised over the mind of a friend by a friend who candidly warns him, helps him with advice,

rebukes, stimulates, leads him back from error? "Blessed is he who finds a true friend" (Eccli. xxv., 12); "he who finds him finds a treasure" (Ib., vi., 14). Now pious books we must count as truly faithful friends.

For they solemnly warn us of our duties and of the precepts of lawful discipline; they awake in our souls the heavenly voices that have been silenced; they disturb the treacherous calm in which we live; they charge us with those inclinations which contain concealed snares; they reveal the dangers that so often lie in the path of the unwary. And all this they do with such silent kindness that they show themselves not only to be our friends, but our very best friends. Thus we have always, whenever we like, at our very side friends ever ready to help us in our most secret necessities, friends whose voice is never harsh, whose counsel is never dictated by cupidity, whose speech is never timid or false. There are many striking examples to show the salutary efficacy of pious books, but on that stands out beyond all others is that of Augustine, whose immense services to the Church dated their origin from it: "Take and read, take and read. . . . I took up [the Epistle of Paul] and read in silence . . . (Luke xvi., 8). As though the light of certainty were infused into my heart, all the darkness of doubt disappeared" (Conf. i., viii., c. 12). But too often alas! in our days the contrary happens, and ecclesiastics are gradually plunged in the darkness of doubt, and led to follow the crooked paths of the age, chiefly because to pious and divine books they far prefer others of all kinds and a host of periodicals, that bring seductive error and pestilence in their train. Be on your guard, beloved sons; rely not on the fact that you have reached years of maturity or even advanced age, and be not deluded by the treacherous hope that by reading these you will be in a better position to provide for the common welfare. Certain limits are to be observed, those prescribed by the laws of the Church and those which prudence and charity for one's self point out; for when a man once takes these poisons into his heart, very rarely does he escape the evil consequences.

The profit accruing to the priest both from devout reading and from meditation on heavenly things will be more abundant if he takes steps to discover whether he religiously studies to turn to practical account in his life what he has read and meditated. Chrysostom has a passage, especially adapted for priests, which is directly to the point: "Every day at nightfall, before sleep comes upon you, 'excite the judgment of your conscience, demand an account from it, and whatever evil counsels you may have taken during the day . . . dig them up and root them out, and take upon yourself the penalty for them'" (Exposit. in Ps. iv., n. 8).

How true this is, and how fruitful for Christian virtue, is shown by the excellent admonitions and exhortations of the most prudent masters of the spiritual life. There is a striking passage in the discipline of St. Bernard well worth remembering: "Be a careful examiner of your integrity, search out your own life in daily discussion with yourself. Watch diligently how much progress you make, or how much you have gone back. . . . Strive to know yourself. . . . Put all your transgressions before your own eyes. . . . Set yourself before yourself as before another, and so weep for yourself" (*Meditationes piissimae*, c. v., de quotid. sui ipsius exam.).

It is truly shameful if the words of Christ find their application here also: "The children of the world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." We see with what attention they look after their business; how frequently they go over the accounts of their expenditure and receipts; how accurately and closely they make up their accounts; how they bewail their losses and how eagerly they strive to make them good. But we, with our mind perhaps bent on securing honors, on increasing our substance, on winning only applause and honor by our knowledge, become tired or annoyed in treating of what is our main concern, and that a most arduous one, viz., the acquiring of holiness. For but rarely do we collect ourselves to explore our hearts, which thus become overgrown with weeds as was the case of the lazy man's vineyard of which it was written: "I passed by the field of the slothful man, and by the vineyard of the foolish man; and behold it was all filled with nettles, and thorns had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall was broken down" (*Pro.* xxiv., 30, 31). And the necessity of walking every day with greater caution and of making more strenuous efforts is increased by the many bad examples which we see around us and which are so deadly even for priestly virtue. Now experience teaches that the man who exercises a frequent and rigid censorship over his thoughts, words and actions is the better capable at once of hating and avoiding evil and of cultivating earnestly what is good. Experience equally teaches us how many drawbacks and losses fall to the lot of the man who shuns that tribunal where justice sits in judgment, and his conscience appears as the culprit and as his accuser. In such a man you will in vain look for that circumspection of conduct, so highly praiseworthy in the Christian, which seeks to avoid even minor faults, that modesty of soul, so becoming to the priest, which trembles before every offense, even the slightest, against God. Nay, it sometimes happens even that this carelessness and negligence of himself reaches the point when he neglects the very sacrament of penance, than which Christ in His great mercy has left no more suitable remedy for human weakness. It cannot be

denied, but it is to be bitterly deplored, that not unfrequently the man who deters others from sin by the fulminations of his sacred oratory, has no fear for himself and allows himself to become hardened in his own sins; that he who exhorts and incites others not to delay in cleansing themselves duly of their stains, is himself so slothful and delays long months to do the same; that he who pours the oil and wine of salvation into the wounds of others, lies himself wounded by the wayside, taking no thought to secure for himself the healing hand of a brother, and that so very near to him. Alas, how much has happened everywhere in the past and how much is happening to-day absolutely unworthy in the sight of God and the Church, pernicious to the Christian people, and shameful for the priestly order!

When the duty of our office obliges us to think on all this, beloved sons, our heart is filled with grief, and we groan aloud: Woe to the priest who does not know how to keep his place, and who unfaithfully pollutes the name of the holy God for whom he should be holy! The corruption of the best is most dreadful: "Great is the dignity of priests, but great is their ruin if they sin; let us rejoice in the height upon which we stand, but let us fear the depths to which we may fall; the joy of having held loftiest places is not so great as the grief of having fallen headlong into the abyss" (S. Hieron., in Ezech., l. xiii., c. 44, v. 30). Woe then to the priest who, unmindful of himself, abandons the practice of prayer, who rejects the nourishment of spiritual reading, who never turns back to himself to listen to the voice of his accusing conscience! Neither the bleeding wounds of his own soul nor the lamentations of his Mother Church shall rouse the wretched man until those terrible threats strike him: "Blind the heart of this people, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes, lest they see with their eyes and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted and I heal them" (Is. vi., 10). May God, rich in mercy, avert from every one of you, beloved sons, this terrible omen. He who sees our heart knows that there is in it no bitterness against anybody, but that it is stirred with all the charity of a pastor and a father for all: "For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of glory? Are not you in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ?"

But you see, all of you in all parts of the world, on what times the Church, in the hidden designs of God, has fallen. See also, then, and meditate how holy is the office you hold, that you may strive to be of help and assistance in her trials to her from whom you have received the great dignity with which you are endowed. Now, if never before, therefore, it is necessary that the clergy should be filled with no ordinary virtue, sound in example, watchful, active,

thoroughly ready to work for Christ and to withstand the strongest attacks. For nothing else do we pray and yearn more ardently than that this may be realized in you, one and all. Let chastity, therefore, ever flourish among you in unblemished honor, that choicest ornament of our order, in whose beauty as the priest is made like to the angels so is he, too, more venerable in the eyes of the Christian people, and richer in holy fruits. Let the reverence and obedience solemnly promised to those whom the Holy Ghost has placed as rulers of the Church ever flourish and increase, and especially let your minds and hearts be drawn daily in closer bonds of fidelity in the obedience most justly due to this apostolic see. Let charity, that never seeketh its own, shine forth in all, so that the goads of envy and ambition may be restrained and all your efforts unite in friendly emulation for the increase of God's glory.

The fruits of your charity are waited for by a *great multitude of the sick, the blind, the lame, the withered*, all in the direst misery, but most of all by dense throngs of youths, the fairest hope of the State and of religion, who are now surrounded on every side by fallacies and corruption. Be diligent not only in catechetical instruction, which we commend once more and most earnestly, but by every means and with all the skill of which you are capable, strive to deserve well of all. By elevating, protecting, healing, pacifying, set your hearts and your desires on winning or binding souls to Christ. How tirelessly, alas! and how laboriously and fearlessly His enemies are acting and pressing on, to the immense ruin of souls! The Catholic Church rejoices and glories greatly in the charitable zeal of her clergy in preaching the Gospel of Christian peace, in bringing salvation and civilization even to barbarous nations, and thus by their labors, often consecrated by the shedding of their blood, the kingdom of Christ is being daily propagated and our holy faith is winning new laurels and still greater lustre. And if your charitable offices, beloved sons, meet with insults, abuse, calumny, as only too frequently is the case, do not therefore give way to sadness, "be not weary in well-doing" (II. Thess. iii., 13). Keep before your eyes that host of great men who, following the example of the Apostles, in the midst of bitterest contumely borne for the name of Christ, "went rejoicing, blessing when they were cursed." For we are the sons of the saints whose names are resplendent in the book of life, whose praises the Church proclaims: "Let us not stain our glory" (I. Macc. ix., 10).

Once we have restored and increased the spirit of sacerdotal grace among all orders of the clergy, our designs, under the Divine guidance, for the restoration of all else, will acquire far more efficacy. Wherefore in addition to what we have already set forth, we deem

it well to add certain subsidiary and appropriate means for preserving and fostering grace in the clergy. And first of these, a means known to and approved by all but not by all sufficiently tried, comes the devout retreat of the soul in what are known as spiritual exercises, yearly when this is possible, and either separately, or rather in union with others, for in this manner more fruit is usually obtained—but always according to the prescriptions of the Bishops. The advantages of this practice we ourselves have sufficiently praised in laying down certain rules regarding discipline for the Roman clergy (Ep. "Experiendo" ad Card. in Urbe Vicarium, 27 Dec., 1904).

Not less profitable, too, are short retreats for a few hours every month, either privately or in common, a custom which we are glad to see has been introduced in various places, with the favor of the Bishops who sometimes preside themselves over such gatherings.

Again we heartily commend a certain closer union of priests among themselves, as becomes brothers, under the sanction and the rule of the Bishop. It is certainly profitable that they should unite to render mutual assistance to one another in adversity, to protect the honor of their name and office against attack, and for other similar reasons. But it is far more important that they should join together for the purpose of promoting sacred knowledge, and first of all for maintaining with greater earnestness the holy purpose of their vocation, for consulting the interests of souls, by combining their counsels and their strength. The annals of the Church bear witness to the excellent fruit derived from this kind of communion in the days when priests generally lived in a sense in common. Why should not something of the kind be revived in our time, as far as may be done with due regard to different places and offices? Is there not good reason to hope that the former fruits would thus be produced again, to the joy of the Church? Indeed, there are already in existence a number of such societies, with the approval of the Bishops, and they are all the more useful when priests enter them early, at the very beginning of their priesthood. We ourselves during our episcopate favored one which we found to be very suitable, and even now we continue to favor it, and others, in a special way. These aids to sacerdotal grace and those others which the watchful prudence of the Bishops may suggest as occasion serves, do you, beloved sons, so value and so employ, that every day more and more "you may walk worthy of the vocation in which you have been called" (Eph. iv., 1) honoring your ministry, and perfecting in you the will of God which is your sanctification.

Such are our chief thoughts and anxieties; wherefore, raising our eyes up to heaven, with the voice of Christ the Lord we suppliantly

and frequently repeat on behalf of all the clergy: "Holy Father . . . sanctify them" (John xvii., ii., 17). We rejoice that in this holy aim great numbers of all ranks of the faithful are praying with us, deeply solicitous for your common good and that of the Church; nay more, that there are generous souls not a few, nor confined to those dedicated to religion but living in the midst of the world, who freely offer themselves as victims to God for the same purpose. May God Almighty receive their pure and powerful prayers in the odor of sweetness, nor despise our own most humble prayers. May He in His mercy and providence vouchsafe to hear us, we earnestly pray, and from the most sacred Heart of His Beloved Son pour out on all the clergy the treasures of grace, charity and all virtue. Finally, beloved sons, we heartily thank you for the good wishes you have offered us so abundantly on the approach of the fiftieth anniversary of our priesthood, and that our good wishes for you in return may be fulfilled over and over we put them in the hands of the great Virgin Mother, Queen of Apostles. For she it was who by her example taught those first fruits of the sacred order how they should persevere unanimously in prayer till they were clothed with virtue from above, and that this same virtue in them might be made greatly more abundant she obtained by her prayers, she increased and strengthened by her counsel for the rich fertility of their labors. Meanwhile, beloved sons, we earnestly hope that the peace of Christ may exult in your hearts with the joy of the Holy Ghost, through the Apostolic Benediction which we impart to you all most lovingly.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the fourth day of August in the year MCMVIII., beginning the sixth year of our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

MEDIÆVAL THEOLOGY:¹ A FEW NOTES ON ITS EARLY HISTORY.

EVERY period of transition claims from more than one point of view the attention of the historian, and no more than any other field of human knowledge does theology make an exception to this rule. In this respect the long interval that separates the Carolingian renaissance from the intellectual development of the twelfth century presents us with a line of study at once profitable and satisfactory. The effort, it is true, which it requires to trace back the various remnants left by the systems and writers of these long centuries may seem rather hard and wearisome, but this labor cannot fail to be rewarded for all its minuteness and details by the additional light it will throw on the movement as a whole. Here, indeed, all the different by-paths lead up to one centre that will soon appear in open view. Looked at from this standpoint, even the dark tenth century, that century of iron and lead, as Baronius called it, presents itself in a quite different light. Without going so far in our admiration as to adopt the exaggerated views of Leibnitz, who placed it before the thirteenth century, we cannot help taking an interest in it and studying it with pleasure. The reason of this is that, though fragmentary, imperfect and capricious, as the writings of this transition period appear at first sight, yet they play in the history of theology a part whose importance is far more

¹ The writer of this article, to avoid making it unnecessarily long, and to avoid encumbering the pages with a multitude of footnotes, has constrained himself not to make use of references. He intends on another occasion to adduce his facts and arguments in favor of the opinions here defended. Among the works, either general or particular, published on this matter, or on connected questions, he makes a point of naming those to whom he is in particular indebted for opinions or facts found in these pages, or which may provide the reader with additional information. Such are the well-known books of Bardenhewer, Harnack, Loofs, Schwane, Seeberg, on patristology and history of dogma; Krumbacher-Ehrhard, "*Gesch. der byzant. Litteratur*," München, 1897; De Wulf, "*Histoire de la philosophie médiévale*," Louvain, 1905; Hauck, "*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*," Leipzig, 1896, etc.; Ueberweg-Heinze, "*Grundriss der Gesch. der Philos.*" II. Berlin, 1905; Prantl, "*Geschichte der Logik in Abendlande*," II. Leipzig, 1885; Norden, "*Antike Kunstproza*," II. Leipzig, 1898; Mariétan, "*Le problème de la classification des sciences d'Aristote à S. Thomas*," Paris, 1901; Meyer, "*Die sieben freien Künste im Mittelalter*," Einsiedeln, 1886-1887; Roger, "*L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*," Paris, 1905. The well-known books or articles of Maassen, v. Schulte, P. Fournier, on the history of canonical literature; Saltet, "*Les Réordinations*," Paris, 1906; Sandys, "*A History of Classical Scholarship*," Cambridge, 1906, second edition; several articles of J. Endres in the "*Philosophisches Jahrbuch*," "*Histor. Jahrbuch*," etc., on early medieval philosophy, and some articles of encyclopedical works on theology ("*Dictionnaire de Vacant-Mangenot*," Hauck's "*Real-Encyclopädie*"), etc.

extended than we might feel inclined to suppose, considering the dusty corners that are often assigned to them in our libraries and manuscript collections. Compilations badly put together, in an unpolished and unoriginal fashion, collections less awkward in appearance and sparkling here and there with a thought not too unoriginal, selections dignified with the title of "*Flores, Flosculi, Deflorationes, Liber Floridus*" or "*Scintillæ*," monographs sometimes carried to a certain point of finish, but often hopelessly superficial, treatises too formal in character or full of digressions, attempts at an explanation by the light of reason, outlines of methods or programmes of questions, the various items pertaining to theology classified in alphabetical order, such is the legacy left us by the tenth, eleventh and especially the twelfth century, and presenting us with the spectacle of the first manifestations of an intellectual life whose after development promises to be vigorous and intense. It is in this fact that lies the greater part of their interest and value; they constitute the "*Vorgeschichte*" of the theological construction of the thirteenth century. Hence it is any one who wishes to thoroughly understand the intellectual trend of this synthetical movement will easily be convinced of the utility of a simultaneous study of the transition period with which the thirteenth century is so intimately bound up. The omission of this study would not be without its effects even for the history of dogma itself. For though the greater part of the writings and controversies that sprung up at this period belong to the domain of dogmatics rather than to that of dogma, yet it cannot be denied, however little we may follow in their details the vicissitudes of this period, that in them is to be found the groundwork of the synthesis that followed and the first outlines of the formulas which opened the way to the definitions of the Council of Trent.

Such are the advantages which the study of this suggestive and eventful period may secure. Nor are they the only ones; our labor will also be rewarded by the attraction of many disconcerting contrasts or similitudes that we find strewn along the pathway of the literature of this time, and by the fascinating interest which arises from several enigmatical and unexpected antitheses, the expression of which might cause a reader overprejudiced or biased by the opinions of later times to see nothing but paradoxal sayings.

To attempt to compress within the compass of a few pages the building up of theology during this period would be an undertaking doomed to failure from the outset. He at least who has undertaken to explore the vast region that the literature of these centuries opens up, or who has seen what a world of labor must be gone through to prepare the way for afterwork, will understand how rash and

presumptuous such an undertaking would be. Such is the amount of inextricable questions as to authenticity, sources, chronology, etc., which are connected with each name that it defies, and will do so for a long time to come, every attempt of such a nature. We will be content then with selecting some of the characteristics of this period and grouping them together in one point of view to present our readers with a simple review, an inventory as it were, of what may be looked upon as more or less "acquired," leaving to other works the task of completing or correcting when necessary. We venture to think that our humble *résumé* will not be without its utility; no science whatever can fail to turn to profitable account a backward glance, however rapid and incomplete it may be, upon its past history. Is it not thus that its methods are improved, its results classified and that both the one and the other, studied in the light of their origins, point the way to new and more important conquests?

At the close of these three or four centuries devoted to a painful theological effort came out, towards the year 1150, a work which we are forced to hail as the converging point of all preceding labors as well as the point of departure of those that are destined to follow. The work to which we refer is the "*Liber Sententiarum*" of Peter Lombard (†1160), which sprung from a long line of intellectual ancestors and was ranked by the verdict of succeeding times as high—even higher, according to Roger Bacon—as the Bible itself in theological teaching. Owing to the elaboration of the different factors that opened the way for it, it can be said to have grown out of the Carolingian schools. By the rudimentary programme of knowledge that builds up its previous history we are allowed to search for its early models and sketches in the reform legislation of the ninth and tenth century, and by the materials it puts together it may be traced back at least indirectly through some well-known channels to the patristic period. On the other hand, owing to its widespread diffusion throughout the whole of Christendom and owing also to the numerous commentaries on its text—some even in verse—in use in the different universities during more than three centuries and a half, it has enjoyed in the history of dogmatics or even, as we think, in that of dogma, a by no means inconsiderable place. The extraordinary number of manuscripts that contain its text is alone a sufficient support of the view we are expressing here regarding the far-reaching importance of the work.

It is, then, on the book of the "*Magister Sententiarum*" and on the literary circumstances that led up to it that we will concentrate our attention in the following pages of our sketch. The period that this work brings to an end might be called "the history of its elaboration." From this point of view we will undertake to present

in their relation to Lombard's works the considerations upon the teaching of the schools, doctrinal controversy, canonical matters and events of an internal or external order, into all of which we must necessarily indulge at some length.

The patristic period, once arrived at the zenith of its fame, did not long enjoy the triumph of its fruitful activity. Already on the morrow of the death of Augustin (†430) or Cyril of Alexandria (†444) we see signs of a decay springing up which the political and social upheavals caused by the German invasions were destined to hasten, especially in the West. Literary activity, even in the case of writers of mark, either of Roman or Germanic origin, expended itself on works of an encyclopædic or compilatory character. For instance, side by side with Cassidor (†575) and Boethius (†525) himself we find Isidor of Seville (†636), Gregory the Great (†604) and, later on, Julian of Toledo (†690) and Venerable Bede (†735), not to speak of mere copyists or extract fabricators.

In the East this taste for compilation was stimulated by an unconquerable fear of all that was not copy or repetition. The result was that collections with series of texts hardly to be called "Flowers" multiplied, which history catalogues as "Florilegia." Each fresh discussion—and how many have Byzantine monasteries not witnessed—was the signal for an abundance of literature of this sort on both sides when the parties had no recourse to less pacific arguments. The profane literature of the period did not escape the prevailing fashion of *résumé* and reproduction. When human thought contents itself with living only the life of past generations we have but to draw up the catalogue of their writings and make out the list of their ideas; in that consists their whole literature. Alexandria had done so long early and, indeed, with such a wealth of erudition as to call forth our admiration even to-day. In the seventh century Byzantium renewed this phase of literary history, and in a more rudimentary shape the whole activity of the West was concentrated in it for a considerable time. To this movement in the East we owe the systematic exposition of S. John Damascène (†754), the S. Thomas of the East, which appeared towards the middle of the eighth century, a huge compilation, giving a codification of doctrine from which all originality is banished, according to the author himself, "Ero taiparou emon ouden." Owing to a translation which came out about the year 1150 from the pen of a Pisan citizen delegated to Constantinople, Peter the Lombard was enabled to utilize the book, and even perhaps to draw on it for the plan of his work. On the other hand, however, it seems to have henceforward discouraged the Greeks from similar efforts by the many evident good qualities that it displayed.

A less prompt, but more uninterrupted and unquestionably more brilliant career opened for the West. After the first period of its theological activity, which closed on the appearance of the "*Liber Sententiarum*," four centuries after the Damascène, another period began, one of conspicuous splendor, that of S. Thomas Aquinas. There is no need to ask which of the two, the prince of theology in the West, or John Damascène, is the more exalted by the union of the names of S. Thomas and of the Doctor of Damascus.

The first outlines of the theological systematization brought about by the book of Sentences of Peter are to be looked for, as we have said, in the schools of preceding ages. Underlying this theology we find everywhere the civilizing influence of Charlemagne (†814), an influence fertile, indeed, for the ensuing ages, in spite of the blight that seems to fall on it before the fourth generation had passed away. We do not, however, mean to insinuate by this that the theology of the Middle Ages sprang in all its fullness from the Carlovingian schools in the same manner as it later went out from the cloisters of Notre Dame of Paris and made its way to the very confines of the Christian world.—But for the first seeds whence sprang its elements and for the spirit that gave it life we must look to the schools of other institutions, liturgical, pastoral, etc., that owed their existence to the indefatigable legislation of the great Emperor. This is only one of the many ways in which the intellectual movement of the eighth and ninth centuries may not be looked upon as a mere appendix of the past; for, even in its theology, may be discerned more than one hint which points to the future, as is fully evidenced by the fact that it gives a notable impulse to what were later the chief features of the system to become classic, acuteness in dialectics and respect for the materials left by tradition. The schools provide us mainly with the former; for the second we are much indebted to the other Carlovingian institutions. It will be well to halt for a moment to consider the period under this aspect.

To this early stage, in which are to be found not merely the primary materials, but both the embryo of the future schedule of study and the principles that nourished it in its growth, succeeds another step of evolution more modest and less ambitious. We refer to the post-Carlovingian decadence, which is in many respects a period of disorder, darkness and barbarism. The schools, however, or at least some of them, succeeded in maintaining themselves in being, and dialectics keener and sharper than ever shine brightly in the general intellectual darkness.

Meanwhile the increasing needs of the practical side of Christian life and of the episcopal jurisdiction gave birth to a whole series of canonical collections, which gradually widened out into manifold

branches, some of them resulting in being directly or indirectly the sources of Peter Lombard.²

A new step forward in the elaboration of a theological system was taken towards the middle of the eleventh century owing to the progress of the intellectual movement, to the Berengarian controversy and to the investiture struggles, which were fought, as has been said, "with the pen still more than with the sword." The foreground in this new aspect of things is claimed by the questions concerned with the sacraments and the systematization of canon law. Chief among the lights of this period are Peter Damian (†1072), Bernold of Constance (†1100), Anselm of Lucca (†1086), Ives of Chartres (†1116), etc. They lay down the foundation of that abundance of materials from which were later drawn up those orderly compilations, among which the work of the "*Magister Sententiarum*" holds a conspicuous place.

Less than fifty years later there is ushered in the dawn of a new era—the era of Abelard (†1142) and Hugh of S. Victor (†1141)—under the stress of the ever-increasing activity in scrutinizing the contents of revelation and accompanied by the excesses to which the "dialectici" were borne and the growing tendency to dogmatic speculation that more than once resulted in heterodoxy. It was the turn now for the labors of the systematizing of theology that followed naturally upon the codification of canon law. It was now also that the modest theologian of Novare came from Bologna to Paris under the recommendation of the Bishop of Lucca to S. Bernard, and by him in turn recommended to the Victorines. Ten years later appeared his "*Liber Sententiarum*," a synopsis of all the preceding works, which sometimes appropriates whole pages of its predecessors, and in any case invariably shows the influence of their principles, their methods and their solutions.

We shall take a rapid view of this long process of elaboration. But the limits we have proposed to ourselves in the present article confine us to the periods preceding the twelfth century.

I. PERIOD OF THE CARLOVINGIAN SCHOOLS.

When we speak of the theological teaching of the Carolingian schools it would be wrong to think it is the same in matter and method as that of the universities of the thirteenth century or the seminaries of the nineteenth. Indeed, there is little to warrant us

² To facilitate matters, the writer will bring together in this chapter all particulars touching the canonical collections. Next, of necessity, he remounts back for a moment to the precarolingian epoch, that he may show in one panorama the whole development of this canonical literature, and redescends once more through all the period stretching down to the twelfth century.

in ascribing to this theological instruction anything more than the reading and explanation of the Bible, of the works of some of the Fathers and of the liturgical prayers and customs of the Church. Besides, in the actual organization of these schools, as mirrored in the works of contemporaries, theology does not appear as the crowning point of the rest of the strictly school system, but rather, besides in what private study there might have been, it finds its true place in the immediate surroundings of the Bishop or of the "presbyter" of the parish. We shall not, therefore, look to the educational reorganization effected by Charlemagne for the beginnings of theological teaching in the proper sense of the word. It is only little by little and slowly that the word theology³ comes to take on the meaning we give it to-day; for a long time it meant nothing more in the West than any knowledge that had God for its object or was synonymous with the "sacra pagina," following close upon Denys the Areopagite, translated in the ninth century. But the spirit of the schools is altogether ecclesiastic, and in this way they give us the first hint of what was afterwards the regular theological discipline. Among other features is found, as has been said before, that devotion to dialectical speculation that in later times forced its way into the domain of sacred studies.

The entire curriculum comprised the seven liberal arts,⁴ in accordance with the ancient Roman tradition that found what is frequently—perhaps too frequently—considered a unique refuge in the British Isles, and thence spread with renewed vigor over the Continent. The starting point of the religious studies was the "Artes" of the Trivium and the "Scientiae" of the Quadrivium, bequeathed by Cassiodorus to the Western schools as a preparation for the study of the Bible. The very reason for the institution and continuance

³ The history of this word "theology" would offer an interesting object for a study a "sémantique." It shall suffice here to add to the significations already indicated, the opposition used, especially by the Greek fathers, between "theologia" and "oeconomia" (dispensatio). The latter word concerns, above all, the work of the son of God in His human nature, and survives, as well as its meaning of "dispense"—that is, of a law—up to the twelfth century, and even later in the West. The indefiniteness of the sense of the word "theology," as of the classification of knowledge in general, shows itself clearly still in the twelfth century in the attempts at rational classification made by several authors, Hughes of S. Victor, Dom. Gundissalinus, etc., and dependent more or less on Isidore, Cassiodor, etc., who in their turn were dependent on the Greeks.

⁴ It would not be deprived of interest to follow up through past generations the appreciation of this subordinated place assigned to the seven arts and later to philosophy. Such expressions as "servus," "mancipari," etc., concern at first their place in the curriculum of instruction and the legitimacy of their study for a Christian; later on they refer principally, or even exclusively, to the doctrinal superiority of theology in its relation to philosophy: the meaning had moved from the paedagogic to the doctrinal and dogmatic standpoint.

of these first studies is found in their value as a preliminary or propædæutic training, which was their only claim to legitimacy in the eyes of a Christian teacher. This is true in theory at least; for in practice it must be confessed that they sometimes took a different direction, even among the Irish monks, poets and travelers "*pro gloria Christi*," as well as missionaries who periodically poured in hosts over the Continent from the Emerald Isle and had their share in the revival of learning in the eighth and ninth centuries. One of the most influential precursors of the Carlovigian renaissance, Venerable Bede (†735), is strongly in favor of this subordinated place assigned to the seven arts; Boniface, or Winfrid (†754), another precursor who paved the way to the Carlovigian renaissance, is nearly of the same opinion, although he may be looked upon as a scholar for his time. Alcuin (†804), Charlemagne's "intellectual Prime Minister," is the heir direct of Bede's ideas, and the same may be said of Theodulf (†821), one of the originators and founders of the country schools. Not less convincing than all this is the old comparisons with the remains of Egypt or the Hebrew captive which is becoming classical since Cyprian Jerome, etc., and is to be found everywhere during the Middle Ages, theologians, exegetists, annalists, biographers, poets, etc., making use of it continuously. In this respect the capitulars of the great Emperor and legislator are strict and formal. If we read, for example, the famous capitulary, truly epoch-making in the history of education, written about 785-790, we will realize that the very end in view assigned to the study of grammar is altogether subordinated to that of the Bible. One might even with profit turn aside here to study how far the chapter on tropes, metonymy, etc., so much indulged in in the old grammars, gave birth to that flowery abundance of allegory that builds up a feature more curious than interesting, it is true, of the performances of material exegesis.

Rhetoric and the study of the ancient models, especially poets, which went with grammar, found a less natural place as a subordinated training. Indeed, it was in fact fruitful in producing here and there a precursor of the Humanists much like the famous Servatus Lupus (†862), Abbot of Ferrieres, who, it may be noted, played at the same time the triple rôle of a theologian, a stylist and a bibliophile.

The third branch of the Trivium, however, dialectics, which comprised the whole of philosophy, at least in the teaching programmes, claims the most distinguished names as sponsors for its great disciplinary and propædæutic value. If by this gate all kinds of philosophical problems stole in and permanently took their place in the educational system, and if thence they spread over the whole domain

of religious teaching, this is all due to the glowing eulogies lavished by the Fathers on "this storehouse of ammunition," this "kind of tactics so useful in the struggle with heresy," which from the days of S. Augustine characterizes in the eyes of the West the fascinating lady, *i. e.*, dialectics, "with the serpent in one hand and a fish book in the other," as described by Martianus Capella in his "Satyricon" and reproduced on the "discus" of Theodulf of Orleans.

This part of the programme assured for itself a more permanent and more respected place for the future by the writings of Harbanus Maurus (†856), the "primus preceptor Germaniae," who simply copied a text which is found in a more or less modified form in S. Augustine, passes through the works of Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, etc., and is later made use of by Abelard on the one hand, by Anselm and the "dialectics moderni" on the other. The importance and popularity it enjoyed is directly traceable in the works of verse and art from Theodulf to the end of the Middle Ages, enshrined in poetry, embroidered on sacred vestments, or carved on the portals of our old cathedrals, may still be found the emblems of the ancient study of Dialectics.

There is no need to delay over the other branches, those of the Quadrivium, the "Sciences" as they are generally called, as there is no trouble in maintaining their position as a preparation for religious studies. Even arithmetic was found necessary in order to catch the symbolic meaning of the numbers met in the Bible, as Isidore of Seville, Bede, etc., have written. Here, as elsewhere, the Carlovingian legislation is not at fault. It lays down as necessary for the celebration of feast days, for the singing of office, etc., that training in chant, in computum, etc., that was furnished by the Quadrivium.

Beside such educational arrangements by which a mere pro-paedeutic place was assigned to the seven arts and the way paved to the expansion of Dialectics, there were other regulations, mainly due also to Charlemagne, which left their mark on early theological elaboration. We would speak of the capitulars who attended especially to the formation of the clergy and who pass under a form sometimes identical in the episcopal or conciliary prescriptions. Needless to say, the ideal aimed at was not very high. The religious needs of the people scarcely emerged from paganism, the intellectual level of the recruits to the sacerdotal ranks, the social and political disorder which delayed for a long time the intensity of the spiritual life, all this forced the people to be content with what was strictly necessary. In spite of this these modest forerunners of our present seminaries represented, as we have said above, by the presence of one or two clerks to be instructed besides the Bishop or the

"parochus," are instructive helps in following closely the progress of religious education. Understood in the present meaning of the word, or even considered in the still rudimentary shape that it will take in the twelfth century under the great "magister divinitatis," Anselm of Laon, one may say that the teaching of theology hardly exists. Outside of what is required to be known for the ceremonies of religion and parochial work, besides the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and, above all, the "Quicumque," to be explained to the people, not much in the way of learning is required by the capitulars and local councils. Scarcely will they show any advance on the state of Great Britain, as is evidenced by the canons of the Council of Cliff in 747. Preaching will consist in the translation into the vernacular of the homilies of the fathers for want of better; theory will be reduced to some rules of chant and ecclesiastical computation. The sacerdotal library will content itself with some Biblical and liturgical books "as correct as possible," a collection of canons, a penitential and some writings of the "orthodox Catholic fathers," above all the forty homilies of S. Gregory so well known at the Merovingian epoch that one cannot turn over the pages of a semi-uncial manuscript without meeting with some extract from them. The legislations peculiar to each diocese reproduce frequently, in whole or in part, the same recommendations for a century or more. Their presence in the case of Regino Prüm (†915), Atto of Vercell (†960), RATHERIUS of Verona (†974), and before that of Harbanus Maurus, etc., points out and at the same time explains the influence they exercise in the direction impressed on the movement of minds.

We must not omit here, although we cannot enter into the details, the numerous ecclesiastical capitulars which bear on the disciplinary, religious or sacramentary institutions. Before becoming a doctrinal body which systematizes them these institutions pass in some manner into the life of the Christian people or its ministers, and their development after ages cannot but be felt even in the theories which expose them.

So rich for the expansion of ecclesiastical institutions and consequently of the doctrinal tradition that they reflect, the carlovingian capitulars in all these domains are one of the factors which, joined to the stability of the teaching of the Church and to the purely reproductive tendencies of these ages, appear to have a preponderating influence on the theological writings of the whole period. The insistence which is shown on each page of the Carlovingian religious legislation to inculcate respect for the Catholic writings bequeathed by previous centuries and to only admit the works of the "orthodox Catholic fathers," would give almost the impression that one hears the voice of a Pontiff renewing the so-called decree of Gelasius, a

thing which would be surprising if one did not know from another source the astonishing extent of this organizing genius who found the means to include in his preoccupations, side by side with the high military, civil and judiciary administration, the plantations of his gardens, the missals of the parishes, the secret of the confession and the holy oil for the sick on Maundy Thursday. The theologians of the Middle Ages are indebted to him for the very text of the Latin Bible, since the whole history of the Vulgate, as Berger says, is reduced at this moment to the struggle between the text of Alcuin-Charlemagne⁵ and the bad text of Theodulf, down to the day when the stationers of the University of Paris will deliver the text "corrigé," which was to serve as matter for the Clementine revision.

The carrying out of a part of the ordinations regarding the respect of ancient writings took place, moreover, under the eyes of the Emperor, and more than one book of homilies he himself presented to the clergy, as it were, with the imperial seal. With these collections, edited by his order and destined for the liturgical office or for preaching, the survival and diffusion of a certain number of patriotic texts could be guaranteed, and a theological arsenal was built up or a patriotic repertory, the ideas, tendencies, terminology of which will have their ramifications extended to far later writings. Such a selection, as stated at the same time among the writers, still more accentuates or definitively establishes the preponderating weight of certain among them whom the merits of their works or the sympathies of readers had already placed in evidence. It is now that Bede surpasses all the writers of the post-patristic period, and our age has not deprived him of this distinction owing to the transmission of the homiletic literature of the Breviary. For others the high reputation which draws a halo about their name will but increase to the extent of bringing them to be regarded as inspired by the Holy Spirit. At the same time those first groupings are to be traced in the Western theology of the ninth and tenth centuries, which will give to four of them the title of Doctor of the Church.

By the side of these works, ordered or patronized by Charlemagne, may be placed the liturgic efflorescence, in the case of Amalar (†835) excessive allegorization, in that of Walafrid Strabo (†849) more carefully historical, the one and the other being the result of the ritual reformation already commenced under Pepin the Short and powerfully furthered by his son. The import of these works is undeniable, hardly second to those which followed them in the next century, such as Bernold of Constance (†1100), Ives of Chartres

⁵ A detailed analysis of the theological work which is associated with the name of Charlemagne merits a study that would certainly be remunerative. We only indicate here the chief points, and we do so very briefly.

(†1116), Bruno of Segni (†1123), etc., who borrowed much from their predecessors. In these liturgical treatises, as in those homiliaries, we especially find many statements which lead to the symbolic explanation of the sacred rites or to that sacramental terminology which will maintain for so long in the theological language the "Sacramentum Incarnationis," the first expression of which may be traced back to the Fathers. The theological treatises of the twelfth century will build on it one of their central chapters, and although Peter Lombard will be an exception to the rule, at least in a certain way, S. Thomas will take up the idea, if not the word, in the prologue to the third part of his *Summa*.

Would we now turn from the theoretical and legislative domain and have a glance at the controversies and theological works of the period, we would find that their characteristics correspond to the trend of thought that we have met with up to the present day in the capitulars and in the school regulations. From all what precedes there has been shown in advance that the time is not ripe for any theological systematization whatever, still more so for the birth of any sort of personal science. But everything shows the tendencies and points out the elements which are to continue down to the twelfth century, *i. e.*, culture of dialectics and literary reproduction. For the present time the latter is the more important feature; of the former we have already spoken when treating of the schools, and very soon we will be concerned again with it, for even dialectical work at first was nothing much more than mere reproduction.

John Scot Erigena, whose name is met with in well nigh all the philosophical or theological debates of the second Carolingian age, stands alone among all his contemporaries, "a veritable column of basalt standing isolated in the level plain." He bequeaths his thoughts to posterity, who at first follow him charily, as a riddle to be solved. To be added to the other sources of his later intellectual influence is his translation of the works of the so-called Denys the Areopagite, recently sent from Rome to Paris and which caused a scholar as was Anastasius the Librarian (†885) to wonder at the rendering of a barbarian living on the confines of the world. The translation and as well as it the commentary of John left a deep impression in the later theological and mystical speculation of the West.

In the case of other writers, despite the real talent that cannot be denied to several, the didactic works or the theological disputations will provoke above all a great effort to revive the past. For a long time yet the compiling and encyclopædic tendencies that evidence patriotic decline lead the enfeebled thought to record simply the scientific or religious learning of the past. In the steps of the

laborious monk of Jarrow-Wearmouth, by whom a choice had already been made in the accumulated materials, many an imitator would follow. Among these is preëminent the illustrious Abbot of Fulda, one of the most learned theologians of the day, who left in his "*de instructione clericorum*" a pedagogical work of lasting influence; but the personal thought of which is traceable only in the choice of the extracts themselves and the transitions which bind them together.

In the controversies of the eighth and ninth centuries the chief source of argument lies in the repetition of ideas of the past which are noted sometimes as if in a catalogue or in long series of texts detached either from the writings of the fathers or rather from the "*Flores*," "*Excerpta*" or other collections. Gottschalck (†867) will tire his opponents, who, however, will take their weapons at the same arsenals by reciting patristic texts. Paschasius Radbert (†865) and others will open this long series of discussions with texts (a question not yet closed even in our own days) as to the true idea of S. Augustin on the Holy Eucharist. A few years earlier are to be found throughout the writings of Alcuin of Ratramnus (†868), etc., against the Adoptianists of Spain or on the questions of the "*Filioque*" and the "*Images*," long retrospective studies which permit those discussions to be regarded above all as the last reëchoing of the great christological, trinitarian or soteriological debates of the patristic golden age.

We experience the very same impression in a hurried glance over the libraries of the time. It is here in these same libraries that the twelfth century will be beholden even materially to the ninth. We have seen that the literary productions of the time bear forcible evidence of the reproductive tendencies; moreover, the collections of "*Flores*, *Sententiae*, *Excerpta*," by which the work of selection has already been done, facilitates that of copying. These collections, in fact, are frequently met with in the libraries of the ninth century, which is clearly shown by the catalogues still existing. From this period, then, they will be multiplied incessantly. S. Augustine evidently is thoroughly ransacked. His ideas, manner of expression, in fact, his entire works furnish all the authors of the Middle Ages. This is true to such an extent that before attributing the paternity of any one new contribution to some writer of the Middle Ages it is always well beforehand, as among the Byzantine writers is the case for S. Gregory and others, to consider whether Augustine has not a claim to it. One of the most conspicuous is Isidore of Seville with his "*Etymologies*," in which he has classified as in a herbarium the remains of ancient knowledge, but especially with his "*Sententiae*" or "*De Summa Bono*," a treatise chiefly moral and one of the most

frequently read and copied up to the end of the Middle Ages. Side by side with him we may cite the "Excerpta" of Paterius (†604), borrowed from S. Gregory the doctor with whom, as has been said, "the Middle Ages took its rise," as also the four books of Tayon of Saragosse (†651), "Sententie," to which was soon added a fifth. Very soon they found their way into France and were received by the Abbot of S. Ricquier with the highest marks of gratitude that manifested the esteem he had for the book. Finally is to be quoted the "Prognosticon futuri seculi," kind of treatise "de Novissimis," which Julian of Toledo copied chiefly from S. Gregory and which was destined to win for itself such brilliant success during the centuries that were to follow. Even Peter Lombard did not deem it unworthy of himself to borrow from this source.

In the exegetical literature the same trend is to be met with from the "Interrogationes" of Alcuin, really a channel of derivation destined in its course to carry several old hackneyed questions into the "book of Sentences," up to the "Glossa Ordinaria" of the Abbot of Reichenau. This latter is the principal patristic repertory, to which new additions are being made continually from the day of its publication by Walafrid Strabon. It will also be turned to profitable account by Peter Lombard and be even quoted by him under the simple title of "auctoritas" to such an extent that for this, as it seems, he receives numerous reproaches from contemporary divines.

Pure speculation is far from having escaped the contagion of the pure reproductory movement. Even later on the first essays of dogmatic synthesis, like that of the "Magister Sententiarum," can hardly be said to present philosophical ideas in an assimilated or original style. The philosophical or rather dialectical discussions on the Universals—for it is from the dialectical point of view that the question was broached—which appeared so important to some historians as to constitute by themselves alone the whole mediæval philosophy, owe their origin to the ancient summaries destined for use in the schools. And just as if the stimulant of interrogation had been necessary to arouse the curiosity of our Fathers, the very existence of the problem will be only revealed to them by the questions of Boethius in a text which will pass through centuries, soliciting numberless endeavors to answer them. Of the two principal branches into which the solutions are divided, the first was furnished to mediæval writers by the same Boethius. Marcianus Capella, one of the greatest popularizers of the programme of the seven arts, had handed down a text which constituted the second, that of nominalism. None of these answers, however, with their manifold shade of meaning, which was offered in the next period, could outstep the limits of the paths already well trodden by ancient Greek thought.

While dealing with dialectics we approached once more the subject of the Carlovingian schools. We must now follow their destiny through one or two centuries, in which the dialectical tendencies on the one hand and the positive bent of mind on the other may be traced marching side by side. They are gathering strength both, either in the obscure gymnastic of school exercises or in the daily go and come of parochial and episcopal duties. The theological sterility of this period permits us to be very brief.

2. PERIOD OF THE POST-CARLOVINGIAN DECADENCE.

The fall of the Carlovingian dynasty, towards the end of the ninth century, ushers in a period of decline during which the work of Charlemagne decays in a proportion, into the details of which we need not enter here, as we are only concerned with the schools and theological work. Despite the incursions of the Northmen, of the Arabians and the Hungarians; despite the acts of pillage committed by the nobles and the barbarism of the rabble, the schools continue to exist. Gradually even they develop, especially in France, Italy and Lotharingia, although some are not able to outlive the outbreak of such a social and political storm. Germany is left far behind, the renown which the brilliant institutions of Francony and Souabe had won for themselves passing to their neighbors of the West. Here it takes up its final abode, especially in the cathedral schools. The "Sciences" and the "Arts" of the ancient programme of Cassiodorus enjoyed an ever increasing extension which caused them to be taught separately, according to the special aptitudes of the reputed professors, rather than all together. Hence it is that Gerbert (†1003), for instance, towards the middle of the tenth century will visit several centres of learning to become initiated successively in the study of grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, etc. Often the study of medicine is added on, as had already been the case in some ancient programmes of the Roman period handed down by Isidore. Such now was the case of S. Gallen, which outlived the period of glory of Fulda and Reichenau and, moreover, did not neglect the study of the mother tongue. Several books of the Bible, works of the Fathers, dialectical treatises, were translated there into German. Also at Chartres medicine was taught. The library, which possessed the work of the Greek physician, "Oribaze," attracted many a student. At this time, indeed, the local and international exchanges brought about by the passion of study begin to become frequent in Western Europe. Those which took place in the ninth and the tenth centuries may be regarded as the prelude of the great exodus to the cosmopolitan university centres. Here the doctors, invited by powerful protectors, pass from chair to chair,

sometimes to the great displeasure of their hierarchical superiors, as in the case of Hubald of Liège (about 990), who was summoned back from Paris by his Bishop. The disciples follow the masters or become in turn the auditors of the most renowned professors, thus transplanting the ideas and works of one country into another. The trace of this multiplying intellectual intercourse is found even in the "*Rouleaux des Morts*," kind of mortuary letters, with petitions for prayers, graced with pieces of rhyme and precious for the information they afford us about the schools and their changes of fortune.

By the discussions of the schools, which from the Carlovingian period crowned the renowned dialecticians with a halo of glory, we are presented in the tenth century with a long line of professors, by which we may ascend from Abbot of Fleury (†1004), Odon (†942) and Remigius of Auxerre (†908) up to Heiric of Auxerre (†880) and Servatus Lupus (†862), and from this latter to H. Raban of Fulda (†856), Alcuin (†804) and Bede (†735). Such discussions, bringing in their train the publication of treatises and commentaries, which were more numerous and sometimes much less superficial than we might be tempted to believe, had the great advantage of whetting the minds of those generations. The dialectical subtlety, which was destined to play such an important rôle in the theology of the Abelardian era, began then to try its strength and to perfect its ways of acting in this palaestra. It is thus that Anselm (†1109) will be formed half a century later, he the philosopher and theologian of the Abbey du Bec, whose name will bring to a most glorious termination the great period of the Benedictine schools. As a matter of fact, he was the first who resolutely enters, not as novice, but as a master, into the domain of metaphysics. Dialectics had been the tiny instrument by means of which the whole science of philosophy would shine forth one day in all its splendor.

Theology still continued to be what it was formerly—a study of the Bible—and some of the Holy Fathers a practical knowledge of the symbols, canons and ritual ceremonies. It figures in the teaching rather outside the schools and mainly, if not exclusively, under the form of immediate and practical preparation to the sacred functions. On the other hand, the biographies of the time do not fail to point out how much they praise the propædæutic character of the seven arts in exposing "*con amore*" the progresses realized in grammar, in dialectics, etc., by the holy Bishops and abbots, whose lives they are writing and who owe to their practice of this preparation their elevation to episcopacy or abbacy.

As far as we can judge from the writings of the time, there is as yet no production in which the revealed truths are expressed in a

systematic body of doctrine. Life is entirely given over to action devoted to the moral reform, which is personified by several renowned Bishops or by the monks of the Clunisian branch. The controversies are much less numerous than a century earlier, some of which even by their very names bear witness to the vulgarity of the minds of those engaged. The one which is associated with the name of Heriger of Lobbes (†1007), and not with that of Gilbert, as it seems, continues the discussion of Paschasius Radbert and Ratramnus. Germany produces practically nothing, although some wish to take the few pages published along the Danube or the upper Rhine as an early production in which may be traced back the German religious spirit of later times. If we put aside a few Biblical commentaries whose originality is doubtful, to say the least, and the works of a rather exceptional personal touch due to the enigmatical pessimist and penitent named Rathier of Verona (†974), we meet with nothing else but canonical codifications in which theology often has an important part and with which we will soon be occupied, for they will require, indeed, our attention owing to their influence upon theological work.

Thus in summing up we see that this period may rightly be entitled that of schoolmasters; they reign, indeed, almost everywhere. The minds become subtle in grammatical, dialectical, arithmetical exercises; sometimes they indulge in cultivating the flowers of poetry, in imitation of the ancients, as did Hrosvitha (†973), the learned Abbess of Gandersheim. In Italy the "Grammatici" aroused the emulation of Germany, which was on the decline, as said before, and, wandering as they were all over Occidental Europe, became cosmopolitan professors. Germany produced some "Schulbucher," whereas Lotharyngia, urged by the example of Brun of Cologne (†965), trained Bishops and professors for the whole empire. In France the effort persisted and grew more and more fruitful, being, however, more or less exclusively confined to the schools north of the Loire, while Adhemar of Chabannes (†1030) says one of the most important annalists of the time, is nothing but an eulogium for the southern part. But Paris, Chartres, Reims, Le Bec, Angers, etc., are names which will remain henceforth renowned in the history of letters of the tenth and eleventh centuries. As regards Poitou and Anjou, the fame of their schools is reflected even on their nobles, which is a very rare feature of this period, in which in Germany, as in France, as a whole, women are generally less unlearned than their husbands. One of the pedagogical glories of Reims changed his name of Gerbert of Aurillac for that of Silvester II. near the end of the tenth century. A great many professors, "scholastici" as was the term used, were afterwards consecrated Bishops. One of them,

Fulbert of Chartres (†1029), in all probability native of Italy, like Lanfranc (†1089) and later Anselm, passed down to posterity as a "great educator" of his contemporaries. Grouped around his chair, which draws so many pupils from France, England, Lotharingia, etc., are to be found almost all the writers which we meet with in the Berengarian controversy, the few others coming from Le Bec, the renown of which Lanfranc had begun to establish; but the fame of this great Benedictine school was not destined to descend beyond the generation of Anselm, while Chartres' glory outlived it very long.

With these two names of Fulbert of Chartres, with whom are associated those of Berenger (†1088), Adelman (†1053), Alger of Liège (†1130), Guitmond of Aversa, etc., we are at the dawn of a new era in theological development. In this the progress of dialectics extends its excursions well beyond its original boundaries and applies all the resources of its subtle research to what is contained in revelation. This movement, besides being quite natural and, in a certain measure, necessary for every mind that seeks the why and the how, did not originate all at once. Already for more than a century it was vaguely taking shape, groping along, often with an awkwardness of manner that would only provoke pity if at the end of its first attempts were not to be seen on the horizon the bright light of S. Anselm's genius. This it is which fills with interest the pages in which are preserved for us the first traces of these journeys of adventure on the dark sea of speculation, although not infrequently they do not rise above mere child's play in dialectics, imprisoned as they are in the formalism of technical expressions which they little or badly understood and applied. Such, for instance, is the case with John of Gorze (†974), near the Rhine, who in the tenth century called to his aid, as Alcuin had done in the eighth century, the categories of Aristotle, exposed by Boethius, to make clear in a passage he read in S. Augustine the explanation of the Holy Trinity. Such, again, was the case with Heriger (†1007) of Lobbes, the "*vallis scientiæ*" near the Sambre, who brings into line the best of his artillery by announcing in a pompous manner: "*Ut forti syllogismo concludam,*" and an old manuscript goes so far as to indicate with big majuscules the major, the minor and the conclusion of the syllogism. Besides these, to quote only a few Williran of Ebersberg (†1085) in Bavaria, noticed with his own eyes and dolefully complains of the growing invasion of dialectics, endeavoring to explain by its own aid the sacred text. Lanfranc only, he said, made an exception to this rule. The monks even of the cloister of Ratisbonne or the pupils of the "*Domschul*" of Mayence interpret the Bible by the third science of the trivium, which they prefer to

the inspired text, to the great despair of the melancholic othlon of S. Emeran (†1072). Again, in the works of Adalberon of Laon (†1030), not yet printed, the Latin versification adds its own darkness to the obscure subtleties of wild speculation, which busies itself, as it will do for a long time to come, with the relations of the Divine Persons of Holy Trinity, whilst among the preachers Aristotle is quoted by Rodulphus Ardens (†1101) in a sermon on confession. Everywhere dialectics was playing its part far outside the programme of the schools. It invaded the glossary of S. Gallen, as that of Papias (†1053), who, however, only desired to compile an elementary work of great utility, as he himself says, for his children; it creeps into the teaching of Roman law, which once again comes to the fore, especially in Italy; it takes possession of the portals of our cathedrals, as, for instance, in Chartres, Reims, Auxerre, etc., in which are carved its emblems with special love; it penetrated even into the courts of Popes and Emperors, who were either kind or vain enough to act for eight hours as arbiters between two champions who disputed with strong and noisy arguments whether a reasonable being deserves such an appellation even when it does not make use of its reason or whether in the tree of Porphyry the branch denoting mortality should not come above that denoting intellect.

Although it has been much exaggerated in its applications, such an exercise had the priceless advantage of sharpening the wits. This it is which gives it its future fertility. This progress in philosophical conceptions and also in the way of exposing them, left a very traceable mark in the writings centre round the controversy of Berenger. We are able to follow it step by step in the long line of authors who defend Catholic dogma with arguments and reasonings that become more and more perfect.

But before passing to this new stage of theological elaboration, which we may call the period of "monographs," we must fix our attention on another important factor in theological classification whose progress parallels that of dialectics and becomes stronger and stronger during the tenth and eleventh centuries, up to the point of setting in motion the pen of theological systematizers. We are concerned now with a long series of canonical collection built up during three or four centuries, up to the time of the "Decretum" (1143) of Gratian. It is on this practical ground, rather outside of the schools and in episcopal surroundings, that the first step was taken towards the codification of the data acquired. Here begun a series of mutual exchanges between mediæval theology and canon law in process of formation. With these compilations, often mingled up with dogmatic matters, begun the work of bringing theology

to a complete systematic body, and for this reason they require of us a retrospective glance which will meet the defect of explanation, which the attention given by us to two centuries of dialectical improvement has forced us to omit.

3. PERIOD OF CANONICAL CODIFICATION.

However little one may have looked through the voluminous canonical literature which precedes the Decretum of Gratian, a centre to which converge all the previous works, one notices without any difficulty the marked preference given in the seventh and eighth centuries to systematic compilations. The methodical "Compendia" of Crescensius (seventh-eighth century) and Fulgentius Ferrandus (about 530), it is true, were little known outside Africa, but very early a systematic index was added to the big chronological collection which circulated under the name of Isidore of Sevilla. The same was done with the collection of Dionysius Exiguus (†556). A far greater efficiency was thus added to both works, in which the matters were compiled according to the chronological order. To the same systematical arrangement is also partly due the success of the "Hiberna Collectio" at its first appearance in the eighth century. After the heavy compilation work of the Pseudo-Isidor (about 850), which follows in several parts of his forgeries the succession of Popes as stated in the "Liber Pontificalis," the methodical classification begins to become exclusive, or nearly so, of any other. Such was the abundance of this literature, brought about by the desire of a reform, the requirements of daily administration in the dioceses, the benefits of a manual in which should be found everything connected with the instruction and government of the flock, as in the case of Regino of Prüm (†915), who gives us in his prologue the outlines of his plan and scope, that within the narrow limits of three centuries, from the false Decretals up to the "Decretum" of Gratian, there are to be quoted more than fifty works of canonical compilations, a great many of which are of no small importance either in length or in value.

Already in the tenth, and especially in the eleventh century, many chapters which follow one another in a systematical order are to be found in these collections relating to theological matters. Pre-ëminent among them is the big collection entitled the "Decretum" of Burchard of Worms* (†1025), an old pupil of the school of Lobbes, near the Sambre, which has been so often copied, summed

* We are astonished that such names as Burchard, of Worms; Anselm, of Lucca, etc., have not, in spite of the theological chapters contained in their canonical collections, found a place in the "Dictionnaire de théologie catholique" of Vacant-Mangenot. A similar remark applies with respect to the names of Charlemagne, Anselm, of Laon, etc.

up or at least utilized for similar productions even outside Germany, in France or Italy, up to the time of Ives of Chartres—*i. e.*, end of the eleventh century. It contains no small parts, even a whole book out of seventeen, on theological questions such as predestination, eschatology, baptism, penitence, sacred ceremonies, etc. This mingling up of theology and canon law was not new; the way had been paved to it very early in the East by the Theodosian and Justinian Codex, and literary activity in the West was destined to indulge in it to the extent of making it one of the characteristic features of theology up to the middle of the eleventh century. A great impulse in this same direction was evidently given by the "Investitures Quarrel," which gave birth to an immense canonical and polemical activity. Here is to be found the development of many chapters connected with the validity of sacraments or the prerogatives of the Holy See which will find their way into the following treatises of theology. Italy and France are especially productive in this period, each with his special characteristics. To such canonical or theologico-canonical collections, like those of Ives of Chartres (†1116), Bonizo of Sutri (†1090), Anselm of Lucca (†1086), Alger of Liège (†1130), etc., theology is much indebted for several of its theses. Together with the controversial literature provoked by the Investitures, they furnish theology with many important elements, different ways of grouping matters or classifying sacraments, sundry arguments in favor of or against the validity of the sacraments administered by simoniacal or excommunicated priests, etc. Even the definition of a sacrament, which is becoming usual at the time of Abélard (†1142) and will be completed later on, is to be met with in those canonical compilations before we find it in strictly theological treatises.

Ives de Chartres, the most remarkable of the canonists prior to Gratian, gives it perhaps the first, but he is wrong in attributing it, as he formulates it, to S. Augustin. From Ives' "Decretum" this definition finds its way into the works of Alger of Liège, afterwards into those of Gratian, Roland Bandinelli (†1182), etc. A few years later Peter Lombard (about 1150), aided by Hughes of S. Victor and the "Summa Sententiarum," from which he frequently borrows or even copies, again takes the same definition, completing it by some additions which have since become classical.

Still it would be wrong to assume from what has been said thus far that theology is indebted to canonical literature for the mere idea of classifying its numerous materials accumulated during centuries or for several problems and their solutions bequeathed to her by canonical writers. Yet another field of inquiry is opened to us, in which we may discover what close relations exist between those two

branches of sacred science. We refer to the task of conciliating the patristic texts with themselves. In this line there can hardly be any doubt as to how much the systematic works of theology were dependent on canonical literature.

We do not mean to insinuate by this that the question of conciliating the patristic texts was a new one in the twelfth or the eleventh century. A long time before ecclesiastical writers had been seeking with certain anxiety a means of the Fathers or even in Holy Scripture. We have not to trace it back now. It will be enough to mention here the "*Antixeimena*" of Julian of Toledo, the same who wrote the "*Prognosticon futuri seculi*;" the "*Interrogationes*" of Alcuin upon the Bible, the "*Quæstiones in vetus*," or "*in novum Testamentum*," so often multiplied, etc. Patristical literature was not less represented in this respect than Biblical. When we look at the long series of texts and huge retrospective repertories connected with the Carolingian controversies upon grace, images, adoptionism, Trinity, Eucharist, etc., we cannot but think of the parallel pieces of work piled up by the Eastern Church and entitled "*Florilegia*," such as those produced by the Nestorians and their opponents, the Monophysites, Monothelites, Aphthardocetes, Iconoclasts, etc. On every side are to be found different ways suggested of conciliating views apparently contradictory. Needless to say, it is often easier to see in them powerful fecundity of imagination than sane historical interpretation. In the tenth century we meet with the name of Heriger of Lobbes, who will not hear of those reproaches of discrepancies between the Fathers. After him begin a long series of attempts at reconciliation which will remain interrupted or even become more and more lengthy. What is worthy of our attention in these attempts is not only the conviction in the minds of the authors that identity of opinion does exist always among the ecclesiastical writers. Other elements, too, creep into the discussion which render the problem of extreme nicety and of great moment—namely, the high reputation of the Fathers, some of whose names are already famous and only to be cited with extreme reverence, so much so that the very words that fall from their pen is looked upon as an oracle of the Holy Ghost. Besides this, we must take into account the nature of the argument of authority as used during the Middle Ages. A few pages from a grammarian of France, John of the Charente, in the eleventh century, repeated, in at least what regards the ideas, by a theologian of the twelfth century, Robert of Melun, are well worth reading in this respect—they show the general custom by which a text becomes by itself an argument of real value when the author has, so to speak, acquired a recognized legal standing; he is an "*authenticus auctor*," his authority may be used

as an argument. Several passages from mediæval writers may be quoted as bearing witness to or giving an explanation of this custom, for instance, the interpretation of some expressions of the so-called Gelasian Decretum "*de libris legendis et reiciendis*," so often transcribed at this time, and the prologues to some canonical compilations, such as that of Cardinal Atton, in the eleventh century. All this gave birth to many discrepancies between assertions very much distant between themselves as to time and places, and taken apart from their content they provoke as an attempt at reconciliation manifold hypotheses which are not always accompanied by the indispensable work of verification as to their reality in the actual order of things.

With the canonists, and even leaving aside all controversial tendency, such as the quarrel of Investitures, which accounts for a considerable number of collections of texts for or against the Holy See, the validity of sacraments, etc., the very idea of a systematic ordinance must more than anything else have raised the same difficulties of antilogies. At the outset, it is true, the juxtaposition of texts which were more or less out of keeping with one another, did not always carry weight with writers. With the exception of modifying certain expressions incompatible with a new state of things, the work reduced itself to a matter of registration. In this connection certain pages of the much used Decretum of Burchard of Worms are suggestive. With the greater number, however, the defect must have soon become evident. War against the penitentials "*quorum auctores incerti, errores certi*," which occurred during the Carolingian period, and their replacement by new documents "*authentici*," was but a precarious remedy, correcting but a part of the practical side of the question. The remaining portions, such as jurisprudence, institutions and doctrinal matters—the later figuring largely, as we have seen, in the canonical treatises—were still extensive.

It is no wonder, therefore, that a feeling of dissatisfaction with such a state of things soon manifested itself, and this without beating about the bush. In his prologue Burchard openly complains of the incoherence and discordance of the canons. Following him comes Bernold of Constance (†1100), who is, if anything, more disheartened still; Bonizon of Sutri, whom Alger of Liège will later transcribe; Cardinal Deusdedit and others take up the complaint; Ives of Chartres does the same and more in the preface to his well-known "*Panormia*," so often separately reproduced under the name of "*Consonantia canonum*." It is not even necessary to concern ourselves here with all the other products of the eleventh or the early years of the twelfth century. The very title of Gratian's work and the glosses made on him by his commentators expose the evil side

by side with the remedy under so unmistakable a form that we are not allowed to omit it here: "De Concordantia Discordantium Canonum," such was the original title.

The methods of solution carried into practice and completed by the celebrated monk of Bologna had been sought for by the generations of theologians and canonists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They all attempted to remedy the difficulty. Bernold of Constance began the work by taking up, as it seems, an idea of Hincmar of Reims (†882) and working away several parts of a treatise of the great Carolingian Archbishop which is no longer to be found. It is to him that Bonizon of Sutri and others applied for information and suggestions. It is hard to tell. In any case Cardinal Deusdedit (†1099) and before him the "Prisca Collectio" of Mai, gives the preference when a discrepancy occurs to the "major auctoritas," what the Ulpian's "auctoritas had been for Roman law among the Latin jurists. Abelard does not admit it, nor after him the "Summa Sententiarum," except as the last solution when every other is found to be impossible. Bernold's idea, whether consciously or unconsciously, is made use of by Ives of Chartres, "vir canonicotatos" as Bossuet calls him, and one of the greatest glories of the French canonists in his celebrated preface "de consonantia canonum." Making allowance for differences of time, place, person, etc., already mapped out before, the theory of the "dispensatio," which he develops, assumes a character more and more pronounced and which assisted him to a great extent in the work of reconciling differences. The repetition of Ives' ideas, whose text he so often makes use of, is to be recognized in Alger of Liège early in the twelfth century.

Thenceforward one has not long to wait before the principal rules for reconciling antilogies proposed by the canonists become the property of theology properly speaking. It is the "Sic et Non" of Abelard which is responsible for this work. By the memorable preface to this collection, which it explains in a sense far removed from that spirit of skeptical rationalism with which it has been credited for a long time, is added to the preceding process a new and epoch-making method. This is the use of dialectics, which is employed for pointing out different meanings for the same word in different authors. Gratian is superior to his predecessors in canon law, among other things in this, that he makes use of this new means of solution erected into a principle by Abelard's work. And thus theology, so often indebted to canonical collections, takes an active share in the exchange of mutual services. Gratian also did not lay behind; he put numerous resources within reach of the "Magister Sententiarum," and this latter hastened to make use of them without

disguising the fact, giving another example of reciprocity between canonical and theological science in the work of systematic codification. But in this lies already the last stage in the elaboration of Lombard's book, with which we are not concerned in this article. Previous to it is the Anselmian period. We have now to look at the theological position in this time and to assist at the first attempts to build up a rational system.

4. THE PERIOD OF S. ANSELM, OR THE PERIOD OF MONOGRAPHS.

When canon law began the codification of the numerous patristic texts, pontifical and conciliar, under the guidance of Anselm of Lucca, Deusdedit, Ives of Chartres, etc., theological works were becoming more numerous than hitherto. The era of silence or of mere reproduction is closed. Times had come when theology required, as Newman says, to be "something more than the rehearsal of what her champions had achieved and her sages had established in ages passed away." It is the moment when the old and glorious Benedictine institutions shed one last but conspicuous ray of glory before they cede the ground definitively to the great cathedral schools. This short period, comprising as it does fifty years or so, brings us to the beginnings of the twelfth century. Among the characteristic features which call for our attention there are especially three which we feel obliged to treat at some length because they proved to be of real efficiency in the influence they had in the development of later theological literature.

The first characteristic, whose evidence it is difficult to contest if only one has read some of the writings of the period, is the very strong antagonism between the opposing parties as to the use of speculation and dialectics in sacred sciences. Augustine, Isidore, Alcuin and Harban Maur, as said before, had bestowed on dialectics their unstinted praise, but despite this a long and violent struggle had to be undergone before dialectics could make fair its claim on the ground of sacred science. The sermons of this period, the correspondence of schoolmasters and ecclesiastical notabilities, the commentaries of some rare exegetists and even the chronicles and the notes of literary historians, which, unfortunately, are not numerous, enable us to hear again the echoes of that antagonism which at times sounded somewhat loud. The opposition did not limit itself to one country alone; it is met with in Italy, in Peter Damian (†1072); in Alsace, in Manegold of Lautenbach (†1103), who is often at one on this matter with Peter Damian; in Bavaria, in Williran of Ebersberg, in Othlo of S. Emmeran, in Seifrid of Tegernsee (†1063); in England, in Wulfstan of Worcester (†1096), etc. Nor was France to be an exception. Long before the struggle

raged there in full force in the time of S. Bernard we see it foreshadowed in the commentary of S. Paul attributed to Lanfranc, and especially in the literature connected with the Berengarian controversy.

During a somewhat considerable time we find traces of this antagonism in the writers of every country. They show it by the need they feel to apologize or justify themselves whenever they summon up sufficient courage to present the public with the fruit of their own reflections. Even Abelard, as well as Rupert of Deutz (†1130), felt obliged to apologize for the writings of their own they produced in public. Such is the state of affairs at this period that we would not be far from the truth in describing the second part of the eleventh century as a period of contention as to the part of reason and its nature in dogmatic speculation, and not only a stage in the controversy on universal, as is too often done even in theology. It must be acknowledged that it was not without solid grounds that this intrusion of dialectics into the domain of revelation was regarded with suspicion. Sometimes it entered it in the garb of a conqueror or of a master. With many minutia which have no merit whatever as a philosophical study of dogma one could cite abuses and exaggerations which called for a speedy check. When we read now those excursions in the naked texts by which they have been preserved to us, one cannot help being astonished how human reason had been dazzled at the sight of some syllogism, pompously decked out in a subtlety as childish as it is superficial, drawn from some celebrated dialectician of the day. Those same dialecticians ambitioned nothing else but to undermine with their new war machine some of our principal dogmas. With the support of an "Atqui" and an "Ergo," backed up sometimes with a phrase of Aristotle taken from Boethius or some other author, they felt no difficulty in putting aside the resurrection of the dead, the virginal birth of our Lord, His resurrection, etc., etc. One might even say that skeptical rationalism has left behind a longer and more lasting trace than we would be led to believe by the obscurity and small importance of its authors. About the middle of the twelfth century, indeed, Abelard will bear witness to the same doubts oppressing the minds of some of his contemporaries. Even later on, on the eve of the thirteenth century, Alexander Neckam (†1213) reports a very curious answer made by a student of Paris about the same skeptical denials as to the resurrection of the dead. John of Cornwall (†1170) relates nearly identical doubts on several points of faith.

The events which France, and afterwards Italy, witnessed were not of such a nature, from the theological standpoint, as to gain sympathy for the cause of the dialecticians. To everybody who is

more or less acquainted with mediæval church history the part played by Berenger in the heresies on the Blessed Sacrament is sufficiently known to allow us to pass it over in silence. Nor does it fall within the limits of our essay to examine into its connection with the question of universals. Whether Berenger made his departure from the nominalism, or whether the manner in which he speaks of real presence makes him appear to arrive at it as his conclusion matters little for the present question. It is in any case certain that his manner of procedure opened the field to an unrestrained development of dialectics in dogmatic questions and fully justified the foreseeing apprehensions of Fulbert of Chartres. Besides, Berenger's way of proceeding is rather curious in the case of a rationalist; even the authority of the Scripture and the Fathers was not thrown over by him. By all this is shown how little was defined for many minds the boundary line between the domain of reason and faith. The influence of John Scot Erigena, who comes again to the front after a long silence, the theory of divine illumination of intellects, and not a few ideas or expressions of the ancient doctors, partly or entirely perverted by their isolation from their context or by removal from a past epoch. All this accounts for the lack of definite boundaries between the two domains, which is felt down to the thirteenth century. Even Peter Lombard does not completely make an exception to the rule. In the case of Berenger no shadow of doubt is thrown by him on the legitimacy of dialectics into dogma; he supports his view on the matter by a text of the Book of Genesis by which is affirmed the divine resemblance in man; this, he says, being evidently founded on reason and dialectics being the best use of reason. Nothing higher on earth can exist for a rational mind than to have recourse to it as the last rule of all truth. Everybody knows to what length Berenger was driven by such a principle.

These dialectical excesses provoking, as we have said, a strong opposition, ran the risk for a while of compromising forever the place that human reason can legitimately claim in the study of dogma. But by a certain number of the faith's champions these excesses were overbalanced by a telling use of the very weapons of the enemy. The generation of S. Anselm recognized it with a satisfaction which is often pointed out in the chronicles and biographies of the day. Thus we arrive at a second characteristic which distinguishes this period—namely, the progress more and more pronounced of orthodox dogmatical speculation, and as a consequence thereof the acknowledgment, at times somewhat hesitating, of its title to legitimacy.

Here we can be brief. The facts in the history of theological literature that ring as it were the knell of the eleventh century are

well known. If in the case of some dialectics assumed an importance by far too great to admit of universal approval, several authors at least must not be said to be without real merit in this line. The polemical discussions upon Investitures and the success of French schools, especially those along the Loire and that of Bec, as well as those of Lotharingia, sharpened the mind and pruned the pen. What a picture of literary activity surpassing in richness, depth and refinement anything produced since the days of Charlemagne is now presented to the mind by the mention of names like those of Lanfranc, Ives of Chartres, Hildebert of Mans (†1134), Goeffroy of Vendome (†1132), Peter Damian, Alger of Liège, Guitmond of Aversa, Anselm of Canterbury, etc.

Methodical, exact, balanced, true jurist that he was, Ives of Chartres leaves us in his letters and sermons many a page of theological data in which the "rationes" hold a large place side by side with the "auctoritates." More than one page of the treatises from which the "Magister Sententiarum" will later draw his material have their source in these same data.

In the numerous writings brought to light by the discussions upon Investiture were examined from various viewpoints the problems connected with sacramental matters. The reflections and suggestions they contain prepare in a large part for the work of subsequent systematizing the minds of those who turned their attention in this direction, although the immediate literary influence of several of these dogmatical tracts is only traceable with difficulty among succeeding generations who have forgotten them.

But nowhere perhaps may the forward march of method and reasoning be more seen than in the field of the Berengerian controversy. One of the first who took a part in the discussion—Lanfranc—after following his adversary into the arena of dialectics, finally holds on to a pure formalism. To claim the victory it is enough for him to espy a flaw in the formula used by his adversary. Thenceforth the battle is at an end; he goes no further with the difficulty in question. After him others, as Alger and Guitmond, do better. They mingle much wise and solid speculation in their study of the Fathers and their inquiries about the belief of the past. In rendering them their merited praise posterity is but confirming the opinion long ago pronounced by a good judge, Peter of Cluny (†1156), who justly conferred the palm upon the Lotharingian master, one of the greatest glories of the celebrated school of Liège.

The highest indication of this progress in the speculative study of dogma and its rational exposition is undoubtedly found in the works so well marked by originality and depth of this genius who lived in advance of his time, S. Anselm of Canterbury. Here may it be

noticed with satisfaction that metaphysics is no longer relegated to a second place in favor of a merely external and often puerile formalism. It may have had need, it is true, to make its entrance by the narrow gate of dialectics, but once within the field metaphysics immediately becomes master of the situation. The scope of the present article does not allow of a lengthy development upon the famous metaphysician of dogma, but the foregoing characteristics may be so applied to the literary activity of Anselm as to warrant us in grouping them about his name. To the antagonism aroused by the "moderni dialectici" Anselm opposed solid speculation not less orthodox than it was profound, and while guarding against their mistakes established once for all the right to employ reason in the things of faith. His formula is well known, "Fides quaerens intellectum." What gives him a conspicuous place, so admirably expressed upon the frontispiece of the great editions of his works—the link he supplies between S. Augustine and S. Thomas—is the high merit of his teaching, which marks a step forward in the sacred science and crowns with unrivaled glory the long line of the famous Benedictine schools.

Finally as a third characteristic, which is common with all his contemporaries, may be noted that his work only contains monographs, with some traces of union to point out their cohesion, but which, despite their incomparable superiority, do not as yet offer us the body of the system we have been following in elaboration through three or four centuries. Natural theology, the Trinity, free will and grace, the fall of man, the incarnation and redemption—on all these Anselm leaves us detached treatises, several of which will come down the centuries with a high repute and honor.

It is early to realize that as regards this third characteristic it is the same here as with the Berengerian controversy, the dogmatical writings of Ives of Chartres, Hildebert and others, the polemics of the Investitures, the works of Odo Cambray (†1113), Herman of Tournay (†1147), etc., upon original sin or the redemption. A system of theology has not yet been brought forward, but the composing elements were at work, and that more and more so. The outcome was talked of and looked for everywhere; "quaeri solet" is the expression we find in every page written at that time; questions and problems are handed down from one school to another, from one master to another. The example set by the great philosopher and theologian of Canterbury was conducive to a great result. But, strange to say, it is almost exclusively in this impulse given to the intellectual movement that the immediate rôle of the "Father of Scholastics" is to be seen. Neither his treatises nor his doctrines, nor his method are immediately met in the schools. Ex-

cept for twice by Abelard and later by John of Cornwall, he is scarcely quoted. Honoré of Autun and Odo of Cambray, who borrow a great deal from him, make an exception to the general rule. Peter Lombard hardly seems to know him. A slight shade, if any at all, of Anselmian ideas upon original sin or redemption pierces its way into the writings of Hugo of S. Victor and of the "Magister Sententiarum." As for his method, more profound than that of the dialecticians, a superficial reading through a few pages already suffices to show the distance separating it from that of the later "Summists" or "Sententiarii." But if we want to witness the entry of Anselm into the schools we will have to wait until the thirteenth century. Till then his writings, which are read with eagerness as soon as they come from the pen of the author or of his secretaries, will have been silently spreading the renown of the learned doctor and contributing in a large measure to the intellectual growth that opened the twelfth century. Towards the years 1230-40 the quasi official reign of the theologian of Bec begins and will no more come to an end. Alexander of Hales and S. Thomas are then the chief promoters of his glory; by them the contents of his dogmatical monographs are incorporated, not always unchanged, into the great theological system of the thirteenth century. But the first codification of theology, the elaboration of which we are studying with the preparation of the work of the "Magister Sententiarum," is not directly imbued with it.

In any case, the work carried on from the Carlovingian period down to the twelfth century is of great influence for the following centuries and calls much, as we hope to have shown, for attention in the development of theological literature. Let us briefly recall the more important stages passed upon the advance. The theological works of the Carlovingian renaissance, mostly reproductions and compilations, shed a passing ray of light which is no more than a reflection of the past. As yet there is no question of anything original or of the fashioning of a system; of every author of this time may be said what is written about Bede's works on an old catalogue of the Library of Admont in Styria:

*Sicut apīs mella, sic Beda legit melliora;
Incedit medius, nec humi lacet aut nimis altus.*

But the pioneers of the theological codification are preparing themselves in the schools and in the pursuits of practical life. To all this Charlemagne gives an impulse, traces of which will be found in the tendencies, materials and methods in theological teaching for centuries to come. The barbarian epoch which followed presents us with the same work of preparation silently going on, while the theologico-canonical collections were giving the first impetus to a

rational and systematic codification. After almost two centuries had elapsed, about 1050, educational progress and subtle discussions allowed of intellectual works of a more personal nature. Berenger and his adversaries, the polemists upon Investiture, the dialecticians, all present us with the spectacle of an intense theological activity. Meanwhile, the canonical literature was opening the way to an harmonious codification of the "Auctoritates." It is true, here we meet only with accumulated materials, which were often too slavishly copied, or questions presenting themselves for a future programme, or principles laid down for systematizing to follow. Theology properly so called only offers us detached writings. In these the genius of S. Anselm unquestionably surpassed everything till then published, but, unhappily, without bequeathing to the "Summists" or "Sententiarii" who followed him the depth and largeness of view characteristic of his own mind.

Whoever wishes to measure the forward progress of theology during these four centuries will find nothing more helpful than to juxtapose side by side Anselm of Canterbury and another doctor of Great Britain connected with the Carolingian renaissance since its very dawn and whose renown as one of the intellectual glories of his time is recorded by the newly erected monument of Rocker Point, in Northumberland, near the theatre of his labors at Jarrow-Wearmouth. In Venerable Bede we see no lofty flights, no metaphysical meditations, as in S. Anselm; rather we find the obscurer work of the elementary manual, of translation and *résumé*. The differences, after all, only reflect of their times that mark the fruitful careers of these two men and whose personal character comes out in their writings so clearly are seen to best advantage in their solicitude at the last hour. Bede, whose life was spent in educating a rising generation, had only one regret as his last hour drew near, and that is that he could not finish his translation of S. John's Gospel into Anglo-Saxon; but having had time enough to dictate the last verse of his translation of the Evangelist, he died full of joy, the "Alleluia" of the "Ascension" on his lips. Drawing his inspiration from the same Bible, the source of all his meditations, Anselm dies desiring still a moment to solve the problem of the soul's origin, so much questioned again in his time. When giving up his soul to his Maker he finds his consolation in his submission to the Divine will. Both can well be called the pioneers of mediæval systematizing of theology, which each in his own sphere and age so powerfully seconded.

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Book Reviews

THE PRIEST'S STUDIES. By *T. B. Scannell, D. D.*, editor of "The Catholic Dictionary." 12mo., pp. 240. Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London; New York, Bombay and Calcutta.

This book is one of a series of handbooks designed to meet a need which, the editors believe, has been widely felt and which results in great measure from the predominant importance attached to dogmatic and moral theology in the studies preliminary to the priesthood. That the first place must of necessity be given to these subjects will not be disputed. But there remains a large outlying field of professional knowledge which is always in danger of being crowded out in the years before ordination, and the practical utility of which may not be fully realized until some experience of the ministry has been gained. It is the aim of the present series to offer the sort of help which is dictated by such experience. A commendable purpose, surely, for every priest knows the pain and humiliation of learning by practical experience what he has already learned in theory, and the mistakes and misunderstandings which might be prevented by a word of warning from those who had gone before. The author brings out this idea very well in his introduction:

"Priests in English-speaking countries must as a rule be men of action rather than men of letters. Their great occupation is the cure of souls. A portion of Christ's flock is entrusted to their spiritual charge, for whom they must offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and to whom they must administer the sacraments and preach the Word of God. The poor, the sick and the young have a special claim on their time and attention and rightly look to them for temporal as well as spiritual aid. Then, too, the management of the church and its services and perhaps also of a school, requires that a priest should be a man of practical ability, capable of ruling others and of handling money to advantage. These various duties conscientiously performed would seem to leave him little opportunity or inducement for study.

"It must be admitted that there are excellent priests who rule their parishes well and are universally respected, and yet in no sense of the word students. Some are men of exalted piety who seem to find in prayer all the help they need. Others, again, are possessed of great natural ability and do not require the aid of books. These two qualifications—piety and ability—are indeed of the utmost importance to a priest, and nothing else can make up for their absence. The people will revere a saintly pastor in spite of his want

of worldly wisdom; they will respect a born ruler even though he be not remarkable for piety; but a mere book worm they will despise. Still it will be recognized by all that a priest who is at once a man of piety, a man of the world (in a good sense) and a scholar, presents the perfect combination needed for the due exercise of the ministry.

"Some who have read thus far may be tempted to lay down this book and say that it was not intended for them. They will think that the writer, in spite of his opening sentences, aims at sending priests back to school and turning them into students rather than missionaries. Indeed, some objection was made to the title of this volume on the ground that the word 'studies' might convey a wrong idea of its contents. Nothing is farther from the writer's mind than to divert a priest from the performance of his missionary duties. Rather it is his intention to help him to a more efficient exercise of these. He hopes to show not only that most priests can find time to study, but that study is necessary for part of their work. Why should we study? When can we study? they will at once object when this necessity is set before them. If they are satisfied on these two points they will go on to ask, 'What should we study? How should we study?' In this introductory chapter some general answers will be attempted to each of these questions."

The writer treats his subject not only in a scholarly manner, but also in an attractive way, which is perhaps a rarer quality, though not so valuable. The book will serve its purpose well, and the purpose is very good.

THE POPES AND SCIENCE. The History of Papal Relations to Science During the Middle Ages and Down to Our Own Time. By *James J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D., LL. D.*, professor of the history of medicine and of nervous diseases at Fordham University School of Medicine, professor of physiological psychology at St. Francis Xavier's and Cathedral Colleges, New York, and lecturer on biology at the Catholic Summer School of Amermerica. 8vo., pp. xii.+431. Fordham University Press, New York. 1908.

The reading public has made the acquaintance of Dr. Walsh sufficiently well to know that whatever comes from his pen has been carefully chosen, fully verified and well written. He has begun to till a field which was permitted to lie fallow too long, but which is all the richer for the delay. Each new section of the field yields a rich harvest of truth. Nor is the latest the least productive. The author says of it:

"For years as a student and physician I listened to the remarks from teachers and professional friends as to the opposition of the Popes to science, until finally, much against my will, I came to believe that there had been many Papal documents issued which, inten-

tionally or otherwise, hampered the progress of science. Interest in the history of medicine led me to investigate the subject for myself. To my surprise, I found that the supposed Papal opposition to science was practically all founded on an exaggeration of the significance of the Galileo incident. As a matter of history, the Popes were as liberal patrons of science as of art. In the Renaissance period, when their patronage of Raphael and Michel Angelo and other great artists did so much for art, similar relations to Columbus, Eustachius and Cæsalpinus, and later to Steno and Malpighi, our greatest medical discoverers had like results to science. The Papal medical school was for centuries the greatest medical school in Europe, and its professors were the most distinguished medical scientists of the time. This is a perfectly simple bit of history that any one may find for himself in any reliable history of medicine. The medical schools were the scientific departments of the universities practically down to the nineteenth century. In them were studied botany, zoölogy and the biological sciences generally, chemistry, physics, minerology and even astronomy, because of the belief that the stars influenced human constitutions. The Popes in fostering medical schools (there were four of them in the Papal dominions and two of them—Bologna and Rome—were the greatest medical schools for several centuries) were acting as wise and beneficent patrons of science. Many of the greatest scientists of the Middle Ages were clergymen. Some of the greatest of them were canonized as saints. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas are typical examples. At least one Pope has been a distinguished scientist before being elected to the Papacy. For several centuries the Popes selected as their physicians the greatest medical scientists of the time, and the list of Papal physicians is the worthiest series of names connected with any bond in the history of medicine, far surpassing in scientific import even the hall of the faculty of any medical school.

"In a word, I failed to find any trace of Papal opposition to true science in any form. On the contrary, I found abundant evidence of their having been just as liberal and judicious patrons of science as they were of art and education in all forms. I found also that those who write most emphatically about Papal opposition to science know nothing at all of the history of science, and above all of medicine and of surgery, during three very precious centuries. Because they know nothing about it they think there was none, and go out of their way to find a reason for its absence, while all the time there is a wondrous series of chapters of science for those who care to look for them. This is the story that I have tried to tell in this book.

"This material is, I think, gathered into compact form for the first time. No one knows better than I do how many defects are prob-

ably in the volume. What I have tried to do is to present a large subject in a popular way, and at the same time with such references to readily available authorities as would make the collection of further information comparatively easy. I am sorry that the book has had to take on a controversial tone. No one feels more than I do that controversy seldom advances truth. There are certain false notions, however, which have the prestige of prominent names behind them, which simply must be flatly contradicted. I did not seek the controversy, for when I began to publish the original documents on the subject I mentioned no names. Controversy was forced on me, but not until I had made it a point to meet and spend many pleasant hours with the writer whose statements I must impugn, because they so flagrantly contradict the simple facts of medical history."

This is splendid. But if the promise is so good, what may we not expect from the realization. We shall not be disappointed. The author proves his thesis in a manner convincing to any thinking man. We trust that the doctor will be able to continue without interruption the excellent series, of which the present volume forms not the least important part.

HISTORY OF ECONOMICS, or, Economics as a Factor in the Making of History. By *Rev. J. A. Dewe, A. M.*, late professor of history in the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, and now professor of history at the University of Ottawa. 8vo., pp. 334. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago. 1908.

The subject is very important and it is treated in a very attractive manner. Its importance at the present time is probably greater than ordinary, because of the financial crisis through which we are passing.

"History is no longer a study of isolated events, but rather of the workings of unseen laws and influences. As the different phenomena of chemistry and physics receive their orderly arrangement and their power to interest only from their association with certain laws, so in history the facts that make up the narrative are but the material or medium through which are conveyed the workings of laws both universal and ever constant.

"The study of history has thus lost much of the dryness and perhaps also some of the disregard in which it used to be held. No longer is it a mere committal to memory of battles and sieges, of alternating wars and treaties, of the rise and succession of dynasties. It is now a scientific research into the influences that bring about all these different results. The action of the motor power of certain laws is now seen in all the pages of history, and every event that takes place can be attributed to the action of some law.

"The study of history, therefore, has been raised to the dignity of a science, a science that specially interests the mind of the seeker after true wisdom. None other, perhaps, deals so effectively with the mainsprings of human conduct. It reveals the future by means of the past, and shows to mankind what particular environment it must seek after in order to achieve the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Moreover, to the student who has emerged from the embryo condition of the small boy this scientific study of history should hold out most fascinating attractions, since it presents the key with which to unlock some of the most actual, pressing problems of our present civilization.

"The influences or laws that shape the events of history are many and various. They may, however, all be summed up under three great categories—namely, Physical Surroundings, Religion and Economics.

"Passing over the first and second as being beyond our purpose for the present, let us give our attention to the third category of formative causes—namely, economics. This element, as we shall see, is also of the greatest importance, and this not only on account of its own intrinsic activity, but because it is so intimately bound up with the other two important formative influences in history—namely, physical surrounding and religion.

"By economics is meant the science of wealth, and this, again, means the knowledge of laws that govern the production of wealth and its distribution. We might, perhaps, express this definition in simpler terms by saying that economics is the science of how a man can make his wealth and how he gets it.

"It is evident, then, that economics must have an almost unbounded influence on human conduct, both public and private. For the great majority spend the greater part of their time either in producing or distributing wealth, and, from the point of view of extension, the time that an ordinary man has to employ in earning his daily bread is greater than that which he can possibly expend in explicit acts of religion."

The author pursues his subject along these lines through three periods, which he calls "The Greek and Roman Period," the "Mediæval Period" and the "Modern Period."

A PULPIT COMMENTARY ON CATHOLIC TEACHING. A complete exposition of Catholic doctrine, discipline and cult in original discourses by pulpit preachers of our own day. Vol. I., "The Creed." 8vo., pp. 458. Joseph F. Wagner, New York.

"The encyclical of His Holiness Pius X. in which he so strongly insists upon catechizing as one of the chief duties of the priesthood has induced the publication of this series. Our aim has been to

prepare for the priest and for the catechist a storehouse of well digested thought from which may be drawn inspiration as well as spiritual food.

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"It is expected that these volumes will be found of value not only for ready reference on points of Christian doctrine, but also as matter for spiritual reading in religious houses, and in presenting points for daily meditation, which is well recognized as a practical if not remote method of preparation for the sacerdotal duty of catechizing.

"The series will comprise four volumes dealing in turn with the Creed, the Commandments, the Means of Grace and the Liturgy of the Ecclesiastical Year, and it is hoped that the arrangement of matter as well as the completeness of treatment will go far to meet the needs of the hour in this field."

This first volume contains fifty-three sermons, generally dogmatic, and dealing with subjects more or less directly contained in the Creed. They do not, however, form a consecutive and systematic whole. They are by different preachers, all, we believe, modern, but not all confined to this country. Their reputations are not equal, nor is their ability. Some of them contribute several sermons to the collection, and some only one. For instance, there are sixteen sermons by Bishop Bellord. Other prominent contributors to the collection are Monsignor Vaughan and Father Halpin. There are several sermons from each of them. The plan is good and the sermons are excellent. The book should have a large sale.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. Books I. and II. With introduction and annotation by Madame Cecilia, religious of St. Andrew's Convent, Streatham, S. W. 12mo., pp. xxi.+315. With maps and some illustrations. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati. 1908.

The increase of books on the Holy Scriptures from the pens of Catholic writers is a healthy sign. It dates principally from the encyclical of Leo XIII. on the subject. Concerning the purpose and plan of the book before us the author says:

"This little manual has been compiled in the hope that it may be

useful in preparing young Catholics for the university local examinations and to our Catholic pupil teachers. It is the work of one who, having been a teacher for twenty-five years, has had every opportunity of acquiring a certain experience in preparing pupils for these examinations. The following special feature will, it is believed, make it helpful to both teachers and students:

"1. The addition of the Latin text of the Vulgate will be found useful in colleges and high schools where Latin is taught. It will save both time and expense to have the Latin and English text in parallel columns.

"As kindly critics when reviewing the manual on St. Mark's Gospel have suggested that this series of Catholic Scripture Manuals would be much more useful if the English version had been compared with the original Greek, the author has profited by this suggestion in compiling this manual on the Acts of the Apostles, and has referred to the Greek text whenever such references tend to elucidate the subject, or where variant readings gave rise to different interpretations. The quotations from the Greek, however, will not prevent the student who has no knowledge of Greek from profiting by the annotations, since every quotation is translated and the prose reads consecutively when the bracketed Greek citations are passed over."

The Manual consists of four parts: Book I.: 1. Introduction. 2. Text and Annotations. Book II.: 3. Additional Notes Corresponding to the Sections of the Text and Annotations. 4. Side Lights on the Acts.

The text of the Acts has been kept entirely free from references, letters and figures, which are often confusing and invariably unsightly. As Catholics are frequently reproached with neglecting the Holy Scriptures, special attention has been paid throughout this Manual, wherever an opportunity occurred, to show that the doctrines of the Catholic Church are based on the Holy Scriptures.

The introduction is very full and satisfying; the foot notes are models of conciseness and clearness, and the fuller notes and side lights which make up the second part of the book bring it to a well rounded completeness which gives to it a value which the ability and experience of the author led us to expect, and which cause a large demand for it.

SHORT SERMONS. Second Series. By the Rev. F. P. Hickey, O. S. B. 12mo., pp. 235. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1908.

Probably there is no class of ecclesiastical literature so common at the present time as sermon books. They come from the press

very rapidly, and it is hard to keep up with the stream. The present book is the author's second venture, and he says:

"The more than kind reception accorded the first volume of 'Short Sermons' and the many requests received for another series are responsible for the appearance of this second volume. Let no one think that I was unwilling to act on their suggestions, but their very number quite precluded me from doing so.

"With very few exceptions the subject for each Sunday is taken either from the Epistle or the Gospel of the day. I have had one special object in view—'Frequent Communion'—and when the subject allowed it I have endeavored to introduce a few words on behalf of that holy practice. It is obviously the duty of every priest frequently to exhort his people to live up to the spirit of the decree of the Sacred Congregation, 'On Daily Communion,' published on December 24, 1905.

"There is a frequent need for a sermon on the sufferings of Our Lord during Lent, the very time when a priest is busier than usual. I have, therefore, added a few sermons on the Passion at the end of the volume, in addition to those on Passion and Palm Sunday.

"In alluding in the sermons on 'The Holy Family' and of the second Sunday after Easter to Loretto and the Church of 'Quo Vadis' in Rome, I am well aware that there are some who doubt and even deny the authenticity of these events, but I prefer and love to cling to the pious traditions of the Church until they are discountenanced or condemned by authority."

These sermons are very good. They are short, but clear, logical and forceful.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND THE RELIGION OF MODERN SOCIALISM. By Rev. John J. Ming, S. J., author of "Data of Modern Ethics Examined." 12mo., pp. 387. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1908.

The growth of socialism, even in our own country, makes it an unusually pregnant subject. It is one which appeals to all classes and one which is worthy of the most powerful pen. Much has been written on it, especially in very recent years, but the subject is by no means exhausted. Father Ming says:

"Since socialism has of late engrossed public attention, many questions have arisen concerning its real nature and tendency. There is no doubt that obviously it presents itself at once as an economic system advocating socialization of ownership and production, and as a social movement having for its avowed object the emancipation of the working classes from oppression by modern capitalism.

"But it is often asked, and not without reason, whether as an

economic system it is not resting on a materialistic conception of society and of the world at large, as its philosophical basis, and whether as a social movement it aims at freedom from capitalistic domination only and not also from the laws imposed by moral and religious convictions.

"Yet though such questions have been frequently asked, they have thus far not been thoroughly discussed. It is generally understood that Karl Marx and Frederick Engels are the intellectual authors of modern socialism, but the works in which, as in original sources, they laid down the fundamental principles of socialist thought are but little known and still less critically examined. We are likewise acquainted with utterances of many socialist writers and speakers concerning morals and religion, but it is very often doubted whether they express merely personal views or represent integral parts and necessary consequences of a prevailing social theory.

"The following treatises are written with the purpose of advancing inquiry in the line pointed out, and thus reaching certain reliable conclusions concerning the moral and religious attitude of contemporary Socialists.

"From the explanation given it will be understood that the economic side of socialism such as the nature of capitalist production, surplus value, wage system and class struggle, does not enter the subject-matter treated in the present work."

It can be seen at once that Father Ming's book deals with the fundamental and therefore the most important phase of the subject. It is the phase which should be considered first. There is great need of short popular treatises on the subject which can be in the hands of workmen generally in order to counteract the effect produced by the socialist journals which are being spread broadcast, and also to furnish answers to the species arguments which are used by curb-stone and roadside propagators of socialistic heresy. We have many excellent works of a more pretentious kind, and the one before us is not the least of them.

THE DEGREES OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. A Method of Directing Souls According to Their Progress in Virtue. By the *Abbe A. Soudreau*, director of the mother house of the Good Shepherd at Angers. Translated from the French by Dom. Bede Camm, O. S. B., of Erdington Abbey, Birmingham. *Permissu Superiorum*. In two volumes. 12mo., 331 and 306. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago. 1907.

This is an especially appropriate time for a new book on the spiritual life, when men and women seem to be getting farther away from it every day: some of them wilfully and some through imitation, but most of them through ignorance due to faulty education.

At such a time if they could be induced to sit at the feet of a master like the author of this book, they would learn true wisdom. The translator says:

"The work which I have here the privilege of introducing to English readers is already well known and highly valued in France and other countries. I have undertaken the translation at the wish of my abbot and with the permission of the author, in the confident expectation that a book so clear and admirable will be as much appreciated by English-speaking Catholics as it has been by their brethren on the Continent. For this book is well fitted to become the spiritual companion of souls who are entering on the way to perfection, and they will find in it a sure and faithful guide. Though primarily intended for priests and religious, it is by no means adapted for them alone, and there are few, indeed, who are in earnest about their salvation who will not get help and light from its perusal.

"The structure of the book is founded on St. Teresa's 'Interior Castle,' and it may in some sense be regarded as a commentary on that immortal work, yet the author has illustrated and enforced the teachings of the Seraph of Carmel from the writings of innumerable other saints with such skill that the whole work has not become a mere mosaic of quotations, but a luminous exposition of the science of perfection."

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE POPES, A. D. 754-1073.. By *Mgr. L. Duchesne, D. D.*, Director of the Ecole Francaise at Rome. Authorized translation from the French by Arnold Harris Mathew (De Jure Earl of Landaff, of Thomastown, County Tipperary). Large 8vo., pp. 312. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

Always a living subject of universal interest, the temporal powers of the Popes is most frequently too little understood and an object of dispute. Hence a work on the subject from a learned writer especially equipped for the task is of more than passing interest. The history of the book is thus told:

"This book is the outcome of a course of lectures given at Paris some twelve years ago. They made their first public appearance collected and printed in a review and afterwards a fairly large selection of them was placed at the disposition of the public. As the first edition of the lectures is now exhausted, I am, in accordance with request, bringing out another. This, however, is rather out of deference to the advice of my publisher than to any deep sense of book importance. So many people have written on the subject, and with so much erudition. At least I suppose so; but not being a person of unlimited leisure, I have, as a rule, confined myself to the study of original documents, without unduly troubling myself about

the lucubrations to which they have given rise. Few foot notes will be found in these pages, for I have been chary of references, even with regard to my own first-hand investigations. Many details are explained in my notes on the *Liber Pontificalis*, to which the learned and conscientious reader is respectfully referred. Small works of this kind are intended for the average reader.

"For the benefit of the latter, then, I have tried to explain the formation of the little Pontifical State in the eighth century, and how the conditions under which it worked during the first three centuries of its existence are connected with the great religious conflicts in the time of Gregory VII. It is true that the subject may appear remote, but as long as it is a question of the Church and of Italy, its interest can never pall."

On the contrary, the book is very interesting and very valuable, because a right understanding of the beginning of the temporal power is essential to all who wish to know the subject. This right understanding may be gotten from this book.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE BEFORE THE BAR OF REASON. By the Rev. L. A. Lambert, LL. D., author of "Notes on Ingersoll," "Tactics of Infidels," "Thesaurus Biblicus," etc. Edited by Rev. A. S. Quinlan. 12mo., pp. 212. Christian Press Association Publishing Company, 26 Barclay street, New York.

"'Christian Science Before the Bar of Reason' is a reply of the Rev. L. A. Lambert, LL. D., to Mr. W. D. McCracken, the leading exponent of Christian Science in New York city, in refutation of its teachings as explained and defended by him. When the articles of which this volume is composed made their appearance in the columns of the New York *Freeman's Journal* they immediately aroused deep interest in the subject under discussion and elicited the expression of many favorable opinions. Repeated requests strongly urging their reproduction seemed to indicate a demand for their publication in book form. As the learned author was unwilling to undertake the labor involved in collecting and arranging the original articles for publication, the present writer, possessing exceptional opportunities of knowing the author's views and benefiting by his suggestions, assumed the task. While the original text, with the exception of a few unimportant changes, has been preserved substantially intact, its form has undergone quite a comprehensive rearrangement in the division of the matter into chapters. An additional feature of the work which the editor hopes will appeal favorably to the reader is the brief summary in short captions preceding each chapter, whereby he may at a glance obtain a fair idea of its contents."

Those who have seen these articles when they first appeared will remember their great value and welcome them in permanent form.

Those who have not seen them before will recognize at once Dr. Lambert's power in dealing with a subject which has attracted such widespread attention, and which has almost deceived even the elect sometimes.

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THE MAN'S HANDS. By *Rev. R. P. Garrold, S. J.*

THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH POPE. By *F. M. Steele.*

These are splendid little specimens of book making. They attract the reader at once by their large, clear type, clean paper, colored pictures and red clothing binding, with gold ornamentation. Unconsciously one would pick them from a book shelf and open them. If he does, he is won, for in this case he will learn that he may judge the book by the cover.

The list of subjects is very inviting, and one can see at a glance that most of them are new in easily accessible form. They are by authors chosen for their special fitness, and therefore they have a real lasting value. We hope that the series will be continued indefinitely with the same wise discretion as to subjects and writers.

RAMBLES IN EIRINN. By *William Bulfin (Che Buono).* 12mo., pp. 450. With illustrations and maps made under the author's direction. M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1907.

"These pages are the outcome of about three thousand miles of touring within the four seas of Ireland. They were written more or less hurriedly, as opportunity offered, here and there on the road, at irregular intervals, generally out of reach of books of reference; and with the sole object of sharing the writer's thoughts and feelings with certain Irish exiles on the other side of the world."

They are all the more delightful because of their informality. They give charming snap shots of the people and the country and make the reader long to be there. The pathetic touches complete the combination of laughter and tears so characteristic of the people and the climate. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the book was made for amusement only. It is brimful of useful solid information.

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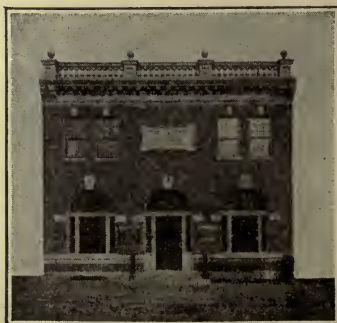
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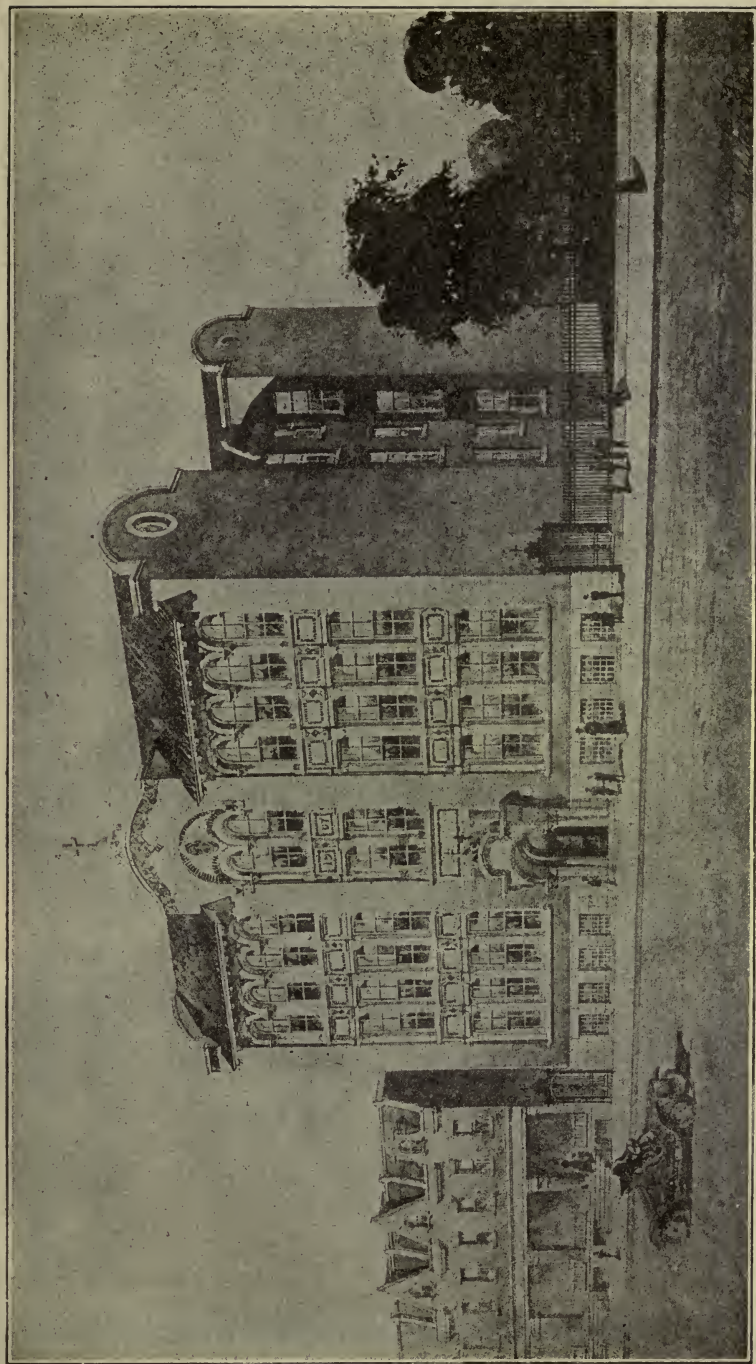
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(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XXXIII.—OCTOBER, 1908—No. 132.

PIUS VII. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

III.

IN THE early part of the year 1801 General Bonaparte, who had held the position of First Consul since November, 1799, instituted an inquiry into the situation of the French Republic, and several of the most distinguished members of the Council of State were sent into the provinces for that purpose. Their reports on the social, political and religious conditions existing in the various departments were founded on the information they obtained from the prefects and the heads of the public services, and they present a vivid picture of the state of France at the time when Cardinal Consalvi arrived in Paris for the conclusion of the negotiations which were to reconcile the republic with the Holy See. They all agree in representing France after ten years of revolutionary government as being thoroughly disorganized, demoralized and impoverished, but also as having begun to show some signs of improvement since the overthrow of the Directory and the establishment of the Consulate.

In the southern departments there were still to be found some bands of brigands composed mostly of disbanded soldiers, but their numbers had been much reduced since the days of the Directory, for during the four preceding months, under the Consular Govern-

ment, no less than 190 had been shot.¹ In most of the western departments the Chouans, or partisans of the Bourbons, were for the most part discouraged and obliged to conceal themselves, but in some districts gangs of deserters and unemployed workmen, led by former Vendean chiefs, made raids on the tax-gatherers to carry off the public money or robbed travelers on the highways and had stores of arms and ammunition hidden in the woods.² In the department of La Vendée the many deserted villages and the blackened remains of farmhouses, castles and churches to be seen on all sides still bore witness to the fury of the civil war which had for so long desolated the country and had left in the minds of the peasantry a feeling of intense aversion for the republic. In every part of France the buildings which had belonged to the Church or to the nobility and had been confiscated by the revolutionary government were falling into ruins, for since they had been seized they were no longer kept in repair and their state of deterioration sufficed to identify them as national property.³ In Provence sixty thousand acres of marshy land which had been reclaimed in the reign of Louis XIV. were now again under water.⁴ The ports of La Rochelle and of Rochefort were being gradually filled up with sand, their jetties were breaking down and would be soon swept away.⁵ The embankments along the Rhine and those in the recently conquered Belgian provinces on the coasts of the North Sea were in an alarming condition and the neighboring district was in danger of being submerged.⁶ From one end of France to the other the greater part of the highroads, in some localities as many as four-fifths, were completely broken up, full of deep holes and generally resembling ploughed fields. In some departments almost all the communications had been interrupted.⁷

The hospitals and the schools of France had also suffered from

¹ Félix Rocquain, *L'État de la France au 18 Brumaire d'après les rapports des Conseillers d'État chargés d'une enquête sur la situation de la République*. Paris, 1874, p. 14. Rapport sur la 8a division militaire par Français de Nantes, le 6 Floréal an x. (26 April, 1801). The eighth division comprised the departments of Vaucluse, Bouches-du-Rhône, Var, Basses-Alpes and Alpes-Maritimes.

² *Id.*, p. 118. Mémoire de Barbé-Marbois pour rendre compte de sa mission dans la 13e division militaire. Le 5 Nivôse an ix. (26 December, 1800). The thirteenth division comprised the departments of les Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère, Ille-et-Vilaine and Morbihan.

³ *Id.*, p. 61. Rapport de Français de Nantes.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 38. *Id.*

⁵ *Id.*, p. 143. Compte-rendu par le citoyen Fourcroy de sa mission dans la 12e division militaire. Le 5 Nivôse an ix. (26 December, 1800). The twelfth division comprised the departments of les Deux-Sèvres, la Charente-Inférieure, la Vendée, la Loire-Inférieure. "Les quais du port de la Rochelle sont dégradés et menacent ruine. . . . Les bassins sont encombrés de sable et de vase. . . . Rochefort, ce magnifique ou rage de Louis XIV., court les mêmes dangers."

the rapacity of the different revolutionary governments which had succeeded each other and from their inability to replace the institutions which they overthrew by any well devised system of public relief or of education. From a report presented to the *Assemblée Constituante* in 1791 it appears that there were then in France 2,185 hospitals, whose revenues amounted to 38,000,000 of *livres* (about \$7,600,000).⁸ The first attack on their wealth was made by the decree of February 19, 1791, when the *Assemblée* suppressed all the tolls and duties levied at the entrance of towns and villages, which had formed a large portion of their income, and by the same decree named a committee to ascertain what new taxes should take their place.⁹ The convention two years later undertook to reorganize the assistance of the poor, which by the decree of March 19, 1793, it declared to be a debt which should be discharged by the nation. As soon, therefore, as a system of public assistance could be established and put in working order all the property of the hospitals was to become national property and be administered or sold by the State, which would then allot a certain sum every year to each department for the relief of the poor. Many other decrees on the same subject followed. Stringent measures were enacted for the suppression of mendicity, and a book entitled "*le livre de la bienfaisance nationale*" (the book of national beneficence) was to be opened in every department, in which the names of the persons who were entitled to relief were to be inscribed. These laws, however, were soon laid aside and forgotten. It is true that, in the course of the year 1795, the government gave 20,000,000 of *livres* in paper money for the assistance of the poor, but the result of the sale of the property of the hospitals was so disastrous that it was soon suspended. A decree voted on the 3d Brumaire an IV. (25 October, 1795) restored to the hospitals the revenues derived from their domains, though not the ownership of their domains, which were still left in the power of the nation,¹⁰ with the right of sale. Their losses, however, had been so great that it is not surprising to find that towards the end of the Directory the hospitals and almshouses, with very few exceptions, had fallen into the utmost distress and were barely able to support their inmates.

⁸ *Id.*, p. 220. Compte-rendu par le citoyen Fourcroy de sa mission dans la 16^e division militaire pendant les mois de Phevlöse et Ventôse, an x. (21 January-21 March, 1802). The sixteenth division comprised le Nord, le Pas-de-Calais, la Lys, the last being a Belgian department.

⁹ *Id.*, p. 53. Rapport de Français de Nantes, p. 135. Rapport de Fourcroy. "On se plaint généralement des routes en France. Partout elles sont dégradées au point que cette plainte se fait entendre d'un bout de la République à l'autre."

¹⁰ Alexandre Monnier, *Histoire de l'Assistance publique dans les temps anciens et modernes*. Paris, 1858, p. 441.

⁹ Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur, t. VII., p. 431.

¹⁰ *Id.*, t. XXVI., p. 318. Le 3 brumaire an iv. (25 October, 1795).

The inspectors forward the same complaints from all parts of France. In the hospitals of Normandy, with the exception of Rouen, "the aged and the infirm were in rags, without covering to their beds and on the verge of starvation."¹¹ A nearly similar report comes from Toulon. In the *Pas-de-Calais* and *le Lord* there was a slight amelioration, but the income of the hospitals had been much reduced, while the number of the poor had increased. It was not the first time that such complaints had been made, for a few years previously the municipality of Bayeux had appealed for help to the *Corps Législatif* and described the inhabitants of their almshouses as living skeletons."¹²

Still more wretched was the condition of the deserted children received into these establishments or boarded out by them. At Marseilles of those lodged in the poorhouses only eighteen had survived out of 618; at Toulon, 4 out of 104.¹³ In other parts of France their exact number was not known owing to the carelessness of the administration, but their foster parents had been so irregularly paid that it was calculated that the amount due to them might be as much as 25,000,000 of *livres*.

The educational system in France had become as disorganized under the Republican government as every other institution. According to a report presented by M. de Villemain to Louis Philippe in 1843, there were in France in 1789 21 universities, 562 colleges or secondary schools and 72 professional and special schools, but further researches have raised the number of the secondary schools to not less than 900.¹⁴ The existence of these establishments had always been well known, but it is only of late years that the careful researches of many historians among the archives of provincial towns have brought to light the great numbers of small primary schools which existed in every part of France and which were not paid by the State, but were supported either by local taxation or by special foundations, mostly owing to the clergy.¹⁵ The State left the supervision of these schools and the nomination of the masters to the Bishops, and interfered by means of the functionaries known as "*Intendants de province*" only when it was necessary to authorize the levy of taxes by the municipalities or to decide in case of litigation between the communities and the masters they employed.

¹¹ Rocquain, p. 186. Rapport de Fourcroy.

¹² Le 5 thermidor an vii. (23 July, 1799). Rocquain, p. 424.

¹³ *Id.*, p. 33. Rapport de Français de Nantes.

¹⁴ M. Silvy, *Les Collèges en France avant la Révolution*; quoted by L'Abbé Augustin Cicard, *Les études classiques avant la Révolution*. Paris, 1887, p. 536.

¹⁵ L'Abbé E. Allain, *L'Instruction primaire avant la Révolution*. Paris, 1881, pp. 267-269.

The *Assemblée Constituante* and the *Assemblée Législative* swept away this popular and widely spread system of education by destroying the resources on which it subsisted. The principal among these had been the tithes, which were abolished on August 4, 1789. The confiscation of the property of the clergy followed, and then the suppression of the various tolls. The loss of their income was not the only blow which struck down the primary and secondary schools. The *Assemblée* enacted that all functionaries employed in the department of public instruction should take the oath of the Constitution or lose their places.¹⁶ The great majority of the clergy had already refused to take this oath, and had been in consequence driven from their churches. Most of the ecclesiastical professors, too, followed their example and left their schools, which thus caused the breaking up of all seminaries and houses of education directed by priests.¹⁷ The lay professors, however, for the most part remained, as probably the oath was not demanded so rigorously from them. Much, too, depended on the tendencies of the various municipalities and the amount of toleration which they chose to extend to the Catholics. But it is a remarkable fact that wherever the professors, lay or clerical, obeyed the decree and took the oath, the greater part of the parents withdrew their children from the school. The complete disorganization of education in France was the speedy result of this ill-judged legislation, the guiding motive of which was anti-religious fanaticism. As early as September, 1791, Talleyrand had vainly requested the *Assemblée* to take immediate steps to reorganize public instruction, for, as he said, "the universities have everywhere suspended their work; the colleges are without subordination, without professors, without pupils."

In the beginning of 1793, however, the Convention decreed the sale of the property of all educational establishments except the buildings and the gardens, and at the same time the Committee of Public Instruction, acting under the influence of the Committee of Public Safety, brought forward bills for new decrees. No less than six of these were voted with regard to primary education alone from May 30, 1793, to October 25, 1795, all differing in their chief features, but all equally anti-Christian in their tendencies. The last named decree, known as the law of the 3d Brumaire an IV. (25

¹⁶ *Moniteur*, t. VIII., p. 137. 15 April, 1791.

¹⁷ L'Abbé E. Allain, *L'Œuvre scolaire de la Révolution*. Paris, 1891, p. 9. Victor Stanislaus Pierre, *L'école sous la Révolution*. Paris, 1881, p. 36. The Brothers of the Christian Schools had in France, in 1778, 114 houses and 30,990 pupils. According to M. Talne, there were in France in 1789 about 37,000 nuns, owning 1,500 houses, many hundreds of which had schools; a large number also gave gratuitous primary instruction. Among these, the Ursulines had, in 1789, 300 schools; Les Filles de la Charité, 500; Les Sœurs de la Providence, 116. Victor Pierre, p. 40.

October, 1795), excluded all Catholic teaching from the schools which it founded by ordering instruction to be given in "the elements of republican morality," which was merely another name for the deistical doctrines of the "*Théophilanthropes*." Complaints, however, soon arose from all parts of France that it was almost impossible to find masters, as the few candidates who presented themselves were for the most part incapable of teaching, so that not many schools could be opened. This applies not only to the primary schools, but also to those known as the *écoles centrales*, or secondary schools, established also by the law of the 3d Brumaire for the purpose of replacing the universities and the colleges, which had been destroyed by the confiscation of their income. On the other hand, the masters who had refused to take the oath opened private schools, where religious instruction was given as of old. As the majority of parents sent their children to these schools, they were soon in a flourishing condition. Their prosperity excited the jealousy of their rivals, and denunciations of their Catholic and anti-republican spirit soon arose from the functionaries in all parts of France, together with demands for their suppression by the government. The Directory, in its anti-Christian fanaticism, undertook to do so. Although by the Constitution every citizen was granted liberty of education, the Directory by the decree of 27 Brumaire an VI. (17 November, 1797) enacted that no one should in future obtain any employment from the government who could not produce a certificate of having frequented the "*écoles centrales*." By another decree date 17 Pluviôse an VI. (5th February, 1798) they placed all schools and educational establishments under the supervision of the municipalities, which were obliged to visit them at least once a month at irregular intervals. They were to ascertain if the masters had provided their pupils with the "Rights of Man" and the other elementary works recommended by the Convention, and also if they observed the *décadis* by closing their schools and assisting at the feasts instituted by the Republic. If the teachers disobeyed, the administration was empowered to suppress the school without having recourse to a court of law, and to prohibit the masters and mistresses from opening another.¹⁸ The archives of the provincial towns have furnished an abundant harvest of documents which show that as a general rule the municipalities did not fail to make use of the despotic power with which they had been invested and to close every school where the teachers failed in any way to submit to the anti-Christian legislation of the Directory. In many places the schoolmaster, proscribed and hunted like the priest, was obliged to hold his classes secretly

¹⁸ L'Abbé Allain, *L'Œuvre scolaire de la Révolution*, pp. 104, 105. Victor Pierre, *L'école sous la Révolution*, p. 194.

in private houses, but the majority of parents, even at the risk of allowing their children to grow up in ignorance, still refused to send them to the schools where atheism was taught.

It is not surprising that the Commissioners sent by the First Consul in 1801 to investigate the state of France found education everywhere in a deplorable condition. In the *écoles centrales* the courses of literature, history and law were deserted; those of science were followed by a few pupils, but in many cases only the drawing classes were frequented.¹⁹ Only a few of the primary schools which the numerous decrees of the Convention had ordered to be established had been opened. Many of the masters of these schools had forfeited the confidence of the people by their drunkenness and immorality, and the parents preferred to send their children to private schools, where they found better teaching, a higher degree of morality and religious instruction.²⁰

These reports from all parts of France agree in showing that the priests who had taken the oath imposed by the *Constitution Civile du Clergé*, and who formed the schismatical church, were avoided by nearly the entire population. Barbé-Marbois thus relates his experiences: "At Vannes, on Twelfth Day, I entered the Cathedral, where the Constitutional Mass was being celebrated. There were there only the priest and two or three poor persons. Some distance away I found such a great crowd in the street that it was impossible to pass. They were people who had not been able to enter a chapel, which was already full, and where a Mass, which they call the Catholic Mass, was being said. Elsewhere the churches in the towns were in a like manner deserted, and the people went by execrable roads to neighboring villages to hear the Mass of a priest lately returned from England."²¹ Even in Paris and the adjacent departments the Commissioner reports that the churches which were the most frequented were those which were served by priests who had not taken any oath or who had retracted.²² This attachment to the Catholic Church which, in spite of ten years of a sanguinary persecution, the French people still manifested, did not fail to convince the Commissioners of the impossibility of destroying religion in France, and their reports must have strengthened Bonaparte's determination to effect a reconciliation with Rome. Fourcroy, who

¹⁹ Rocquain, p. 28. Rapport de Français de Nantes.

²⁰ *Id.*, p. 194. Rapport de Fourcroy.

²¹ *Id.*, p. 101. Rapport de Barbé-Marbois. The origin of the *Constitution Civile du Clergé* has been described in the paper on Pius VI. and the French Revolution published in the American Catholic Quarterly Review, Vol. XXXI., October, 1906.

²² *Id.*, p. 275. Rapport du Général Lacnée de sa mission dans la 11ere division militaire. It composed the departments of l'Aisne, Eure-et-Loir, Loiret, l'Oise, Seine, Seine-et-Marne, Seine-et-Oise.

visited the western departments, which had been the scene of the heroic resistance of the Vendéans, was especially struck by this fidelity. He confesses that "that war had given modern governments a great lesson which the pretensions of the philosophers vainly sought to nullify." He asserts "that the people should be allowed to keep their priests, their altars and their religion, for it was evident that the great mass of the French wished to return to their ancient customs, and this national tendency could no longer be resisted."

In most of these reports is described the satisfaction generally felt by all classes at the establishment of a government which could maintain order. In some places the Jacobins regretted the loss of their power and hoped to regain it; they were, therefore, still dreaded, for they were armed, their plans were formed and they were ready to attack. On the other hand, the partisans of order were without energy, without unity, without resources and trusted that the government would protect them. The great majority of the citizens, indeed, were satisfied with the actual state of affairs, but many of the royalists, of the clergy and of the returned *émigrés* still hoped for the eventual triumph of their cause and conspired in secret, without, however, intending to take arms.²³ The people, however, which had seen every party proscribed in its turn, felt the advantage of having a strong government, and considered that the loss of the First Consul would be one of the greatest misfortunes which could happen to France, while all those who had taken an active share in the Revolution dreaded the return to power of the particular faction against which they had fought.

The proscriptions, the confiscations and the disturbances, amounting sometimes to civil war, which had existed in France since the beginning of the Republic had produced great misery throughout the country. Almost all trade with the French colonies and with foreign countries had ceased, for the English fleets held the sea, 25,000 French sailors were prisoners of war in England and from 7,000 to 8,000 others were serving on board English ships.²⁴ Manufactures which had been in a flourishing condition before the Revolution had either ceased to exist or had shrunk to much smaller dimensions. Since the fall of the Directory, however, there had been a marked improvement, and if the war were to cease great activity might be expected.

In many places the local governments were completely disorganized and their finances were in the utmost confusion. There was great injustice in the levy of the land tax, as owing to the connivance

²³ *Id.*, p. 248, p. 252, p. 288. Rapport du Général Lacnée.

²⁴ *Id.*, p. 112. Rapport de Barbé-Marbois.

of the municipalities some lands paid more than their share, while others paid nothing. The taxgatherers' books were carelessly kept. Barbé-Marbois did not find a single accountant able to present his accounts. The generals in command of the departments frequently seized the money in the treasuries of the departments, but they left the pay of the troops in arrears, while the Justices of the Peace, some of whom were workmen who could not sign their name, the official schoolmasters and a very large number of the smaller functionaries were not paid their salaries by the government.²⁵ At the time, therefore, of the fall of the Directory France seemed as though it had been devastated and plundered by a foreign army, although the various groups of politicians who since ten years had in turn ruled the State had not only seized all the wealth of France in the name of the nation, but had also levied enormous contributions on many continental countries.²⁶

It is not, therefore, surprising that the majority of the French nation should have been ready to acquiesce in the seizure of the supreme power by the only man who seemed capable of restoring peace and good government in France. The chief merit of Bonaparte was that, although he had served the Jacobins, he had not adopted their fanatical hatred of religion, but that he saw clearly how general was the attachment to the Church in France, and that to pacify the country and raise it out of its demoralized condition it was necessary to grant religious liberty, to suppress the schismati-

²⁵ *Id.*, p. 59. Rapport de François de Nantes, p. 75, p. 97. Rapport de Barbé-Marbois.

²⁶ Ludovic Sciout, *Le Directoire*. Paris, 1897, t. IV., p. 601. It has been calculated that the value of the lands of the crown, of the Church, of the nobles who had emigrated, of all the corporations and associations which were confiscated and sold amounted to five thousand millions and a half of livres (at least a thousand millions and a hundred thousand dollars). To this must be added the crown diamonds and the Church plate, together with that of the royal palaces and of the châteaux of the aristocracy, amounting at least to two hundred and fifty millions of livres (roughly, fifty millions of dollars). The war contributions were levied especially by the Convention and the Directory. Those paid by Belgium have been estimated at 180,000,000 of livres. Holland paid 200,000,000 livres. Germany—Franconia, 12,000,000; Wurtemberg, 6,000,000; Baden, 3,000,000; Suabia, 20,000,000; Frankfurt, 12,000,000; total, 53,000,000 livres. Italy—Pius VI. and the Roman Republic, 74,000,000; Modena, 10,000,000; Parma, 3,000,000; Tuscany, 3,000,000; the port of Leghorn, 5,000,000; Piedmont, 4,000,000; the Cisalpine Republic, 70,000,000; the port of Trieste, 3,000,000; Verona, 4,000,000; Venice, 6,000,000; *idem*, provisions, etc., 4,000,000; Mantua, 2,000,000; total, 188,000,000 livres. Switzerland, 28,500,000 livres—a grand total of 649,500,000 livres, about \$129,900,000. All this was paid to the Government of the French Republic, as well as the plunder of the Monts-de-plété, or State pawn offices of the great towns of Italy, the treasuries of the hospitals, the plate of the churches. It does not comprise the contributions extorted by the generals, the plunder of the churches, of the monasteries, of the palaces and villas of the nobles or of the farms of the peasantry.

cal clergy and to effect a reconciliation with Rome. On the other hand, though he indeed wished to reestablish the Church, he wished it to be not only Catholic, and, therefore, acceptable to the people, but that it should also renounce its attachment to the monarchy and submit to the new institutions, or at least not be hostile to them. This could only be brought about by the intervention of the Pope, but Bonaparte hoped to carry out his plans in such a manner that eventually the French Church should depend as much as possible on the State and as little as possible on Rome, without, however, going so far as a schism.²⁷

But if Bonaparte saw the necessity of making some concessions to the Church by granting liberty of worship and by the official recognition of the Holy Father as its head, the constitutional clergy, who had sought to bring about a schism, and the unbelievers, who for ten years had labored for the destruction of Christianity, now made every effort to hinder the completion of the Concordat. Chief among these opponents, according to Mgr. Spina, was Talleyrand, the ex-Bishop of Autun and Minister for Foreign Affairs, without whose assistance the others could effect but little. He "displayed more and more his opposition to the restoration of religion, as he foresaw that it would give greater prominence to his past errors, which he is not at all disposed to retract."²⁸

The revised text of the Concordat, which had been sent to Rome for the approval of the Holy Father, reached Paris on May 23. At Mgr. Spina's request the Abbé Bernier presented it to Bonaparte personally at Malmaison on the following day, "before any one could inspire him with prejudices against it and furnish him with fresh suggestions." The three Consuls professed to be very well pleased with the document, and Bonaparte remarked that with the exception of a few expressions which might be easily corrected it was quite satisfactory. After the lapse, however, of a few days a complete

²⁷ Albert Vandal, *Les Raisons du Concordat*. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Février, 1907, p. 518. M. Vandal quotes a speech made by the First Consul in February, 1801, to several members of the Thibunat (an assembly of one hundred members elected by the Senate for the discussion of bills). It was taken down by Lagarde, the secretary to the Consuls, and is unedited. Bonaparte expressed his views very frankly. He pointed out that the majority of the French people was attached to the Catholic religion, and as the people were sovereign, he could not be blamed if he respected public opinion. The Pope alone could reorganize the Catholics of France under the Republican Government without bloodshed and without violence. The foreign intermediary could be suppressed after he had reconciled the Republic and the ecclesiastics, and the direction of the latter would remain entirely in the hands of the Government.

²⁸ Boulay de la Meurthe, *Documents sur la négociation du Concordat de 1801*. Paris, 1891-1905, t. III., p. 43, No. 552. Spina à Consalvi, Paris, 5 Glugno, 1801.

change took place in the opinions of the government, for Talleyrand had presented his official report on the new draft, in which he objected to the modifications which had been made in Rome. He found fault with the clause which demanded the repeal of the decrees contrary to the dogmas and discipline of the Church and blamed the omission of that which related to the priests who had married. In his letter to the Abbé Bernier, intended to be communicated to Mgr. Spina, he adopted a more imperious and insolent tone and accused the Holy See of aiming only at gaining time by obstructing and impeding the negotiations by vain quibbles and frivolous subtleties.

When Talleyrand learned that Cardinal Consalvi had left Rome and was on his way to Paris he would seem to have dreaded the effect which the well-known personal influence of the Pope's Prime Minister might produce on Bonaparte, for he ordered the Abbé Bernier to prepare a sixth project for a Concordat and to persuade Mgr. Spina to sign it, so that the Cardinal on his arrival should find the matter already concluded. But though Mgr. Spina had been, a short time previously, invested with full powers, he refused to affix his name to this document, which, as he stated in his reply to Bernier, differed completely from that which had been sent by the Holy Father, as it "omitted the matters which constituted the very foundations of the Concordat and whatever else might induce the Holy Father to ratify it by an Apostolic Bull."²⁹

Cardinal Consalvi arrived in Paris on the night of 20th June, 1801. Bonaparte, to whom he applied for an audience, fixed the following day for it and asked him to come "dressed as much like a Cardinal as possible." He wore, therefore, the black coat, red stockings, skull cap and the tasselled hat usually worn by Cardinals in Rome when, on the afternoon of the 21st, he was brought to the Tuileries in the carriage of the Master of the Ceremonies. The First Consul had already begun to surround himself with much of the pomp of a sovereign, and had revived many of the dignities of the ancient court. The Cardinal was at first introduced into a room on the ground floor (*le salon des ambassadeurs*) to wait until his arrival was announced. He was then led through a small door opening on to the great staircase of the palace, and, to his great surprise, for he did not expect to be received in public and he was not aware that a reception of civil and military functionaries was held at the palace every fortnight, he found himself in the midst of a crowd of people wearing splendid uniforms and was received with military honors by the troops which lined the staircase and the State apartments. In the last ante-chamber he was met by Talleyrand,

²⁹ *Id.*, t. III., p. 62, No. 565. Spina à Bernier, 16 Juin.

the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who brought him not into the First Consul's private study, as he supposed, but into a vast hall filled with a multitude of persons theatrically arranged. In the background were drawn up the members of the Senate, of the Tribunate, of the Legislative Body and of the High Courts of Justice. Along the sides were generals and officers of every rank, Ministers and other servants of the State, and in front, standing out from the brilliant assemblage, the three Consuls. Bonaparte advanced a few steps to meet the Cardinal, who was presented to him by Talleyrand, and before Consalvi was able to speak he addressed him in a curt manner ("d'un ton bref"): "I know the reason for your journey to France. I desire that the conferences should begin immediately. I allow you five days, and I warn you that if at the expiration of the fifth day the negotiations are not concluded, you must return to Rome, as in that case I have already made up my mind what to do."⁸⁰

The interview lasted not less than three-quarters of an hour, during which Bonaparte spoke in a low voice so as to be heard only by Consalvi and by Talleyrand, who stood beside him. As the audience proceeded his countenance and his language became more friendly and courteous, and he discussed a variety of matters with much volubility and impetuosity, but without anger or harshness. He spoke of the Holy Father with much veneration and expressed the highest opinion of him, though he showed that he still entertained the suspicions he had so often manifested with regard to the conduct of the Court of Rome during the negotiations. The Pope's friendly relations with a non-Catholic power like Russia and his reestablishment of the Jesuits in Russia at the request of the Emperor Paul I. were the principal motives for his displeasure. As for the new project for a Concordat which should be presented, it would contain some slight variations from that which had been sent to Rome and would represent all that he could concede. In his reply the Cardinal stated that the chief reason for his mission was to prove the falsity of the accusations which had been made against the Court of Rome and the non-existence of the political views which were supposed to have caused the changes in the project of the Concordat and the delay in sending it back. He was authorized, he said, to make some alterations in the wording of the Roman document, provided the substance was not changed; otherwise he should

⁸⁰ *Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi, avec une Introduction et des Notes par J. Crétineau-Joly. Paris, 1864, t. I., p. 332; and Documents, etc., t. III., p. 112, No. 601, Consalvi à Doria. Parigi, 23d Giugno, 1801. These are the sources from which the description of this interview is taken. The Mémoires, written in 1811-1812, give more details than the official letter to Cardinal Doria, but the main features are substantially the same.*

be obliged to submit the new version to the Holy Father. Bonaparte answered that the most urgent reasons forbade him to grant the shortest delay, and that the new project should be signed on the fifth day, or he would break off the negotiations and institute a national religion. He asserted that he had the means of doing so, and that he was sure of success. In a last appeal Consalvi expressed his confidence that the First Consul's wisdom and sense of justice would make him propose changes that could be accepted or that a short delay might be granted; but Bonaparte repeated that he should certainly grant no delay, and then, with a slight bow, he returned to his place between the two other Consuls and the audience came to an end.

Within a few days the indefatigable Abbé Bernier produced another draft for a Concordat; it was the seventh. Consalvi had pointed out to him his objections to that which had been presented to Mgr. Spina. It contained no positive guarantee that the exercise of the Catholic religion should be free and public and that all decrees to the contrary should be abolished. The First Consul had been granted the right of nominating the Bishops, but it had not been specified that he should be a Catholic, or, if not, that another mode of nomination should be adopted which should not prejudice the rights of the State or of the Church. Another matter of which he disapproved was that the Bishops could not make a new circumscription of parishes or appoint parish priests without the "approbation of the government."

In spite of Bonaparte's threat that he would break off the negotiations unless they were concluded within five days, it was only on June 26 that this seventh draft was presented. On the same day Consalvi dined with Talleyrand, who informed him that neither he nor the First Consul could accept the smallest variation in this document and insisted on having a decided answer on the following day. The Papal representatives worked all night and drew up another version of the project, to which Consalvi added a long memorandum giving the reasons for their refusal to accept that just furnished by Bernier. This last draft showed, in fact, a less conciliatory spirit than the sixth. It contained articles already rejected by Rome, and not only changed many expressions, but made such variations in its substance by omitting or adding various matters, that the Cardinal's powers could not authorize him to sign it.⁸¹ In the counter project which the Cardinal drew up he again sought to insert stipulations which had been considered in Rome as of vital importance in any

⁸¹ Documents, III., p. 153, No. 619. Consalvi a Doria, 2 Luglio. "E' rincarito di quello presentato a Mgr. Spina." . . . "I miei poteri non mi permettevano di sottoscriverto."

treaty for the reëstablishment of the Catholic religion in France. He introduced into the preamble the statement that the members of the French Government professed the Catholic religion, at least in their private capacity. He demanded that the Catholic religion should enjoy freedom and publicity and that the obstacles which hindered its exercise should be abolished. The article which stipulated that the Holy Father should oblige the French Bishops to resign their sees had been harshly worded; Consalvi gave it a more courteous form less likely to wound their feelings. He modified the form of the oath to be sworn by the new prelates and consented that they should swear obedience and fidelity to the government and to the authorities established by the Constitution instead of submission to the civil and political laws of the Republic. The Cardinal again refused to subject the new circumscription of the parishes and the nomination of the parish priests to the approbation of the government, but agreed that in the former case the government might "act in concert" with the Bishops, and in the latter that the candidates should be persons who had not "forfeited the confidence of the government" (*qui n'auront pas démerité la confiance du gouvernement*). The article which required the Holy Father to "renounce, in the name of the Church, all pretensions to the ecclesiastical domains which had been alienated" seemed to imply that the Sovereign Pontiff consented to the sale. Consalvi substituted for it a promise that the "purchasers of these lands should not be disturbed in their possession," which expressed no approbation of what had taken place.

The Cardinal's labors were, unfortunately, thrown away. Talleyrand, who was about to leave Paris for the baths of Bourbon-l'Archambault, wrote on the margin of the draft that it gave a retrograde character to the negotiations and that his opposition proceeded from a spirit of chicanery and shuffling ("*un esprit de chicane et de tracasserie*"), which should be put an end to. Consalvi since his arrival in Paris had made every possible concession to the demands of the French Government, for he saw clearly that there were points on which the Executive did not dare to oppose public opinion. He assured Cardinal Doria that "it was necessary to be in Paris to understand the state of affairs. . . . Since one or two months matters had become much worse. The war which had broken out against reunion with Rome was incredible. The magistrates of all ranks, the philosophers, those who lead licentious lives, the greater part of the army are most hostile to it. The First Consul has been told to his face that if he wishes to put an end to the Republic and bring back monarchy, the reunion with Rome is the surest method. Bonaparte is terrified. He is the only person who

really desires this reunion; but, being alarmed by the general opposition, fearing to enter into a struggle and also to be ridiculed by the philosophers, he has placed the affair in the hands of many persons to interest them all in it, and thus not to be the only one to bear the responsibility."³²

Talleyrand's departure from Paris relieved Cardinal Consalvi to a certain degree from the danger of his hostile influence, and on July 3 the Abbé Bernier obtained for him an interview with Bonaparte at *la Malmaison*, where he met with a friendly reception. The Concordat was discussed. Bonaparte refused to allow the insertion in it of any formal declaration that either he or the other Consuls professed the Catholic religion, on the ground that, as they had never abjured Catholicity and were neither heretics nor atheists, it should be taken for granted that they were Catholics. It would be a folly, he asserted, to entertain a fear that at any future time there might be non-Catholic Consuls. He refused also to allow the publicity of worship to be formally guaranteed, and assured that little by little it should be granted, but that it would be impossible to do so at that moment. When Cardinal Consalvi called his attention to the so-called national council that the Bishops and clergy of the schismatic Constitutional Church had been allowed to hold in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Bonaparte coolly replied that as long as he was not sure how he stood with Rome he could not act otherwise.³³ He refused to allow Consalvi time to refer to the Holy Father with regard to the various changes which had been introduced into the draft of the Concordat, but yielded so far as to consent to his holding another conference with the Abbé Bernier, in which they might come to a final decision.

The interview took place on the following day. The negotiators

³² Documents, t. III, p. 149, No. 618, and p. 159, No. 620. Consalvi à Doria, 2 luglio.

³³ Documents, t. III, p. 180, No. 629. Count Cobenzel to Colloredo, Paris, 8 Juillet, 1801. The council was opened by a most violent attack against the Pope, pronounced by Grégoire, the schismatic Bishop of Blois: "The object of the assembly is to make a schism and to detach the French Church completely from the authority of the Holy See. As Grégoire's conduct is at least tolerated by the Government, it is evident that, on one hand, it is meant to be used as a menace (*épouvantail*) to render the Cardinal more supple in the matters about which he is treating, and, on the other, to prepare the way for the measures to be taken in case no agreement can be made with the Holy See." Count Cobenzel frequently assured the Cardinal that if Bonaparte broke definitively with Rome the evils which would be the result would not be limited to France. As he would wish to have accomplices in his revolt, in order to diminish the horror of it in the eyes of the people, he had often said that he would impose his will on other governments, and drag after him Germany, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Holland and every country where his power was already unlimited and irresistible. Consalvi, *Mémoires*, t. I., p. 340.

came to an agreement on some of the fundamental propositions, and Consalvi began to hope that the government might accept the new forms which had been given to some of the articles. One thing was certain, that "the First Consul wished to conclude the Concordat, but without giving offense to anybody, which was almost impossible on account of the great number of powerful enemies who were opposed to it."⁸⁴ Bonaparte's answer to this revision, which had cost Consalvi so much anxious thought, came on the 7th. The declaration that the government was Catholic and the publicity to be granted to the Catholic religion, which the Holy Father considered to be of such importance, were also the points on which the First Consul, probably from the dread of offending the Jacobins, was least inclined to yield. He therefore refused to accept the declaration that the members of the government were Catholic, but consented to allow it to be used with regard to himself ("le Premier Consul actuel"). He objected to the words "the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion shall be freely and publicly practiced in France," as that might imply granting an indefinite extension of out-of-door religious ceremonies, which at that time, in certain parts of France, might provoke insults and give rise to disturbances. He also asked that the form of oath to be taken by the French Bishops should be the same as that by which their predecessors used to swear allegiance to the Kings of France, a demand which would seem to indicate that he had already resolved to ascend the throne.

Further concessions were then made on both sides, into the details of which it would be too tedious to enter, but the Cardinal persisted in demanding that the Catholic religion should be "freely and publicly" practiced without any restriction. As, however, he understood that to guard religion from insult and to preserve the peace the government might for a time object to the celebration of religious ceremonies outside the churches, he offered to procure a brief in which the Holy Father, after praising Bonaparte for the restoration of religion, would add that, as there was no desire to expose religion to insult and disturb public tranquillity, it was well that the government should take steps to guard against such dangers. This would sanction the temporary intervention of the government in ecclesiastical matters without acknowledging it formally as a right by an article in a treaty.⁸⁵ Consalvi raised also some objections to the change in the form of oath to be taken by the Bishops, for it had been originally suggested by the government, and had been approved of by the Pope.

⁸⁴ Documents, III., p. 158, No. 620. Consalvi à Doria, 3 Luglio.

⁸⁵ *Id.*, III., p. 226, No. 647, and p. 239, No. 648. Consalvi à Doria, 16 luglio, 1801.

Bonaparte and one of his colleagues were at first, however, pleased with the offer of the brief, but Cambacérès, the Second Consul, maintained so strongly that the Pope ought not to be allowed to exercise any authority, even indirectly, in matters which concerned the government, that he drove Bonaparte into a furious fit of anger. He rejected the brief, but consented to allow the word "publicly" to be employed, with the addition of the words "while conforming to the police regulations which the government shall judge necessary to enact." Bernier was ordered to inform Consalvi that within twenty-four hours he should say if he would accept the articles relating to the oath and to the publicity of worship, yes or no. If he refused, the negotiations would cease and there would be a decided rupture. Bernier was, however, to add that the government did not intend to claim any new right or to hinder the exterior exercise of religion, but that it was obliged to yield to necessity, and that when happier times should enable it to surround religion everywhere with all the splendor it deserves, it would be happy to seize the opportunity.⁸⁶

Cardinal Consalvi consented to allow the ancient form of oath to be adopted, and in an interview with Bernier, trusting to his assurances that the police regulations would be merely such as the circumstances of the time might demand, he changed the article in question by dividing it into three clauses: "The Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion shall be freely exercised in France. The government shall remove all the obstacles which might impede it. Its worship shall be public, while conforming, on account of the present circumstances, to the police regulations which shall be judged necessary."⁸⁷ As this answer seemed to have fully conceded the two points which had remained undecided, Consalvi could at last inform Bernier that both he and Mgr. Spina were ready to sign the Concordat, subject, however, to its ratification by the Holy Father. Bernier forwarded the document to the First Consul, who by a decree delegated his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, a Councillor of State named Cretet and the Abbé Bernier to sign it on the part of the Republic, and on July 13 a few lines in the *Moniteur* announced that "Cardinal Consalvi has succeeded in the mission to the government with which he was charged by the Holy Father."

A note from the Abbé Bernier announced to Consalvi on the morning of the 13th the names of the plenipotentiaries whom he was to meet. By another in the afternoon the abbé informed him that he would call for him at 7 to bring him to the house of Joseph Bona-

⁸⁶ Documents, t. VI., p. 90, No. 630 ter. Bernier à Consalvi, 11 Juillet.

⁸⁷ Documents, III., p. 240, No. 648. Eclaircissements de Consalvi sur la Convention signée le 15 Juillet, 1801. Cardinal Mathieu, Le Concordat de 1801. Ses Origines—son Histoire. Paris, 1903, p. 242.

parte, and to the Cardinal's great astonishment enclosed a new draft of the Concordat which should then be presented for his signature, assuring him, however, that he would have to deal with just and reasonable men, and that all would end well.⁸⁸ In this new draft, so unexpectedly presented to him at the last moment, apparently in the hope that, being thus taken by surprise, he would offer less resistance, the chief concessions made by the government in previous drafts were revoked. There was no declaration with regard to the religious belief of the Consuls; the publicity of religious ceremonies was subjected to the police regulations which the government should judge necessary; the Bishops were not authorized to have a chapter in their cathedral or a seminary in their diocese. Consalvi had wished that the measures to be adopted with regard to the priests who had married should not be inserted in the Concordat, for it was purely a matter of conscience, and the publicity which would be given to it by a document of such importance would only increase the scandal.⁸⁹ They would be dealt with by a special brief, according to the rules established for such cases. In this new version of the Concordat, however, these members of the clergy, as well as those who had openly renounced the ecclesiastical state, were made the subject of a special article. In the reply which Consalvi immediately forwarded to Bernier he expressed very forcibly his surprise at this unexpected change almost at the moment of signature in the articles which had been discussed and agreed upon and all the words of which had been so carefully studied that they could not be changed. When Bernier came at the hour he had appointed he renewed the assurances which he had already given that all would turn out well; but Consalvi again expressed his opinion of the way in which he had been treated and showed that he had but faint hopes of a successful issue.

This sudden change in the text of a document which in the course of several months had been so often remodeled and amended and was considered to have been at last rendered acceptable to both the contracting parties is believed to have been owing to Talleyrand. His representative, de Flauterive, faithful to the ideas of his superior, presented to the First Consul on the morning of July 13 a report in

⁸⁸ The Abbé Bernier's second note: "Eminence, I warn you that the conference will be held at the house of Citizen Joseph Bonaparte this evening at 8 o'clock. I shall come for you at seven. Here is what will be first proposed to you; read it carefully; examine everything; do not despair of anything. I have just had a long conference with Joseph and Cretet. You have to deal with just and reasonable men. All will end well this evening. I offer you my profound respect.—Bernier." Documents, t. VI., p. 94, No. 642 bis. Bernier à Consalvi, 13 Juillet, 1801.

⁸⁹ Documents, VI., p. 71, No. 610 quater. Consalvi à Bernier, 27 Giugno, and p. 81, No. 620 ter., Consalvi à Bernier, 4 Juillet. Cardinal Mathieu, p. 249.

which he criticized the draft which had been just furnished by Consalvi. He blamed especially the omission of the article which referred to the steps to be taken with regard to the priests who had abandoned the ecclesiastical state, a point to which Talleyrand attached much importance.⁴⁰

Before going further it may be well to relate a strange misunderstanding which existed for many years with regard to what took place at the signature of the Concordat. The circumstances which accompanied this event had remained unknown until the publication in 1864 of a translation of the Memoirs of Cardinal Consalvi by J. Crétineau-Joly. These Memoirs were written in 1812, while the Cardinal was in exile at Rheims. They were composed, as he observes, without the aid of any notes or documents which might assist his memory, and in case, therefore, they should differ in anything from the despatches which he had forwarded at the time to the Holy See, he requests the reader to give the preference to the official documents.⁴¹

In this account the Cardinal does not mention the second note which he had received from Bernier on the 13th along with the new draft. He states that when he and the other Papal Envoys had been introduced to Joseph Bonaparte, and that the order in which they were to place their signatures had been settled, the Abbé Bernier unrolled and presented to him the copy of the Concordat which was to be signed. Casting his eyes over it, he perceived that it was not the document which had been agreed upon, but something quite different, and on examining it more carefully he found in it all those deviations from the approved text which have just been mentioned. To the surprise and indignation which he manifested at such a proceeding, Joseph Bonaparte replied that he knew nothing about the discussions which had taken place, and that he had thought he had nothing to do but to sign, while Bernier, embarrassed and confused, avowed that he was well aware of the difference between the two documents, but that the First Consul had so willed it and had declared to him that it was allowable to make changes in a treaty so long as no signature had been given.

The publication of this strange story, which represented Bonaparte as capable of the lowest trickery in order to attain his ends, caused great excitement in France, and the historians and literary men of the day were divided into two camps, according as their political opinions rendered them partisans or enemies of the Bonapartes. As a reply the Oratorian Father Theiner, Prefect of the Vatican archives, published in 1869, in a work entitled "*Les deux Con-*

⁴⁰ Documents, t. III., p. 199, No. 639. Rapport rédigé par d'Hauterive, 13 Juillet, 1801. Cardinal Mathieu, p. 250.

⁴¹ Cardinal Consalvi, Mémoires, t. I., p. 414; t. II., 221.

cordats," Consalvi's letter to Cardinal Doria of July 16, in which he mentions the two notes and the amended version of the Concordat which he had received from Bernier on the 13th. The account of the event given in the *Mémoires* was thus proved to be erroneous, although Theiner was unable to find any trace of the two notes. They were not discovered until November, 1899, when they were found by Mgr. Wenzel, sub-prefect of the secret archives of the Vatican, among other papers which had been stored in a summer house in the gardens of the palace.⁴² In this case at least the authentic relation of what took place when the Concordat was signed is to be found in the official correspondence, and not in the *Mémoires*. After the lapse of twelve years the Cardinal had apparently forgotten the exact sequence of events, but the fact remains that only a few hours before the signature of the Concordat a document totally different from that which had been agreed upon was forwarded to the Cardinal, with the intimation that he would be expected to sign it. He may have hoped that after his reply to Bernier it would have been withdrawn, and, on finding it again put forward, he must have expressed very strongly to Bonaparte's delegates what he thought of this unscrupulous attempt to extort his signature.

That morning Joseph Bonaparte and Cretet had received from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs two copies of the Concordat. One, furnished by Bernier, was probably that which had been agreed upon between him and Consalvi; the other was that which the government proposed in its stead.⁴³ Bernier had also had a long conference with them, so that though they had not until then taken any share in the negotiations, they did not come to the interview unprepared. It was with great reluctance, and solely on account of the entreaties of Joseph Bonaparte, who, according to Consalvi, acted throughout with prudence and good will, that the Cardinal consented to undertake to discuss once more the articles of the Concordat one by one. This discussion, which was based on the text adopted by the government, lasted for twenty hours and was interrupted only by a light collation. The Papal Envoys were many

⁴² Boulay de la Meurthe, Documents, etc., VI., p. 6. Card. Mathieu, p. 246. *Civiltà Cattolica*, 18 November, 1899, p. 421. These notes were found in a collection of documents which had been printed for the use of the Cardinals who were consulted by the Pope with regard to the ratification of the Concordat. Its title was "Esame del Trattato di Convenzione tra la Santa Sede e et Governo Francese sottoscritto dai rispettivi Plenipotenziari a Parigi il 15 Luglio, 1801."

⁴³ Documents, t. III., p. 199, No. 637. Maret (Secretary of State) à Caillard (Secretary for Foreign Affairs during Talleyrand's absence), 12 Juillet, 1801. "Je vous envoie en même temps, deux projets de Convention sur les affaires ecclésiastiques. L'un, côté A, a été remis par le citoyen Bernier. . . . L'autre, côté B, est la rédaction définitive adoptée par le gouvernement. Il n'y a entre l'une et l'autre aucune différence essentielle."

times on the point of bringing it to a close and of breaking off the negotiations, but Consalvi by his tact and his skillful diplomacy succeeded in obtaining several important concessions. The Catholicity of the Consuls was acknowledged in the preamble. The obstacles to the free exercise of the Catholic religion were to be abolished. Worship was to be public, but in conformity to the police regulations which the circumstances of that time might render necessary. The article relating to the married priests was withdrawn. The existence of chapters and seminaries was again granted and the Bishops were not obliged to name their parish priests "with the approbation of the government," but to ascertain that they were "gifted with the qualities required by the laws of the Church, and that they possessed the confidence of the government."

When at last the plenipotentiaries were agreed upon all points, Consalvi tried to have the treaty signed at once, as he feared that any delay might afford an opportunity for bringing forward new objections and further demands. Joseph Bonaparte and Cretet, however, refused to incur such a responsibility without previously obtaining the approbation of the First Consul, for they felt that on many points they had deviated from what he had laid down, and they therefore brought the document at once to the Tuileries. Bonaparte on receiving the draft gave way to one of his outbursts of fury and flung the paper into the fire.⁴⁴ It was especially the changes made in the articles relating to the publicity of divine worship and to the nomination of parish priests which excited his indignation to such a degree. He insisted that the expressions which he had employed in those articles should be preserved without any change, and he ordered his brother to inform the Papal Envoys that if they refused to sign the draft which he had drawn up they might leave at once, and that whatever results might follow would be their fault, and not his. To this message Consalvi could only reply by a positive refusal, and thus the arduous labors of so many weary hours came to nothing; but before separating the negotiators agreed to meet again on the following day so as to allow the French representatives to make, as they said, another attempt at persuasion.⁴⁵

That evening, July 14, the national feast in honor of the taking of the Bastille was to be celebrated at the Tuileries by a banquet of 250 guests, at which Bonaparte had intended to announce that the Concordat had been signed. The Envoys of Pius VII. had been

⁴⁴ Though it was July 14, the weather was so cold that there were still fires. Documents, III., p. 231, No. 647. Consalvi à Doria, 16 Luglio, 1801.

⁴⁵ Documents, III., p. 232, No. 647. Consalvi à Doria, 16 Luglio, 1801, and p. 243, No. 648. *Éclaircissements de Consalvi sur la Convention signée le 15 Juillet.*

invited, and it is easy to imagine with what a feeling of apprehension Consalvi went to meet the First Consul, still laboring under the intense irritation caused by the failure of an undertaking to which he attached so much importance. The reception room of the palace was filled with a brilliant crowd of officers, magistrates, dignitaries of state and foreign ministers. When the Cardinal appeared in it Bonaparte, on seeing him, cried out in a loud and scornful voice, his countenance enflamed with anger: "Well, Cardinal, you have wished to break off! So be it. I do not want Rome. I shall act by myself. I do not want the Pope. If Henry VIII., who had not the twentieth part of my power, knew how to change the religion of his country, and succeeded in doing so, it will be much easier for me to know how to do it and to be able to do it. By changing religion in France I shall change it in nearly the whole of Europe, wherever the influence of my power extends. Rome shall perceive her loss and weep over it, but it will be too late. You may go, as there is nothing more to be done. You have wished to break off, so let it be, since you have wished it." To this public outburst of fury, uttered in a loud and angry tone, the Cardinal replied that he could not go beyond his powers nor give way with regard to matters which were contrary to the principles professed by the Holy See. He also observed that the Papal representatives could not be accused of having provoked the rupture, since they had agreed to all the clauses save one, about which they had offered to consult the Holy Father himself. Here Bonaparte interrupted him, saying that he did not wish to leave anything unfinished, and that he would decide on the whole or on nothing.⁴⁶ The Cardinal again declared that he had not the power to sign the article in question as it then stood, and Bonaparte wound up by saying that therefore he considered the affair ended, and that Rome would find it out and would weep tears of blood.

Count Cobenzel, the Austrian Ambassador, was standing close by. Bonaparte turned round towards him with great animation and repeated many times that he would change the religion of all the States of Europe; that no one would have the strength to resist him; that he would certainly not be the only one to do without the Church of Rome, and, finally, that he would set Europe on fire from one end to the other, and that on the Pope would fall the responsibility and also the punishment for it. He then went off hastily among the

⁴⁶ This suggestion that a certain article should be provisionally omitted from the Concordat and referred to the Holy Father is not to be found in Consalvi's official correspondence with Cardinal Doria, but only in his *Mémoires*, t. I., pp. 366, 372, 378. It was the article relating to publicity of worship, which Pius VII. considered to be of the greatest importance to secure, and not to leave to the arbitrary will of the Government.

other guests, to whom he repeated the same remarks. Count Cobenzel, who was much alarmed by this violent scene, tried to persuade Consalvi to find some way of avoiding a calamity which might entail such fatal consequences for religion throughout Europe; but the Cardinal could only reply that nothing could make him sign what he was not allowed to sign. The point in question was that on which Bonaparte most insisted and on which no agreement seemed possible—namely, the subjection of public worship to the police regulations which the government should judge necessary. Such, indeed, was the case in other Catholic countries, but Consalvi made the Ambassador understand the difference that lay between the toleration of an act of the government and the formal authorization of that act by a convention, as the First Consul demanded.⁴⁷

The discussion was renewed after dinner, and Cobenzel, an experienced diplomatist, succeeded by his tact and his courtesy in overcoming Bonaparte's obstinacy so far as to persuade him to allow the plenipotentiaries to meet once more and seek for some method of coming to an understanding. The conference was held at noon on the following day in Joseph Bonaparte's house and lasted till midnight. Several hours were employed in discussing the paragraph relating to the supervision of the police. The French Government dreaded the disturbances to which the outdoor practice of religious ceremonies might give rise and maintained that it was therefore necessary to impose some restrictions on this publicity. But at Rome it was feared that too much extension might be given to the words "in conformity," and that the State might take advantage of them to impose its will on the Church on all occasions unless the liberty and publicity of the Catholic religion were expressly stipulated. Consalvi therefore refused to authorize by the assent of the Holy See the subjection of the Church to the State, which might be the result of this obligation of "conforming to the police regulations which the government may judge necessary." As, however, the motive which the government alleged for the imposition of this restriction was the necessity of maintaining order,

⁴⁷ Consalvi, *Mémoires*, t. I., pp. 365, 369. Documents, t. III., p. 243, No. 648. *Éclaircissements de Consalvi*, etc. *Id.*, t. VI., p. 96, No. 659 bis. Cobenzel à Colloredo, 20 Juillet, 1801. In his letter to Cardinal Doria of July 16, Consalvi does not give this vivid picture of Bonaparte's indignation. He says, on the contrary: "He received me politely," and condenses into a few words the speech in which the First Consul expressed his irritation and his resolution not to yield, and ended thus: "Either this or nothing, and I shall know well how to decide." The Cardinal may have feared that his letter might be opened, for he warns Cardinal Doria that he had many reasons to fear the mishaps that even a private courier might meet with, and that he would give him full explanations by word of mouth as to the dangerous state of affairs. Count Cobenzel, however, in his letter to Count Colloredo, states that "bitter reproaches were made to the Cardinal in my presence when we met together at dinner at the First Consul's."

he suggested as a compromise the addition of the words "for public tranquillity," limiting thereby the intervention of the government to a specified case, and after a long resistance the French negotiators consented to accept them.

A few more variations of the text of the Concordat were agreed to, the most important being that which related to the nomination of parish priests by the Bishops. Bonaparte had with his own hand inserted in the draft that "the nominations should not be valid until they had been accepted by the government." It was this phrase, "written by such a hand," as Consalvi observes, that he had to combat, and it was only after "incredible efforts" and the "suggestion of several other formulas which were refused by the plenipotentiaries that, by the mercy of God, he was able to compose the sentence, "their choice can fall only on persons accepted by the government." By this means the approbation of the government did not follow the nomination of the parish priests, a demand which had been rejected by Rome.⁴⁸

Consalvi then made every effort to obtain that the Concordat should be immediately signed, as he feared that any delay might allow hostile influences to be brought to bear on the First Consul, whom he knew to be "the only person who wanted the agreement in good faith." All the others were indifferent or opposed to it. Joseph Bonaparte, however, was still so much under the impression of the angry scene with his brother on the previous day that he positively refused to expose himself to be again insulted, and declined to sign until he had seen the First Consul. He yielded at last to Consalvi's earnest supplications, and at midnight on July 15, 1801, the six plenipotentiaries signed the deed on which for more than a century were based the relations between the Church and the State in France. "We succeeded," thus Cardinal Consalvi wrote to Cardinal Doria, "by a special grace of the Lord, who wished to deliver His Church from inexpressible evils. If the treaty had not been concluded, let your Eminence believe that I do not exaggerate, everything might have been feared, not only for the State, but also for religion itself. Not alone in France, but also in Italy and wherever the French exercise any influence, they were ready to adopt the strongest measures."⁴⁹ The Cardinal adds that if it had not been for the happy coincidence of the feast of July 14, when the First Consul wished to announce the conclusion of the Concordat, and of the absence of a powerful adversary,⁵⁰ the final difficulties would not have been conquered nor such concessions obtained.

⁴⁸ Documents, III., p. 249, No. 648. *Éclaircissements de Consalvi*, etc.

⁴⁹ Documents, t. III., p. 258, No. 650. *Consalvi à Doria*.

⁵⁰ An allusion to Talleyrand, whose hostility towards the Concordat was so well known, that the Austrian Ambassador, Count Cobenzel, informed

With regard to the reception by Bonaparte of the treaty which had been thus concluded without his final sanction there exists the same discrepancy between Consalvi's official correspondence and his Memoirs as upon a previous occasion. In the former he merely states that Joseph Bonaparte told him that the First Consul was content ("il Primo Console è stato contento"), by which he was relieved from his anxiety. In the latter he gives a more detailed and a very different account of the event. "I learned from Joseph that the First Consul had been very much irritated by the article which had been corrected, which at first he refused to approve for any consideration. But in the end, owing to the entreaties and the prayers of his brother, owing, above all, to the very serious reflections which he suggested to him as to the consequences of a rupture, the First Consul, after a long meditation and a long silence, which later events have sufficiently explained, accepted it and ordered me to be informed."⁵¹

The very great importance of the conclusion of the Concordat, not only for the restoration of order in France, but also for the maintenance of peace throughout Europe, is proved by the fact that the foreign Ambassadors in Paris came to congratulate and to thank Cardinal Consalvi, as they believed that by its influence the preservation and the tranquillity of their respective States would be assured. They agreed in looking upon the conclusion of the treaty as a miraculous event, and especially as it was so much more advantageous than seemed possible in the existing state of affairs.

Those who had sought, as Mirabeau said, "to dechristianize" France, and who in pursuing their aims had drenched the land with blood, had at last been foiled in their endeavor, but though unable to struggle openly against the strong will of the First Consul and prevent the reconciliation of France with the Church, they neglected no opportunity of placing obstacles in the way of the loyal performance of the stipulations of the Concordat. The first of these was to persuade the First Consul to nominate a certain number of the schismatic Bishops to the new sees without requiring that they should previously retract their error and accept the condemnation

the Emperor that "In general, Talleyrand has always shown the utmost ill-will towards the reëstablishment of the Catholic religion in France; which is easily explained by the embarrassment which would be the result for himself, on account of his former position as Bishop. He has even gone so far as to suggest to Bonaparte to remain separated from the Church of Rome, and to name a Patriarch of Gaul. It may be said that the First Consul is the only one who has wished that the Catholic religion should be reëstablished, as all the other persons in authority have been of a contrary opinion." Documents, t. III., p. 52, No. 559. Cobenzel à l'Empereur, Paris, 18 Juin, 1801.

⁵¹ Consalvi, Mémoires, t. I., p. 386.

pronounced by the Holy See on the Civil Constitution of the clergy. Bonaparte announced his intention abruptly, as was his custom, to Cardinal Consalvi at an audience on July 20. For Consalvi it was "a new and terrible tempest" which caused him a profound agitation. He pointed out to Bonaparte that such a measure was impossible; that the Constitutional clergy were not in communion with the Holy See, and that at the beginning of the negotiations he had assured Cardinal Martiniana that he did not wish to hear them mentioned. Bonaparte replied that reasons of state obliged him to have some consideration for the Constitutional clergy, who formed a powerful party, and that the favor shown to them would please the *Corps Législatif* and induce it to accept the Concordat, which had so many enemies; but Consalvi again repeated that it was absolutely necessary that they should first retract their error and accept the Papal decrees which had condemned the Civil Constitution.

The Cardinal's arguments were unable to overcome Bonaparte's stubborn resistance, founded on his belief that a retraction was a dishonorable action. He also persisted, in spite of the Cardinal's protestations, in maintaining that it would suffice if the schismatic clergy were to declare that they accepted the judgments emanating from the Holy See, without, however, mentioning the Civil Constitution of the clergy, and he ended by requesting the Cardinal to treat the matter with his brother Joseph. The six plenipotentiaries met again on July 22. They discussed the draft of the bull sent from Rome which was to accompany the publication of the Concordat, and made some changes in it, suppressing, for instance, the words by which the Holy Father exhorted the new hierarchy to labor diligently for the restoration of chapters, seminaries, monasteries and convents. With regard to the Constitutional Bishops and priests the French representatives said that the government could not abandon them, as they had obeyed the decrees of an Assembly invested with power to make laws, and that the acceptance by them of the Concordat ought to suffice to reconcile them with the Holy See. They also wished that the Holy Father should make a direct appeal to the intrusive Bishops to resign their sees. On their side the Papal Envoys could only reply that they would seek to obtain from the Pope for the schismatic clergy as favorable terms as the Church could grant. They were not, however, mentioned in the Concordat, and its acceptance by them would not suffice to reconcile them without a retraction. They observed also that it was impossible for the Holy Father to apply directly to the intrusive Bishops for their resignation, as he did not look upon them as the legitimate occupiers of those sees. The views of the negotiators were too much opposed to allow them to come to any decision, and the Papal

Envoys, in order to avoid an open rupture, declared that they would refer the whole matter to the Holy Father.⁵²

Two days later Cardinal Consalvi, with the intention of taking leave of the First Consul, went to one of the usual receptions given to the foreign diplomatists, at whose head he took his place. When Bonaparte entered and, according to his custom, began to pass before the Ambassadors drawn up in line, he looked steadily in the Cardinal's face and went on without saying a word to him, but stopped to have a long conversation with Count Cobenzel, who stood next to him, and then with the others, offering thus a deliberate insult to the representative of the Holy See.⁵³

Consalvi traveled day and night in order to assist at the deliberations held with regard to the Concordat previous to its ratification by the Pope. The smaller congregation of three Cardinals was at first convened for this purpose, then the larger, consisting of twelve, but the Holy Father decided at last to ask the opinions of all the members of the Sacred College then present in Rome, to the number of twenty-nine. The questions which were most discussed were the restriction imposed by the French Government on the publicity of worship and the alienation of Church property. A few Cardinals would have wished that the first, at least, should be modified, but the majority agreed that the necessity of putting an end to one of the most cruel persecutions that the Church has ever undergone and of reëstablishing the hierarchy justified the sacrifices which had been made. Pius VII. allowed the Cardinals to express their views freely. He spoke the last and declared that he was decided to accept the treaty. The ratification was signed in Rome on August 15, and to satisfy those Cardinals who objected to the police regulations the Holy Father signed also a ratification drawn up in a slightly modified form, in which he took note of what Bonaparte had said with regard to the temporary character of these regulations. The two copies were sent to Mgr. Spina, who, knowing the spirit of the government with which he had to deal, presented only that which ratified the Concordat without conditions.

The ratification by the First Consul took place on September 8, 1801; but, in spite of the impatience which he had so often manifested in the course of the negotiations for their speedy conclusion, the Concordat was not laid before the *Corps Législatif* and the Tribunat, passed as a law and presented to the public until April 8 of the following year. The delay was caused by the enemies of the

⁵² Consalvi, *Mémoires*, t. I., p. 388. Documents, t. III., p. 289, No. 665. Conférence entre les Plénipotentiaires, 22 Juillet, p. 292, No. 666. Consalvi à Doria, 24 luglio, 1801.

⁵³ Consalvi, *Mémoires*, t. I., p. 393.
Bayswater, London, England.

Church, who, though they had not been able to prevent the conclusion of the Concordat, had persuaded Bonaparte to demand the acceptance by the Pope of some of the schismatic Bishops, and who now prepared a series of regulations entitled *les Articles Organiques*, by which they sought to subject the Church of France to the civil authorities. It is needless to say that the Holy Father had not been in any way consulted with regard to these articles, which in many ways modified the Concordat and departed from its stipulations. The idea seems to have originated with Talleyrand, who even before the ratification of the Concordat suggested to Bonaparte that he might find some means of escaping from the obligations it imposed on him by special decrees adapted to such cases as might be found inconvenient. Not the least dishonest feature in this transaction is that these articles were voted by the *Corps Législatif* and published at the same time as the Concordat, as if they formed part of the same treaty and possessed an equal authority.

DONAT SAMPSON.

London, England.

A SUMMONS TO IRISH SCHOLARSHIP.

ACCORDING to one of the older bardic legends, there is a castle somewhere in the realm of the Unseen Ireland wherein a thousand knights lie slumbering, under an enchanter's spell, awaiting the summons to battle when the hour for Ireland's deliverance is at hand. Whatever the poetical value of the myth, it has a practical meaning as an allegory. A thousand ancient Irish manuscripts, written in archaic language some of them, await the coming of great scholars to decipher their text and do battle for the overthrow of the millennial conspiracy against the civilization of an ancient and original race, its laws, its institutions, its language, its music, its poetry, its genius and its aspirations. We have seen a multitude of undeciphered manuscripts in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy—treatises on medicine, on astronomy, on botany, on geography and other sciences, as the visitor may see from the diagrams that are beheld on some of the pages. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, are many more, and again many more in Marsh's Library, near St. Patrick's Cathedral, in the same city. In the libraries of the Irish aristocracy doubtless there are many old and precious manuscripts. Over the continent of Europe are scattered a great number of literary treasures. German scholars, like Professors Roehrig and Kuno Meyer, know the value

of these, and French ones like Professor De Jubainville. The Irish *savants* who have devoted attention to them are few and far between. O'Donovan and O'Curry pointed out where the Manuscript Materials for a genuine Irish History were to be sought for. But up to the present time little has been attempted in the way of inaugurating a labor which ought to be entered on as a sacred national duty. We believe there ought to be a State appropriation for so vital and urgent a work. The object is worthy of such a stimulus. It is too great for individual effort or a single cycle of research. The grants made from time to time by the British Government never contemplated anything more extensive than a reproduction or a translation of the best known of the ancient manuscripts—a mere academical excursion into a field but little known and by no means regarded with relish, for very obvious reasons, by the rulers of Ireland. What is needed is an undertaking somewhat analogous to that of Owen or Cuvier in the naturalist field when they were presented with a fragment of the vertebræ or the wing of a fossil bird or beast that had become extinct. The whole anatomy had to be synthetically reconstructed by means of the clue. And so it must be, in a large measure, in regard to the framework of the ancient history of Ireland. The clues are numerous but scattered, and the articulation very much disjointed.

In a work recently issued from the press, an Irish lady, Alice Stopford Green, relict of the English historian who wrote the "Short History of the English People" and daughter of the late Archdeacon Stopford, a learned antiquarian, sets forth some reasons why Irish scholars should take up the patriotic work of searching out the true story of their country's rise in civilization and its unhappy downfall. She gives to her work the title "The Making and the Unmaking of Ireland." "Unmaking" is a good word: it means the undoing, or the assassination. And this is precisely what the rulers of England from the times of the Plantagenets down to those of William Pitt, by a gradual but undeviating policy, carried out with regard to the Irish nation.

A fine enthusiasm impels the writer of this new call to patriotic scholarship. But the reasons she urges are not all sentimental. For example, the following:

"There is no more pious duty to all of Irish birth than to help in recovering from centuries of obloquy the memory of noble men, Irish and Anglo-Irish, who built up the civilization that once adorned their country. To them has been meted out the second death—the lot feared beyond all else by men of honor. They have been buried by the false hands of strangers in the deep pit of contempt, reproach and forgetfulness—an unmerited grave of silence and of shame.

"They alone, among the nations, have been taunted with ancestors sunk in primitive disorders incapable of development in the land they wasted. A picture of unrelieved barbarism, 'hateful to God,' served to justify to strangers the English extirpation of Irish society, and has been used to depress the hearts of the Irish themselves. For their birthright—they have been told—they have inherited the failings of their race, and by the verdict of the ages have been proclaimed incapable of success in their own land."

This is a heavy indictment. Only against one other government in Christendom could a similar one be truly drawn. In the crushing out of Poland's national life we can discern a parallel, but only an inadequate one; the process was of much briefer duration. Ireland's torture lasted three times as long as that of Poland.

The process adopted by the English historians of Ireland bears a curious resemblance to the ideal journalism of to-day. To show nothing but the dark side of humanity by going into the most painful minutiae of all the crimes that are daily perpetrated, and so leave the historians who shall write future chronicles from the newspapers of the days we now live in under the belief that there is nothing to relieve the picture of a savage reign of lawlessness and licentiousness: such was the "modus operandi" of the traducers who undertook to teach the people of England and the outside world what manner of people were the Irish and why they deserved no commiseration under oppression.

It were most devoutly to be wished that at this crisis in Ireland's fortunes some scholars animated by a spirit like that of the late Sir John T. Gilbert should arise and devote themselves to a crusade of redress and vindication. That eminent scholar, by the force of contagious fervor, drew along with him other ardent antiquarians like Dr. Graves, Dr. Reeves, the Rev. James Henthorne Todd and a few other lovers of Ireland's departed glories. These men were paladins, so to speak, in their particular field. Whether they have left any rightful heirs to their genius and their enthusiasm is as yet a matter of uncertainty, which this book of Mrs. Green's may be the means of resolving by means of its practical results.

The need is urgent. Not yet is the poisoned pen of the falsifier laid aside. Men like Dr. Mahaffy still pour out pamphlets and magazine articles holding up the ancient Irish civilization to the scorn of the world. Of this learned pundit the author of the new book has something of importance to say in her pungent foot notes. In one of these she scores him thus:

"Dr. Mahaffy, who sees in Shane O'Neill a Zulu or a Maori chief with a retinue of armed savages, says he burned Armagh Cathedral not from a hatred of Christianity, but merely from the uncontrolled

love of plunder shown by barbarians in all ages. Shane attacked the cathedral when the Earl of Sussex had turned it into a barrack, and when he had further, by a lying trick, refilled it with the soldiers he had by treaty pledged himself to withdraw."

Dr. Mahaffy is by no means the only one who has in our own day sneered at the ancient civilization of Ireland. Froude was equally prejudiced against it. There were writers on the Dublin press when we first joined it who had the effrontery, while totally ignorant of the Irish language, to sneer at the work of Sir John T. Gilbert in his fine reproductions of the "*Leabhar na h-Uidhri*," the "*Leabhar Breac*," and other ancient Irish manuscripts as a waste of money on piles of barbarous jargon! A long article of the "*Seanchus Mor*" we especially remember as bitterly assailing the policy of paying out public money for the perpetuation of such an outlandish mockery of literature and caricatures of lawmaking such as the Brehon Laws! The writer of such reviews it was our fortune to know. He was a patriotic Irishman, according to his lights, and a very able writer on most other subjects; but the fact that his early education had been received in the Bluecoat School in Dublin gave him a bias on the subject of Irish civilization that he could never wholly repress when writing on matters in which historical questions arose. His later education was derived from Trinity College professors who were by no means likely to induce him to form a more favorable opinion regarding the value of Irish laws and letters.

For years Sir John Gilbert was obliged to work in the teeth of obstacles that arose from the dissemination of such criticisms among influential persons. It was our own good fortune to inaugurate a better condition of things in the Dublin press a little later on.

The fields of inquiry toward which the author of the new book points her wand are: 1, Ireland's ancient commerce; 2, Ireland's industries; 3, Irish learning; 4, Ireland's country life. In considering those several divisions of the subject the seekers will be much helped by noting the sub-divisions into which the author deviates in the pursuit of her large task of analysis of the causes of slow ruin and synthesis of robber reconstruction above the ruin.

It has been contended by several non-Irish scholars—even by the learned Bollandus—that there was no written language in Ireland previous to the coming of St. Patrick, and that he introduced the characters now in use—a sort of uncial writing of the Latin language common in his time all over civilized Europe. This is a point that there ought to be some means of determining. It is certain that there was some sort of writing employed in earlier times; the ogham inscriptions are proof of this. These may have been the work of the Druids, who probably used a cryptic or hierophantic medium,

like the priests of Egypt in the Mosaic era. The old tradition of a Celtic connection with Egypt through the marriage of Niul, the Scythian prince, to Scota, the Egyptian princess, daughter of Pharaoh Cincris, is to some extent borne out by a few slender facts. The royal pair had a son named Gaodhal, from whose name the modern word Gael is derived, according to some authorities, and from whom the Milesian gens is said to have descended. Whether the Irish ogham was the same as that used by the ancient Egyptian priests may be revealed at some future period, through the researches of the explorers now patiently seeking out the secrets of the Pyramids and the sand-covered temples of an older date in the vicinity of the Nile. But the existence of the Irish oghams points almost certainly to the conclusion that a more intelligible language was employed for common use when the oghams were resorted to, and that that language is existent to this day, in the same characters as represented it in the earliest historic period. The Abbé MacGeoghegan offers substantial evidence of the existence of an Irish written language prior to the advent of St. Patrick, as well as of the distinctiveness of that language by reason of its independent structure and characters, and its scientific grammatical design and complete efficiency as a vehicle of facts, thoughts, and gradations of ideas. Modern scholarship will surely be able to elucidate for the general benefit the very interesting question involved in the conflicting theories on the origin of the Irish language and its written forms of expression.

Commerce, the tie that binds the nations in peace together, was the primary cause of Ireland's undoing, it may be reasonably predicated. From the earliest historical period there was trade between the island and the European Continent. Even from remote Phœnicia came ships to trade with the Irish chiefs and the Cornwall tin miners. Great fairs in the different provinces had from time immemorial been held for the purpose of interchanging the different products of each region. To reach these trysting places a system of wide roads had been constructed, the principal ones converging on Tara, and offshoots radiating away to the main seaports. A chain of natural lakes connected by canals helped to carry the commerce. The great fair of Enniscorthy, say the Annals of the Four Masters, it would be hard to describe, because of the numbers of steeds, horses, gold, silver and foreign wares at that fair. Ships from Spain and Portugal, laden with olives and wine, filled the the southern and western harbors periodically, discharging their cargoes and getting others of hides, wool, linen and other commodities. Irish ships were thick in Continental ports, while the ships of France, Spain, Holland and Italy crowded the harbors along the

Irish coast. It was not long after the Saxon kingdom fell at Hastings before the envious eyes of the Norman victors were turned toward the rich green isle from whose ports came the barques laden with its riches into the Thames and the Severn and the Mersey. "For the conquest of that land," said William Rufus, "I will gather all the ships of my kingdom, and will make of them a bridge to cross over." This charitable intention was frustrated by the arrow of Walter Tyrrell, but one of his successors, the murderer of Thomas à-Beckett, took it over along with the crown and began the work of carrying it into effect. From that day forward the destruction of Irish commerce was carried on, not continuously, but intermittently, as the struggle for possession of the country fluctuated, but with a deadly tenacity of purpose such as animated the rulers of Rome during all the Punic wars, and the trade of Ireland fell even as fell the Carthaginian city and power.

Long prior to the Norman Conquest, however, the Irish had acquired a Continental renown, not only for the excellence of their natural products, but also for their skill in manufacturing them into materials for dress and everyday use and comfort. In the production of serge and linen the natives were particularly skilled. Fazio degli Uberti, who wrote the "*Dittamondo*" (fourteenth century), described the arts and products of Ireland as he had seen them in his visit to the island, and says of it that it is "a country worthy of renown for the beautiful serges she sends us;" and Lord Charlemont unearthed an entry in an old Italian ledger showing that the material was used by the wives of the Doges for ceremonial gowns in the Middle Ages, before the time the poet praised it. The Brehon Laws contain many valuable minutiae relative to the processes by which woll was prepared, as well as to the spinning, weaving, napping and dying of the cloth when woven. The authorities on this branch of the subject are many. Mrs. Green's book gives a vast number of references, showing how searching was her inquiry and how extensive its scope; yet we may fairly assume that the field is by no means exhausted.

Learning, the nobler bond that unites the higher part of mankind, the mind and soul, was from the remotest times highly prized and sedulously taught in Ireland. Even in the pagan cycles it was cultivated carefully. The ollamhs (olaves) and the bards were its great and honored custodians, and these ranked next to royalty because of their high and envied distinction. After the introduction of Christianity it received a mighty impetus. Whether St. Patrick found letters existing in the island previous to his advent is a moot point, but that he himself used the Irish character now taught is certain, for there is in the Royal Irish Academy a fragment of the

Gospels written by his own hand, as most authorities agree. In the museums of the European Continent, and especially those of the northern countries, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland, it is more than likely that many ancient manuscripts relating to Ireland are preserved, because of the close relations between those countries and the Western Isles for many centuries before the Anglo-Norman period. Multitudes of manuscripts were destroyed by the barbarian Danes in the course of the centuries wherein they ravaged the Irish coast towns, for the monasteries were the special objective points of their destructive fury. Many of the monks who were driven out by the onslaught of the murdering hordes fled to the Continent carrying with them as many valuable writings as they conveniently could bear or stow away safely, and it is to be presumed that a remnant of those treasures has been preserved, in scattered quantities, in unfrequented places on the European Continent. Even in the "dark ages," as they are absurdly called, Irish learning abounded, Continental learning was brought over, in exchange for what the monks from Ireland brought to the Continent. Greek was studied pretty extensively—even when its use had died out in Italy. Greek manuscripts were written by Irish hands. The "*Proverbia Grecorum*" is the name of a book of the seventh century—proverbs translated, by some diligent Irish monk, from Greek into Latin. In Archbishop Ussher's time he found in Trim a church known as the "Greek Church," which the visitation book described as "the Greek School." There was a famous Irish scholar, Roderick Cassidy, who was called "the Grecian," because of his proficiency in the classic tongue of the Hellenes. Mrs. Green remarks that after the tenth century there is no further mention of Greek learning in Ireland—but this is a point that may yet be decided by skilled investigation. Latin was very generally used by poets and scholars, even down to the Tudor period—especially in the South of Ireland. The County Kerry was long famous for its "poor scholars" and "hedge schoolmasters" who were skilled adepts in Latinity and classical construction.

The literature connected with the spot popularly known as St. Patrick's Purgatory occupies a niche of fame quite unique and unprecedented in history. Large as the volume of that literature is, there is good reason for believing that there is yet much more of it remaining for the eyes of discoverers to unearth. Learned and pious travelers came from every European country to make the pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory. Even royalty and high nobility came at times to do the penitential offices and witness for themselves the marvels that the vigil in the gloomy cave was said to be sure to bring. The weird stories that were told and written

about the sanctum gave origin, many authorities hold, to some of the passages in Dante's great comedy. Frederic Ozanam, in his work on "*Les Sources Poétiques de Dante*," says: "*La tradition du Purgatoire de Saint Patrice se rattacha aux premiers souvenirs du Christianisme chez l'Irlandais: la vision de Tundale, celle de Saint Brendan, leur appartiennent aussi.*" There must have been a vast body of literature on this subject, owing to the notoriety given to it by successive eminent scholars—Henry of Saltry, Marie de France, Caesarius of Heisterbâch, Jacobus de Voragine, Giraldus Cambrensis, Matthew Paris and many more. Mrs. Green's book, we may remark, furnishes not only general heads of inquiry into the several departments of Irish history, but gives some valuable lists of books that are likely to be of great help to the scholars who may undertake the task of helping to transform the fragmentary into the complete.

Ireland, it is shown quite clearly by Mrs. Green, was a place not of barbarism, but of great learning for many centuries; but with all this, the edifice of scholarship was imperfect. The country had no university. For what reason? Because the hand of barbarism arrested her natural development. Three attempts had been made to found a university—as Ware's historical works and those of Hollinshed show—but they were all doomed to failure, chiefly by the fact of the English invasion. "It was the doom oof Ireland," the writer pathetically remarks, "to send unwillingly her successive generations to swell the list of continental scholars, and ever to drain herself bare of the genius she had created."

Morals and minstrelsy, dress and hospitality—these sure indications of a national civilization—furnished the interested traducers of Ireland with a fruitful field for their malevolent industry. We have already adverted to the system of slander upon the morals and the mode in dress of the Irish people which the invaders resorted to for the purpose of excusing their own sins of spoliation and oppression. We find in Mrs. Green's book an explanation of the seeming want of modesty alleged against Irish women by Edmund Spenser, Fynes Moryson, the anonymous Bohemian Baron whom Moryson quoted and others. It is well to mark this explanation and bear it well in mind, because even to this very day the system of vilification with regard to the character of the Irish people is pursued as a deliberate policy by certain Tory landlords and by Tory papers like *The Times*, for the purpose of justifying a continuance of the prescriptive policy of coercion and oppression of the inhabitants of Ireland. There was a long-standing friendship between the people of the South and West of Ireland and the people and crown of Spain. This was the effect of a community of religion and the

interchange of commodities by commerce. Cork, Limerick and Galway did a great trade with the merchants of the chief Spanish sea-ports. The attempt to fasten the Reformation upon Galway was preceded by the despatch of a fleet, under Admiral Winter, to intercept the commerce of the port and cut off the supplies of food and wine which the French and Spanish ships had hitherto furnished. The President of Munster, Malby, was given control of the province and port, and he entered upon the work of reforming things in Church and State therein so heartily that he very soon had the inhabitants in revolt. Malby despatched a garrison of English troops from Berwick to overcome the city, lodging them in the Castle. He reproached the Mayor of Galway because of his having sent supplies to the men of Munster who had risen in rebellion, and exacted heavy tributes from the chief merchants, as well as the corporation, by way of punishment. The women of Galway had shown their friendship for Spain by wrapping in fine linen the bodies of the Spaniards drowned off the coast during the disaster to the Armada, and this kindness was another reason for the exhibition of Malby's malevolence. Soon the trade of Galway was ruined by the exactions of the English and the blockade maintained by Winter's ships, yet the inhabitants stubbornly refused to be reconciled to their brutal oppressors. When Lord Fitzwilliam, as Deputy, went down from Dublin Castle to take matters in hand in the old city, not one member of the Corporation called to visit him, which gave him deadly offense, and he remarked bitterly to those about him: "There be merchants of Galway which daily come out of Spain." This brought on the inhabitants the curse of martial law in all its fury. The soldiery were allowed to do just as they pleased, and they plundered the inhabitants. Now for the charge that the women of Ireland were addicted to the giving of scandal by their mode of attire and general behavior. Mrs. Green quotes from the author of "*Cambrensis Eversus*:"

"A fellow named Hurd, who was promoted, I hear, from his carpenter's shop to a lieutenantancy in the army, was Governor of Galway in the absence of Peter Stuburs, the superintendent of commerce, who had once been a peddler." Hurd, "under the prompting of some evil spirit," ordered that no woman in Galway should wear her Irish cloak. "But, lo! next day the unseemly exhibition in the streets of Galway, most of the women appearing in men's coats—high-born ladies, who had been plundered of all their property by the rapacious soldiers, sinking with shame before the gaze of the public, with their ragged or patched clothes, and sometimes with embroidered table-covers, or a strip of tapestry torn from the walls, or some lappets cut from the bed curtains, thrown over their heads

and shoulders. Other women covered their shoulders only, with blankets or sheets, or table-cloths, or any other sort of wrapper they could lay their hands on. You would have taken your oath that all Galway was a masquerade, the unrivaled home of scenic buffoons, so irresistibly ludicrous were the varied dresses of the poor women"—a scene planned for the sport of Hurd and his associates, "that they might distort their visages and shake their sides at the ridiculous plight of the people, and that the soldiers might not only make money by the confiscated cloaks, but wring, with his property, bitter tears from the citizen."

The author of "*Cambrensis Eversus*" was an eye-witness of many such scenes. He was a priest—the Rev. Richard Kelley—and had to travel over many parts of the island in disguise, for it was death then for any priest who was caught, and death to any one who was found giving a priest asylum or help of any kind. The scene he here depicts was an example of the general condition of the country in all those portions of it where military operations were carried on under Mountjoy and Malby and Bagenal and Essex, under Elizabeth's reign and that of James I. Not only did the dastardly usurpers despoil the women of their raiment, but their villainous historians strove to strip them likewise of their womanly mantles of modesty and good breeding. What parallel can be found in history for vileness so execrable as this?

Cork made even a more determined stand against English rule: it had long been proud of its designation of "rebel Cork"—and in Limerick and Waterford and Wexford the resistance of the burghers and trades guilds was long, stubborn and determined. As a punishment for this temerity, when the Lord Deputies could not destroy the religion of the people, they got the English Parliament to deprive the Irish corporate towns of those liberties given them under the charters of King John and his father, Henry. Mountjoy boasted that he would cut King John's charter to Waterford with King James' sword. The towns were not intimidated into submission to the Church of Elizabeth and James. Their mayors and magistrates were not to be coerced into taking the oath of supremacy that branded their religion as idolatry and blasphemous superstition, and cheerfully went to prison instead. Desperate over this unexpected contumacy, the Queen and her advisers proceeded against the rebels with the truculence of the Egyptian Pharaohs. They brought Englishmen over to seat them in the mayors' and magistrates' chairs: the Popish "rabble" who refused to go to their English service in the stolen churches they tried to drive out wholesale by importing hordes of "planters," the scum of the English towns and jailbirds; and by these measures, after some years, the

semblance of partial loyalty was given the chief cities of Southern and Western Ireland. The national Church was wiped out, and the English "Establishment," now defunct, but continued under the name of the Church of Ireland, was erected upon the ruins.

Goldwin Smith is an Oxford professor who does not advocate the emancipation of Ireland from English rule, nor does he admire the Catholic religion. He is not quoted by Mrs. Green, but he might with advantage have been referred to as a witness from the English side who could bear out the very strongest accusations of foul play that any Irish protagonist could bring forward. He notes that all the torture and agony inflicted upon the Irish people in those woful centuries since the Tudor days were perpetrated chiefly for the purpose of forming in Ireland a Protestant Ascendancy party—a permanent garrison for Protestant England in a Catholic country. He notes with especial indignation that solely for this purpose was the Irish Rebellion of 1798 fomented and encouraged by William Pitt, and he denounces the perpetrators of the horrors which preceded and succeeded that heroic but hopeless attempt of a maddened people to shake off the yoke of the persecutors in language as honestly indignant as any Irishman has ever employed. Speaking of the atrocities perpetrated by Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, Hunter Gowan and other magisterial brutes who commanded the yeomanry in Ireland, and had men, even priests, flogged to death in that terrible time, he said (we quote from his Oxford Lectures, published in 1867):

"To add to the bright roll of English honor, Mr. Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald received a pension, and, at the Union, was made a baronet of the United Kingdom.

"These men were not fiends; they were a dominant class, the planter-class of Ireland, maddened with cruel panic and administering martial law. It is good that these things should be recalled to mind when we see men of letters and artists, who have been brought up in the air of English liberty and within the sound of Christian church bells, proposing to blow Fenians from guns, and to reenact on Irish insurgents the atrocities which marked the putting down of the Indian mutineers.

"Ireland had what one of our prelates calls a Missionary Church; that is an establishment profusely endowed out of the penury and the misery of the Irish people; and the Bishops and clergy of which were intended, I suppose, to be placed by their wealth and privileges above the passions of any class, and enabled boldly to preach justice and mercy. What were they doing? Were they preaching justice and mercy, or were they doing what the prelates and clergy of the planter church of Jamaica do now—drawing up certificates of Chris-

tian character for men whose hands were red with innocent blood? It is a point which I have never been able clearly to ascertain.

"There is nothing in this revolting history more revolting than the cant about loyalty. Loyalty is not due from the conquered and the oppressed to the conqueror and oppressor. Nothing is due but submission, which the conqueror and oppressor must enforce as best he can."

Mrs. Green quotes Goldwin Smith as one of those who held that Ireland's history may not unprofitably be neglected because he studied from a work entitled "*Annals of England*," an Oxford textbook which contained, amongst other gems of philosophy, the excuse that Ireland's history reveals "nothing but a dreary picture of convulsions and blood, painful to peruse, and but slightly connected with that of any other country." Goldwin Smith did write sympathetically of Ireland's immeasurable wrong when he came to know more about it, while his contemporary, Froude, wrote, though knowing the truth perhaps better than Smith, most unsympathetically and in the vein of the Elizabethan apologists that it was a Christian duty to rob and exterminate so un-Christian a crew of savages as the "wild Irishry" were. If Mrs. Green is tender about the share of responsibility of the Established Church for the rule of oppression in Ireland, it is impossible not to respect her reticence; and it is right to recall that while that Church, as a whole, was indeed largely responsible for the system that goaded the Irish into the madness of revolt against hopeless odds, very many individuals of the body furnished bright examples of a better spirit by dissuading the instruments of martial law from measures of wholesale cruelty and counselling clemency whenever they could do so with hope of success. But the ministers who used, in the time of the Tithe War, to ride at the head of bailiffs and police, with pistols in belt, to collect the tenants' tithes, in stock and produce of the soil, were more often typical of the spirit of "the Establishment" toward the Irish cultivators than those of the gentler sort. If we must have the truth, let us have the whole truth, that justice may be done even to the Whiteboys and the followers of "Captain Rock."

Ruthless as had been the policy of the English Kings toward the Irish chiefs and people, there was no systematic attempt to make a clean sweep of all native institutions and social organization until the reign of Henry VIII. Edward III. had statutes passed to keep Irish and English apart, by discriminating in the penalties for crime imposed respectively upon the one and the other, and passing simptuary laws requiring that the dress of either should bespeak his nationality and indicate consequently the treatment that should be allotted in case of "chance medley" within the circumscription of

the Pale. But all such attempts were only piecemeal and testative extension of English sway. It remained for the terrible Tudor monarch to introduce scientific pursuit of a policy of genuine conquest, on different lines and by different methods. The new idea was, not segregation, but assimilation. The task of wholesale extermination, which was at once contemplated, with the idea of substituting English settlers for the dispossessed or slain tribesmen, was found to be impracticable because of its magnitude and the physical difficulties that forbade its execution, in the way of bogs and woods and mountains which afforded protection and shelter to the natives while furnishing only death traps and natural ambushes for the invaders. A mixture of craft and force, it would appear, was then decided on as best calculated to realize the grand scheme of a complete Anglicization of the island. Thomas Cromwell, the apt pupil of Machiavelli, became adviser to Henry when Wolsey fell, and it is not difficult to distinguish the hand that compassed the spoliation of the English monasteries and made his master greater in power than the Sovereign Pontiff in the measures that were successively taken in the long campaign for the final reduction of Ireland. While Sydney and Skeffington, each in his day, battered the castles of the chiefs and ravaged the fields of their tribesmen, the chiefs themselves were cajoled into going over to Greenwich and making their submission to the King, receiving in return an English title to their lands and an English title, that of earl, for each of themselves. This strategy was successful. The chiefs deemed, seemingly, that the metamorphosis was only one in name, but they soon found out that the transformation was more significant than it appeared at first blush, since henceforth their land was subject to the operations of English law, where their own system, the ancient Brehon, had worked for centuries automatically, so to speak, in the settlement of all problems relating to the land and the possessions of the people as they were affected by the more ancient law of death and human vicissitude. The fidelity of the chiefs to the new and strange order of things to which they had been unwillingly introduced was insured by the taking of hostages from each family, and the double object of securing the loyalty of the father and undermining the patriotism of the son, by inducting him into English ways of life and modes of learning and speech, was attained by the one coup. From this period onward the deliberate destruction of Irish law, Irish language and Irish religion was mercilessly pursued. The chiefs began to have their children at home instructed in the English language, by sending them into the cities where there were schools conducted by teachers who were bi-lingual, or having tutors for them at home who were qualified in a similar way and

could teach Latin as well. This particular cycle of the transition is rich in materials for the reconstructors of Irish history. It was a period of great scholars, and many writings have come down to prove the scope and variety of their erudition and genius. Mrs. Green gives the names and brief descriptions of several of the more famous. She takes from Hollinshed the quaint sketch of one therein tersely set forth, thus:

"David Fitzgerald, usually called David Duff (or Black Daniel), born in Kerry, a civilian, a maker in Irish, not ignorant of music, skillful in physic, a good and general craftsman much like to Hippias, surpassing all men in the multitude of crafts, who coming on a time to Pisa to the great triumph called Olympicum, wore nothing but such as was of his own making: his shoes, his pattens, his cloak, his coat, the ring that he did wear, with a signet therein very perfectly wrought, were all made by him. He played excellently on all kinds of instruments, and sung thereto his own verses, which no man could amend. In all parts of logic, rhetoric and philosophy he vanquished all men, and was vanquished of none."

This must have been the model which the later all-round phenomenon known as the Admirable Crichton set before his mind's eye when setting out for the prize of universal attainments in culture. Mrs. Green enumerates many other scholars who were not merely philomaths but *virtuosi*—but not altogether of David Duff's renown—who flourished from the Middle Ages down to the time of the Tudor conquest. To other hands she leaves the task of revealing the work each did in his own sphere in the building of that Irish Temple of Fame which the ruthless hands of Plantagenet and Tudor so sedulously labored to demolish and destroy, and damn with the curse of ignorance besides.

There was one stone in that temple that defied the ingenious malice of the Vandal destroyers, because it is like the human soul, indestructible. This was the music of Ireland. It has survived despite all the ruin and misery of the conquest and the agony of the penal days. The harper and the bard were often conjoined in the one person, and the glorious legacy, the goodly company that flourished before the destroying Tudors came on the scene, is still in great part preserved in the exquisite collection of Hardiman and Petrie. They could kill the body of Ireland, but the soul was as "the intrenchant air" to the sword of the spoiler.

Before we take leave of the share of the bards and scholars, as a task to be taken up by the rebuilders of the old temple, it is not fitting to overlook one of the finger-posts which Mrs. Green has set upon the road of inquiry. It has often been urged as a reason for Ireland's failure to maintain her independence that there was

no idea of national solidarity to bind the people and make resistance to England general. It is doubtless true that the tribal system was not conducive to homogeneity, as a general rule, but it is no less true that on various occasions the common danger begot a common resistance and a widespread, if not wholly united effort, as in the case of the Danish overthrow at Clontarf.

The scholarship of Ireland was one great bond of unity. The principal learned men of the country came forth from the halls of the chiefs, wherein they taught languages and poetry and music, to gather in council at Tara, and interchange the coinage of their bright minds for the advancement of learning and the promotion of the noble arts of poesy and song. "The greatest lesson of the scholars' gathering," remarks Mrs. Green, was their perpetual remembrance of the bond of learning which knit together the whole Irish race on both sides of the sea—that spiritual commonwealth which had never yet been utterly overthrown since the days of Columcille. "For it is a signal fact that Irish education never lost sight of a national union; it never ceased, from the gatherings at Tara down through the centuries, to stir the people of Ireland with the remembrance of their common inheritance in all that shapes the thought and spiritual life of a people." Mrs. Green's patriotic indignation is justly aroused over the fact that such noble scholarship and poetry as these assemblies represented should be held up to the world's scorn by the contemptuous references of Spenser to "a certain kind of people called bards which are to them instead of poets"—references which are still repeated by men like Dr. Mahaffy and his followers with regard to Irish scholarship. "The weight of centuries of calumny lies heavy on their graves!" indignantly exclaims the author. What more patriotic, more just, more honorable task could arouse the enthusiasm of Irish *illuminati* than that of refuting this ancient calumny, this unmerited damnation of ignominy? To clear the fame of the unjustly condemned is an ambition that has often stirred even magnanimous strangers to action. If chivalry can be excited in foreign bosoms by such a moral incentive, how much more ardor should it summon to the filial duty of clearing the good name of a long-outraged and slandered motherland! The hour has seemingly come when the slumbering warriors of light are to wake to battle at the sound of the Ossianic horn and sweep the hosts of calumny into the sea of exposure.

It is only proper to note here that in the sympathetic attitude which Mrs. Green has taken up regarding the oppression and undoing of Ireland she is but following up the course taken by her distinguished husband when he was writing his "Short History."

Though he did not devote so large a space to the subject of the English doings in Ireland the terse and graphic way in which he sketches the proceedings of the conquerors leaves no doubt that he entirely disapproved of such methods of "civilizing" people as they adopted, and that he by no means shared the belief, or pretended belief, of the "philanthropic" invaders that the people of Ireland were barbarous and their laws and customs outlandish or ridiculous. For instance, dealing with the policy of Henry VIII. toward Ireland, he says: "Submission was far from being all that Henry desired. His aim was to civilize the people whom he had conquered—to rule not by force but by law. But the only conception of law which the King or his Ministers could frame was that of English law. The customary law which prevailed without the Pale—the native system of clan government and common tenure of land by the tribe, as well as the poetry and literature which threw their lustre over the Irish tongue, were either unknown to the English statesmen or despised by them as barbarous. The one mode of civilizing Ireland and redressing its chaotic misrule which presented itself to their minds was that of destroying the whole Celtic tradition of the Irish people—that of 'making Ireland English,' in manners, in law and in tongue. . . . The prohibition of the national dress, customs, laws and language must have seemed to them merely the suppression of a barbarism which stood in the way of all improvement." Mr. Green evidently did not regard the ancient laws and literature of Ireland as those of a barbarous race, as at the beginning of his "Short History" he gives a long list of the Irish authorities whom he had consulted regarding those portions of the chronicle which related to Irish affairs. These include the Annals of the Four Masters, Colgan's Hagiology, Adamnan's Life of Columba, Cormac's Glossary, the Book of Rights, the "Chronicon Scotorum," the "Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," the "Annals of Lough Cé," and O'Donovan's and O'Curry's works on ancient Irish families, laws and customs. This list reveals the extraordinary erudition of the English scholar who was fortunate enough to secure the daughter of an Irish scholar for a helpmate in his labors.

The need of the time, so far as the vindication of Ireland's fame in the past is concerned, would appear to be a class in the new University for the special study of Irish archæology and a commission for the quest after Irish manuscripts all over the world—for indeed the dispersal of these precious legacies was for a considerable period world-wide. The stage is now clear for the work—a work of love it surely ought to be—and the actors ought soon to be ready to play their honorable parts.

THE SECOND DEGREE OF MARTYRDOM.

THE timid Christian, who in the early days of the Church fled from persecution rather than deny Christ, has won from no less an authority than St. Cyprian the enviable title of "martyr of the second degree."¹ Nor will this designation surprise us if we recall the example and injunction to prudent flight given us in Sacred Writ by the Divine Master and His Apostles. The graphic picture which St. Paul draws (II. Cor. xi., 26-27) of the trials attendant on bearing the good tidings to the nations is almost prophetic of the sufferings of the confessors of subsequent times. The many lucid explanations of the Fathers who interpreted the mind of the Church in a practical manner, as also the many examples of discreet flight recorded in the Acts of the Martyrs, prove that numberless exiles and emigré priests of the early times endured heroically and at length many tribulations from which they would have been freed by immediate martyrdom for Christ. Hence the "extorres," as they are called, were found worthy to labor at the spread of the Gospel. No doubt flight misinterpreted as cowardice was repudiated by a handful of reformers who wished to seem wiser and holier than the Church herself. But the humble, docile child of that good mother took, when necessary, the long and weary road of exile, shedding all along the painful way the sweet odor of Christianity and meeting everywhere with the tenderest expressions of Christian charity. And thus the saving doctrine has been handed down to our own day without scandal or detriment to the faithful. A careful study, therefore, of this question of flight before persecution cannot but be interesting and instructive.²

There are certain archpriests of malignant hatred who would fain portray our Lord Jesus Christ as constantly and openly defying Jewish prejudice and rabbinical rage. Looking only to one phase of the Godman's life, they insist strongly and exclusively on His superb and surpassing courage in preaching a gospel that struck a decisive blow at the ancient established order. The message of the Messiah made manifest that the Old Covenant was fulfilled by the New, and thereby abolished. No wonder, then, that Christ was hated and hunted down like an escaped and dangerous enemy of human kind by men whose interests were in one way or another

¹ De Lapsis, 3.

² Mamachi, *Origines et Antiquitates Christianae* 111; Le Blant, *Les Persecuteurs et l'Martyre* 151-157; Leclercq, *Les Martyrs* I., LXIV.-LXIX.: Jolyon, *La Fuite de la Persecution* (Lyons, 1903); Fassonius, *De Morall patrum Doctrina* (1766), "De appetendo adeundeque Martyrio" (Paris tertia lxx.).

assailed and overthrown by His doctrine. But despite this true though one-sided picture, Jesus was essentially the Prince of Peace. Anarchy He preached not to the people. He alone could say with sublime assurance: "Learn of Me, for I am meek and humble of heart." Yet, although it was necessary that He must die in order that we might have life more abundantly, the Master had no mind to anticipate the will and decrees of His Father in heaven. Truly, His hour had not yet come when shortsighted men were planning His death (Matth. ii., 14, 21; xiv., 13; Luke ix., 10). And as the disciple is no better than his Master, Christ promised His chosen ones a large share of the hoarded hatred of the Jews that would inevitably be poured upon them after the Ascension. But His followers were not to court death nor invite it (Matth. x., 23; xxiv., 16; Mark xiii., 14; Luke xxi., 21). The Apostles understood this repeated command and put it into effect by flight from persecution (Matth. xxvi., 56). St. Paul, with that charming open-heartedness which runs through his Epistles like a golden thread of purified and spiritualized individuality, is not ashamed to speak of the flight he was forced, in his turn, to resort to (II. Cor. xi., 32; Hebr. xi., 38). Could the fiery, zealous Apostle forget the days when he was athirst with desire to purge the land of all who did not follow in his footsteps? Now he, too, has drawn upon himself the anger of the populace, and his historian expatiates on the fact with special minuteness (Acts ix., 29, 30; xiii., 51; xvii., 10, 14).

Primitive Christians with the souvenirs of apostolic preaching and example constantly before them seem never to have had a doubt as to the interpretation and application of the words of the Master. Thus when Christ's prophecy concerning the fall of the Royal City was being fulfilled, the faithful living therein fled on Divine command to Pella, a village beyond the Jordan.³ A little later St. Ignatius of Antioch speaks of the Church recovering the glory and integrity of its members on the cessation of Trajan's persecution.⁴ Tillemont⁵ suggests that the holy Bishop refers to those Christians who lived in concealment during those troublous times. About the same time St. Polycarp of Smyrna, whom antiquity loves to call "the Doctor of Asia, the Father of Christians," adds some important testimony on the subject. His words are of great weight, since he is the last accredited witness of apostolic teachings. St. Irenæus says of him⁶ that he never taught anything but what he had learned from the lips of the Apostles. As an octogenarian, and almost in view of the blessed mansions of eternity, he fled twice from impend-

³ Eusebius, H. E. 111, 5; Epiphanius, In Haeres. Naz., 7.

⁴ Funk, *Die Apostolische Vaeter* (Tubingen, 1906), 104.

⁵ *Memoirs pour servir*, II., 203.

⁶ *Adv. Haer.*, P. G. VII., 851.

ing death on the instance of his friends. He finally surrendered himself to his pursuers, but only because he had been betrayed by one of his unfaithful slaves. Hence his words are most significant: "We do not praise those who surrender themselves; the Gospel does not teach that."⁷ And well might he speak thus, for his fatherly heart had been torn at the sight of a young Phrygian, Quintus, who, having freely given himself up to the Judges, renounced the faith in the arena from sheer fear and consternation at the sight of the wild beasts—a lamentable occurrence which conveyed to the people the full import of the holy Bishop's words, so that with one accord all Asia ratified the venerable patriarch's saying in terming him "a martyr according to the Gospel."

Just a few decades later St. Clement of Alexandria made known his mind on flight from persecution. He insists⁸ that martyrdom does not consist in coquetting with death after the manner of the fanatical gymnosophists of India, who freely leap into the fire. Again he says: "When He (Jesus) says, 'When they persecute you in one city, flee to another,' He does not counsel flight as if persecution were an evil thing; nor does He enjoin them to avoid death by flight as if in fear of it, but He wishes us neither to be the authors and abettors of any evil to any one, either to ourselves or the persecutor and murderer."⁹ That these words and many others of like import were not mere dry and formal academic utterances Clement proved later on by his own conduct. For we know from Eusebius¹⁰ that after the edict of Septimus Severus there was none to break the bread of life at Alexandria. Now, as there can be no question of his death at this time, we must infer that the great Doctor, Clement, had abandoned his cathedra in that famous school.

These facts would seem amply sufficient to show that it was generally regarded as licit and advisable to avoid the extremities of Roman legal intolerance. But here we meet Tertullian, who, in a work dealing professedly with the subject, is in open opposition to this teaching of the representative Fathers of the Church. We can never imagine that Tertullian, whose mind of all the apologists was the most dialectical, was unable to grasp the full bearing and limitations of the subject. Before his fall into error the stern African taught that it was not forbidden to flee from persecution. It is better, he says, to flee from city to city than apostatize,¹¹ and on the way man rightly overcomes the inconveniences of journeying.¹²

⁷ Funk, *op. cit.*, 117, v.

⁸ Strom., P. G. VIII., 1231.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1286.

¹⁰ Euseb., H. E. VI., 3.

¹¹ Ad Uxorem iii., P. L. I., 1278.

¹² De Patientia, P. L. I., 1250.

He classes the fleeing David and Jeremiah among the martyrs of the Old Testament.¹³ But at the same time Tertullian seems to prefer confession of the faith and death to flight and safety as being more glorious and more becoming the followers of a persecuted Master. Guignebert is not so far afield in maintaining that the apologist had an inborn and temperamental aversion for all that savored of indulgence to the flesh. But, despite this innate rigorism, he was held in high esteem. An original and daring thinker of his type was sure to exercise an influence, amounting almost to fascination, over many minds still enamored of the austerities of the Stoic philosophy. There is, doubtless, a certain rude nobility in his uncompromising stand, which quickly captured all those pleasure-sated men who looked for an apodictical solution of the unsolvable problems of life. He was consulted, therefore, though a Montanist at the time, by Fabius, one of the faithful, in this wise: "Fugiendam necne sit in persecutione?"¹⁴ Tertullian answered with his "De Fuga in Persecutione."

This treatise is a curious relic. It is a vehement screed wherein violence is done to the accepted moral praxis of the Church. Even the logic of the reply is lacking in the wonted lucidity of the writer's earlier and better days. He reasons thus: Since nothing happens against the will of God, we must be prepared to accept persecution from the Lord as a trial and test of the believer. True, no doubt, the Lord makes use of Satan in trying His faithful servants. Nevertheless, evil does not come from the devil, but only through him. The powers of the archenemy are limited by God. Therefore, as no one can doubt that the Lord sends persecution, no one may of his own device avoid the heaven-ordained ordeal. Even should there be danger of renouncing the faith, the Christian is still obliged to remain in the stronghold of danger. For we are either certain or not certain of denying the faith. If certain of this, then we have already denied "si certus iam negasti;" if not certain, then we must leave the issue in the hands of the Almighty. If He demands of us an open confession we cannot determine otherwise, for "nolle confiteri negare est." If the Lord commanded the Apostles to follow His own example of flight, it was only for that period during which the faith was being preached throughout Judea. Evangelists were needed then who were in full possession of the Divine Founder's ideas.

A certain unsoundness manifests itself in all this fanatical reasoning of Tertullian. As he proceeds, the apologist works himself up

¹³ Ad Scorpiion viii.

¹⁴ P. L. II, 123; Adhemar d'Ales, *La Theologie de Tertullien* (Paris, 1905), 454-460.

into a frenzy of mental exultation. For only in that condition—let us extend him that charitable interpretation at least—could he make the bold assertion that apostasy is preferable to flight—"Pulchrior est miles in proelio transmissus quam in fuga salvus." Then, like a facial high priest, he turns to the clergy, giving them advice and instruction with a bitterness which has now, alas! become chronic with him. He recalls the curses of Holy Writ on hirelings. He scorns and rails at the manifest cowardice of such action. He sees no justification for flight. Nor does he approve of the "redemptio" or buying of safety by money offered the Judges. This, he avers, was the act that made Simon the Magician odious. Nay, more, it was a hidden and disguised flight and apostasy, an outrage to the blood of Christ. It were more manly to flee openly than debase life by such chicanery. Reckon on faith, not money, if your presence is necessary for the maintenance of Sunday worship. Though this may be a hard doctrine, yet it is not, for all that, unreasonable, since the way of salvation is narrow.

Tertullian, who had promised so much on his conversion to Christianity, is now found in open rupture with the Church. His efforts to appear orthodox and submissive—as the *Ad Scapulam* showed—are now thrown to the winds. And—sadder still!—in thus going against the doctrine of the Fathers and the practice of the churches, this heretical Christian Stoic and stoical Christian seems to have felt no fear, no regret, no remorse. Even if all authorities¹⁵ did not agree that this, his work, was written after his lapse into Montanism, yet an examination of the text would show that the author hugged close to his heart of hearts some of the pet doctrines of the sect. For the Montanists preached that flight from persecution was a sin against the Holy Ghost; nay, a downright act of defiance. This rigorism fitted in admirably with the strict injunctions to fastings, the eagerness for martyrdom, the teaching regarding the abundance and permanency of the charismata, especially prophecy, the belief in the immediate and constant individual direction of the Paraclete, all of which were to prepare men for the impending second coming of the Divine Judge near Thymium and Papuza.¹⁶ There is all the frenzy of an Oriental worship about this parasitical system introduced into Africa from Phrygia. The Circumcelliones are the full-blown flower of the Montanists. Both show, in their own way, much of the senseless imprudence of Buddhist Yogi. This sect,

¹⁵ Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur* (1904), 11., 279-281; Bardenhewer-Mercati, *Patrologia* (Rome, 1903), I., 231; Freppel, *Tertullien*, I., 286-296.

¹⁶ Belgk, *Geschichte des Montanismus*; Ermoni in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1902.

then, tried to have its canons inserted into the Scriptures.¹⁷ But for the third time this effort at tampering with the Bible was condemned and overthrown by Rome. As this was probably about the year 212, Monceaux¹⁸ is right in saying that the traces of acribia in the "De Fuga" are to be explained on the ground that Tertullian was only venting his spleen at this renewed failure of his co-religionists.

Yet this rigorous teaching, enunciated with such irritating bitterness, was not as harmless as many are inclined to maintain. During the time when the treatise had actual bearing upon their conduct it must have caused much hesitancy and indecision among the faithful. Tertullian had said such noble and worthy things of the "Ecclesia" in his days of orthodoxy that men were still willing and ready to accept his every word as a "testimonium animae naturaliter christianae."¹⁹ Moreover, there are truths in the "De Fuga" which, taken apart from the general thesis, not even the most ultramontane theologian could take exception to. Men's minds were also looking longingly for an end of the "potestates tenebrarum harum." The times were sore for Christian hearts, indeed. Sin abounded—a true "iniquitas in excelsis." Heresy was rampant. It paraded in the white robes of sanctity. The State, too, was in painful straits. The mammoth engine that had ruthlessly run down the autonomy of every State was beginning to fall to pieces. Pestilence was striking down thousands in cities and fields. Superstition, pagan excesses, suspicion were calling to new life and increased vigor the worst fanaticism of the mob. Why, then, did Christ defer His second coming? Had He not promised an early return as the Reformer and Avenger of all these ills? If the Master tarried, was death for Him not a boon in such times? Did not thousands of noble-minded pagans, moved by what Seneca in his twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth epistles called the "libido moriendi," depart from this tragedy of life by an exit that not even the most senseless Christian sect would choose? Really the clear white vision that Hermas saw seemed to beckon the sad and weary to quit this abode of darkest woe. Who would maintain, even from motives of prudence, that the Christian should evade the Crucified as He appeared in the great broad road of life demanding sacrifices of all? Thoughts and temptations such as these are not peculiar to that age alone. And, for one reason or another, that epoch elicited an intensity of faith and earnestness of resolve quite in excess of those of any other age. In the works of the apologist, therefore, there are to be found many

¹⁷ Zahn, *Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Kanons*, 3-57.

¹⁸ *Histoire de l'Afrique chretienne*.

¹⁹ *Apol.* 17.

scattered phrases expressive of the expectation of the "Parousia."²⁰ Hence it is not the least glory of the Fathers that in the midst of this fiery furnace of spiritual excitement and religious delirium they possessed themselves in peace and counseled a course of action flatly opposed to the frenzied dictates of the heretics. The ballast of prudence is ever with the Fathers.

The powerful words of the African could not bewilder or mislead an Origen or a St. Cyprian, both of whom professed the warmest admiration for the erratic apologist. Be it because he was so voluminous a writer or because the condition of affairs demanded a full treatment of the subject, it remains true that Origen has much to say on the question of flight from persecution. With Tertullian he maintains that the words of Scripture advising flight were addressed to the Apostles. But the Alexandrine master goes further. Since all are brothers in Christ, these words must also apply to the faithful of all times.²¹ The soldier of Christ should avoid the necessity of confessing the faith by flight if he feel that he would not be strong enough to stand the test, or that it would be to his disadvantage. This is the true meaning underlying the words of St. Matthew x., 23.²² When there is an opportunity of flight it is temerity not to flee.²³ It is praiseworthy, moreover, to flee for two reasons. First, because we can never know the issue of the trial; secondly, because we can thus avoid aggravating the guilt of the pagan Judge. For every man shall be held to account for causing his neighbor's sin. Now, the faithful cause sin when they force the Judge to summon them to trial. This is true especially when no advantage to the faith would result from confession or when no injury would befall the Christian cause by flight. If our Lord fled under similar circumstances, it was evidently for our instruction.²⁴ Celsus assures Origen²⁵ that it was scandalous in the eyes of the pagan to find the Nazarene outwitting His enemies when snares were laid to entrap Him. With the fine sense of the historian and with a lawyer's ready wit Origen answered in the spirit of the Stagyrite. For if men praise Aristotle because he left Athens lest an injury be offered to philosophy,²⁶ could Christ not save Himself from the fate that befell Socrates? Was the Christian cause not infinitely higher? Origen, too, though the son of a martyr and aflame from youth with a consuming desire for the martyr's crown,

²⁰ D'Ales, *op. cit.*, 446-448.

²¹ Exhort. ad Mart., P. G. XI., 606.

²² P. G. XII., 988.

²³ P. G. XIII., 897.

²⁴ P. G. XIV., zw1 728 sq.

²⁵ P. G. XI., 782.

²⁶ Arist. Frag. 654 (Heitz), iv., II., 327.

escaped death in 203 under Septimus Severus by hiding in Palestine.²⁷ Palladius²⁸ says that for two years he lay concealed in the house of the holy virgin, Julia of Cæsarea.

After the advent of Decius to the throne a new and tangible justification of the Christian's flight from death can be found. The new Emperor was aware of the firm root that Christianity had taken in the empire. The insensate rage of his royal predecessors had proved wholly ineffectual. The "*gens malefica*" of Suetonius won new adherents every day among the conservative caste of the aristocracy. The Christians were no longer a "*gens lucifuga et latebrosa*," but had churches throughout the empire, and occasionally erected monuments to the dear departed ones no longer in the Catacombs, but above ground. We can get a fair idea of the influence of the so-called "*superstitio exitiabilis*" of Tacitus when we remember that the Roman Pontiff was a personage of such considerable importance that Decius preferred hearing of the revolt of a rival pretender rather than of the election of a Bishop of Rome.²⁹ How, then, was this arrogant Emperor—who is an excellent prototype of the later Byzantine royal theologians—how was he to stay the growth of the Church? By a decree issued in A. D. 250 he ordered all Christians to appear on summons before the tribunals to offer incense to the gods.³⁰ The Lapsi of the Carthaginian Church betrayed much spiritual weakness and coldness. That the more fervent of the faithful, however, a veritable band of confessors, fled when the stringent edict was posted in the fora of the Roman world, any one can learn from the three introductory paragraphs of St. Cyprian's book, "*De Lapsis*." The Bishop speaks in the highest terms of those faithful and prudent souls. Most eloquently he portrays a father's heart running over with justifiable pride at beholding such multiplied manifestations of Christian wisdom and heroism.

Nor are the references in the letters of the Carthaginian Bishop less explicit. So many of his ecclesiastics had preceded the Bishop into exile that he complains³¹ of not having sufficient clergy around him to carry out decently the sacred rites of the Church. Yielding to the earnest and insistent solicitations of his friends,³² Cyprian left the city betimes, in company with several of his friends.³³ This action aroused the dissatisfaction of a small contingent of his clergy, who accused their chief pastor of fear and cowardice. Just how far

²⁷ Euseb., *H. E.* VI., 3, 4, 5.

²⁸ *Historia Lausiaca* (ed. Butler), II., 160.

²⁹ Cyprian, *Epistola* LII.

³⁰ Ep. Gregg, *The Decian Persecution*, 72-75.

³¹ Ep. XXIX., XXX.

³² Ep. XX., 1.

³³ Ep. V., 2; VII.

these clerics were influenced by the obstinate sympathizers of Tertullian, who, if we may believe St. Augustine,³⁴ had formed themselves into a body called the "Tertullianists," is hard to say. The influence of these sectaries was about this time almost defunct. At any rate, all the existing epistles of St. Cyprian are interlarded with direct or indirect references as with mild retorts to these accusations, insinuations and murmurs of the disaffected and overzealous clergy. St. Cyprian is at pains to explain his position, not so much in order to exculpate himself as to show upon what motives he had abandoned the sure death that threatened him in his episcopal city. He fled, he says, lest his presence should inflame the blood of his enemies to anger and drive them to the abuse of religion.³⁵ Nay, by vision from heaven³⁶ he had placed himself under the painful necessity of eating in a foreign land the bitter bread of banishment.³⁷ But these meddlesome, self-satisfied critics were too proud to see and understand the saving common sense, as also the puissant, hidden anguish concealed in these letters of their pastor. So they wrote to Rome. Owing to the death by martyrdom of Pope Fabius, it was an easy task for the African clergy, with their tale of complaint, to win the ear of the Roman priests. The answer of these latter, which Aube describes in true yet no very flattering³⁸ terms, is a downright, though diplomatically cautious condemnation of Cyprian's conduct. But the Bishop was not to be so easily talked down. At once he wrote two letters to Rome. In the second, which especially concerns the matter in hand, he shows that by flight he had merely obeyed our Lord's commands; that he sought safety and immunity from harm not for himself, but for his flock; that though in concealment, he was, nevertheless, in close and constant touch with all ecclesiastical affairs at Carthage.³⁹ This epistle had the desired effect, and the Roman priests retracted by letter all the calumnies against Cyprian that had gained ground among them. They declared, moreover, that nothing reprehensible could be found in his conduct.⁴⁰ Whilst these letters exercised an immense influence on the people at large, we find the same commendation of flight from danger in the more official writings of the saintly Bishop. It is worthy of note that in Cyprian's very treatise, where disloyalty to the Master is

³⁴ De Haer., 86.

³⁵ Ep. V., 7; XIV.

³⁶ Ep. XVI., 4.

³⁷ It may be interesting to know how St. Dionysius of Alexandria reasoned on this point: ". . . nunquam mea sponte nec sine Dei nutu cum Deus mihi ut alio migrarem praecepti potest."

³⁸ L'Eglise et l'Etat dans la II. moitié du III. siècle, 83, says it possessed "un terrible fiel sous sa douceur sucrée."

³⁹ Ep. XX.

⁴⁰ EP. XXX.

branded as it should be, we find some of the most decided praises of flight. "The first step to glory consists in confessing the Lord on falling into the hands of the Gentiles; the second step is to withdraw by a cautious retirement in order to be reserved for the Lord. The former is a public, the latter a private confession. The former overcomes the Judge of this world, the latter, satisfied with God as its Judge, keeps a pure conscience in integrity of heart. The former confessor as his hour approached was found mature in faith; the latter, perhaps, was delayed because he would not deny Christ, but he would certainly have confessed Him if he, too, had been apprehended."⁴¹ How exquisitely beautiful and delicate are the sentiments expressed in these words of holy Cyprian. Christ is the companion of the exile,⁴² who by flight has not renounced the faith, but only deferred its recompense.⁴³ Rightly does he call the refugee a good soldier, "bonus miles,"⁴⁴ since he suffers what the Lord ordains, not choosing by self-surrender what he himself desires.⁴⁵

The same doctrine was promulgated in the Orient by many of the Fathers. Restricting ourselves to St. Gregory of Nyssa, we find him implore the faithful to conceal themselves, for the present, since they were not strong enough in the faith, he feared, to bear persecution gloriously.⁴⁶ The great Doctor fled himself from impending evil in order to approve his teaching by example. The Lord seems to have manifested His approbation of this step and of the like conduct, later on, of Sts. Athanasius and Paulinus.⁴⁷ Tillemont⁴⁸ suggests that the Almighty ratified the conduct of Cyprian and Gregory in a visible manner as an argument against the Montanists.

Nowhere, however, do we see a clearer or more practical application of this doctrine of the Fathers than in the penitential canons of Peter of Alexandria, which were promulgated on Easter Sunday A. D. 306. They are a systematic resumé of all the previous teachings on this question scattered up and down the many tomes of the Fathers. In this valuable document,⁴⁹ which is no faint foreshadowing of the mediæval soul directories and books of penance, each offense is briefly stated and the penalty which seemed necessary affixed. And well might the zealous Bishop direct his attention to the bettering of the ecclesiastical status of many of his spiritual children, for in the Alexandrine Church many had gone over, as into

⁴¹ De Lapsis, 3.

⁴² Ep. XLVIII., 4.

⁴³ De Lapsis, 10.

⁴⁴ Ep. XLVIII., 4.

⁴⁵ EP. XXXVIII.

⁴⁶ P. G. XLVI., 584.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, III., 322.

⁴⁹ P. G. XVIII., 480 sq.

the arms of a Moloch, to the base practices of the pagan cults. The short breathing space made possible by the accession of Maximin Daia was embraced as a propitious hour for the internal reform of the long-suffering Church. The great Mother's heart was still indulgent, and the rod was used only because it was necessary. Hence we notice that masters who had constrained their slaves to offer to the idols when these latter might have hidden themselves, and thus retained the faith, were to perform public penance during three years.⁵⁰ Clerics who had surrendered themselves to the Judges and subsequently apostatized were deprived of their priestly offices, whilst those who had not gone the utter length of denial were to be punished for their rashness.⁵¹ In the same place we find an unmistakable condemnation of those who had provoked the pagan mob by breaking down their temples and idols.⁵² This fearless prelate fled later on,⁵³ thus sealing by example what he had so courageously counseled in others.

Naught save an insidious inference fraught at once with colossal ignorance and habitual perversion of the mind and teaching of the Fathers could dare maintain that they advised flight when open and courageous profession of the faith was a plain duty. This witnessing to the faith was precisely one of the essentials for a martyr's honor and title. If God intervened, asking flight rather than death, as happened with the Prince of the Apostles, it would, of course, be criminal obstinacy and self-sufficiency not to flee. But capture and imprisonment were generally taken as certain indications of a Christian's duty to confess the faith. St. Polycarp went gladly to the pyre when he deemed it the will of the Master made known to him by his capture through the betrayal by one of his servants. St. Cyprian embraced martyrdom with as much eagerness as any mediæval saint ever manifested for the approach of the grim though comely "Sister Death." Though he had several times evaded the talons of the Roman eagle, yet when captured he calmly awaited the decisive blow. Nay, during the year of captivity preceding his death, when flight was possible owing to the freedom of Roman detention or "*custodia libera*,"⁵⁴ he never embraced the chance of

⁵⁰ P. G. XVIII., 480, canon vii.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 4888.

⁵² The Council of Iberis (canonix) deprived of the title of martyr those who had provoked the pagans to anger by destroying their temples. Lactantius (*De Morte, Persec.*, cxlii.) blames a Christian of Nicomedia, who had torn down a penal edict. Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.*, IV., xxix.) blames Bishop Abdas, of Persia, for wrecking a heathen temple. Instances of such rebukes abound.

⁵³ Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*, P. G. LXVII., 1166.

⁵⁴ The "*custodia libera*" in Roman law was a sort of parole, which often extended over several years. The prisoner was entrusted to the hands of a citizen, who was responsible with his life for the custody of the captive. Paul, *Sententia*, I., v., c. xxxi., Sîdon Apoll. Ep., 1, 7.

escape. Here, then, is one of the limitations governing the permission granted the confessors to flee from the hands of the persecutor. Self-surrender is heretical as betraying a distrust of the Creator;⁵⁵ it is forbidden by the Apostolic Constitutions⁵⁶ and precludes the title of martyr. But if a Christian has actually been seized, then his plain duty is to bear witness to Christ with courage and confidence.⁵⁷ It is, moreover, proper not to postpone the confession of faith if circumstances demand it.⁵⁸ Any one at all familiar with the writings of the Fathers knows that the dominating spirit of the seven beautiful treatises, "*Exhortationes ad Martyres*," enjoins a valiant, steadfast and unequivocal confession of Christ by those whom the praying faithful touchingly called "*martyres destinati*." These latter were no other than the brethren held fast in prison, from which they were not allowed to escape save by direct inspiration or Divine intervention. It were an easy task to ferret out of the writings of that day many exhortations to constancy uttered by the sympathizing and half-envious "*pastores fidelesque*" who were not yet deemed worthy to stand in the vestibule of heaven, as the dungeons of prospective martyrs were rightly considered, despite their noisome hideousness. Nowadays such classification would be looked upon as the useless work of a mediæval historical scavenger.

In those days of bitter trial the early Christians learned the Divine will in their regard from a careful study of the Gospel of St. Matthew, where the most direct command to flight stands side by side with the Master's instructions to His disciples regulating their conduct when brought before Judges, Governors and Kings for His name's sake. It was the chosen *vade mecum* of many a hunted confessor of the faith; it was the most ardently desired gift of the incarcerated Christian. In the dim light of the dingy, damp and noisome cell it was most frequently read to the holy prisoner by the aged priest or the youthful deacon whose eyes were alike quick to discover danger. Here was the word of God giving solace to those for whom escape was no longer possible, and sober directions for flight for those whom the law had not as yet apprehended. No wonder, then, that the *Acta Martyrum* are saturated with the spirit

⁵⁵ Clement Alex. Strom., IV., 4.

⁵⁶ Apost. Const. (ed. Funk), V., 3; VIII., 45. Even if we are disposed to consider the Apostolic Constitutions with Funk, as interpenetrated with Apollinaristic spirit, yet the testimony they offer regarding flight is in no wise impaired. For in a matter as public as this they could not have been in opposition to a doctrine so well known to the faithful.

⁵⁷ Origin O., XIII., 897. The heretical sect of the Helcisaites taught that when dragged before the tribunal the faithful might deny by word whilst maintaining the true faith in their hearts. Euseb., H. E. VI., xxxviii.; Origen, Com. Cel., I., 1; Basil, Hom. in Gordian. Martyr., xviii.

of those words written only about six years after Christ's Ascension. No wonder that the confessor's responses to the crafty questions of a Roman Judge are often almost verbatim quotations from that self-same Gospel of St. Matthew, as Le Blant has adequately shown.⁵⁹ Truly, "dabitur vobis in illa hora quid loquamini"—and those heroic confessors spoke with the manly courage and fearlessness of him who is often called the "Praeceptor Martyrum."

Another point which cannot be overlooked unless we are prepared to allow the interpretation of history to the enemies of the faith comes up naturally for consideration at this place. We have seen Tertullian inveighing against the flight of the clergy. Failing to make the necessary distinctions and reservations of wiser and more prudent interpreters, he condemned flight indiscriminately. His doctrine, however, was repudiated even by so devoted an admirer as St. Cyprian. Indeed, most of the prominent ecclesiastics of the era of persecution condemned his attitude either by word or action. Yet none of these uncompromising teachers meant to justify a reckless or concerted flight of the clergy. Even so early as the first year of the Christian dispensation the Catholic priest by his commendable devotion to his flock, by

the better fortitude
Of patience, and heroic martyrdom
Unsung,⁶⁰

won the love and confidence enduring to this present day. If, on the one hand, a layman could not surrender himself to the authorities save in atonement for previous apostasy,⁶¹ on the other, no priest could absent himself without grave and serious reasons. In the year 250 St. Cyprian deprived two sub-deacons and an acolyte, who had fled without sufficient reason, of the monthly stipend assigned the ministers of the altar.⁶² Two years later he admonished⁶³ his flock to rally around the priests, who had been instructed as to the manner of opposing the impending outbreak of violence. These are two instances of many that show the practice prevailing throughout the Church. Enough of the clergy perished nobly at the post of duty when flight was not permissible, and thus saved the sacred calling from being justly considered mercenary. St. Augustine gives us the praxis prescribed in his day for the clergy. His words are only the explicit and theological statement of a point of pastoral theology which had obtained always and everywhere before his time. Without special reason, he says, none can desert the flock. If like

⁵⁹ Le Blant, *op. cit.*

⁶⁰ Milton, *Parad. Lost*, ix., 29.

⁶¹ Cyp. Ep. XVII.; Pet. Alex., canon viii.

⁶² Ep. XXIV., 4.

⁶³ Ep. LVII., 2.

danger threaten both priest and layman, the former cannot abandon the faithful. But if the priest is singled out as a target, if his parish has migrated elsewhere to regions of safety, if a substitute can be found to administer the sacraments in secret without arousing fears of pagan suspicion, then only might the priest withdraw from his charge.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, it would seem from his comments that the great Doctor was not altogether certain about the obligation of flight. At any rate, he maintains, it is not unlawful to flee.⁶⁵ Even at such times and under such restrictions as those he indicated, the zealous priests departed reluctantly. Never for a moment did the pastor utterly desert his flock. A substitute, whose identity was not known to the Roman authorities, was generally installed in his place. These were the "commissaries," of whom we find early mention, especially in the life of Peter of Alexandria.⁶⁶

And thus, thanks be to God, prudence and devotion to duty closely united in those primitive days. The vision of ravenous beasts or torturing rack did not deprive the Church of her divine tranquillity and serenity, nor disturb the imperturbable equity of her judgment, the decisions of her temperate tribunal of wise spiritual direction. She was too intimately the Spouse of Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace and the Ruler of the World, to turn pale and timorous when the stormy elements of passion and cruel intolerance raged about her. Like the mother of the Machabees, she never flinched in sacrificing her beloved sons to truth and duty. She alone is the martyr of the ages; yea, the great mother of all martyrs. But, on the other hand, the Spirit of Wisdom and Truth, the promised Paraclete coming to her aid, had ever guided her safely through the dangerous shoals of Montanistic illuminism and the premature Jansenism of the Gnostic Areopagitæ. She always stood unchanging and immovable as the Everlasting Rock whereon she was builded—too strong to be blown hither and thither by every gust of persecution and every breath of carnal wisdom, counseling accommodation to the spirit of the world; too motherly to demand heroic and superhuman sacrifice from every one in every instance. Hence the rights and duties of her children in penal times worked mightily towards good on a corrupt and evil generation—on a dissolute and sycophantic paganism. A respecter of law and order, as had been her Divine Founder, she allowed her children to adopt the legal means of escape from death sanctioned by the Roman law. The noblest of her sons did not disdain juridical appeal and procedure. "Ego sum civis Romanus" is the bold cry of the justice-loving

⁶⁴ Ep. ad Honorat., P. L. XXX., 111, 1013 sq.

⁶⁵ P. L. XLII., 272.

⁶⁶ Hefele, History of Councils, I., 343-344.

Apostle of the Gentiles. But the illegal means of escape, such as the false certificate (*libellus*) and substitution (*missio*), she most certainly proscribed, despite the false theology of the crafty "*libellatici*" and the subtle "*mittentes*." Rebellion was never encouraged or fomented by her children with ecclesiastical approbation, despite the blundering statements to that effect of subsequent historians.⁶⁷ Flight and ransom were allowed, we know, under certain conditions. From all this⁶⁸ it appears as clear as daylight that life was a sacred boon to men who always carried it in their hands. Only the sinister, malevolent pen of untrustworthy historians, pledged to offset the authoritative claims to true greatness of the Church and her children, can depict the Catholic priesthood of primitive times as cowardly, unfaithful and lacking in devotion to their flocks. Only a sentimental, sensational corps of so-called historians can question or find fault with the disciplinary regulations of the Church in penal days. If the early Christians possessed a single spark of that vain-glorious ambition, that effeminate posing before a pagan world which the infidel Gibbon sets forth in the twenty-third chapter (Part III.) of his work as the motive which sustained the martyrs and steeled them to their fate, we would never have had so many examples of flight from apostasy nor of so many noble martyrs who stood fast to the post of duty to the end. Flight to Gibbon—that arch-enemy of Christianity—meant all that was inglorious and cowardly; death, because of the conditions and obligations attendant on a particular state of life, was the only alternative, the only manner of making the best of an endless and hopeless situation.

II.

The most cursory glance through the *Acta Sanctorum* or the *Acta Sincera Martyrum* of Ruinart discovers to us a legion of worthy children of Mother Church who fled on the outbreak of every persecution.⁶⁹ By the hard schooling of exile some of the extorres were found firm and sure enough of foot when God's will clearly manifested itself to step down on the arena and combat boldly for the golden and beauteous crown of actual martyrdom. But the Church did not withhold the martyr's glory and privilege from those confessors of whom the rare Dominican apologist, Ansaldi, speaks in his valuable and interesting work, "*De Martyribus sine Sanguine*."⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Benigni, *Storia Sociale della Chiesa* (Milan, 1907), I, 249, note 2.

⁶⁸ Benigni, *op. cit.*, 236-249.

⁶⁹ Jolyon, *op. cit.*, *passim*. The monumental work of Paul Allard, "*Histoire des Persecutions*" (five volumes), contains many examples of flight.

⁷⁰ This valuable work can be read with immense profit at this day, and is published in Ugolino, "*Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*" (Venice, 1756).

In giving these valiant defenders of the faith the much coveted honor, the Church has been guided by the canon which St. Athanasius recalled to the minds of the faithful of his day, "Those who die in flight do not die without glory, for theirs is the palm of martyrdom."⁷¹ The martyr of the weaker sex, St. Theckla, around whose name the Christian imagination has woven an almost impenetrable veil of legend, died peacefully at Eleucia after having sustained many enforced flights in the wake of St. Paul's retreating steps.⁷² Around the brows of countless others the halo of martyrdom shone resplendently when the hour of a natural death approached. For, though from the third century onward the title of martyr was used in the strictest sense of those only who had suffered death for the faith, yet during the days of actual conflict it was often applied to those who did not succumb outright to the persecutor's violence.⁷³ This is evident from the fact that the extorres exercised an intercessory power in behalf of the renegade and apostate Christian. There is no question, nor could there be, of the martyrs who were already following the Lamb in the heavenly Jerusalem. Hence whatever obscurity shrouds the interpretation of Tertullian's words, it is certain that he speaks⁷⁴ of those witnesses of the faith who were still among the living for whom the extorres exercised the good offices of mediators and intercessors. Besides, the early writers did not apply the term of martyr to the extorres in that special sense adopted by St. Bernard, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Alphons Liguori and spiritual writers in general, when they compared the sacrifice of the monk to that of the martyr. Nor were the refugees termed martyrs in the poetical sense of the mediæval Celts who distinguished the "red martyr" who sheds his blood for Christ from the "white martyr" who lives the life of purity, or the "green martyr" who walks on the royal road of penitential suffering.⁷⁵ No, the fugitives suffered pains enough to warrant the glorious honors given them. The prospect which stared them in the face as they wistfully departed into a sorrowful and uncertain exile was not by any means inviting or inspiring.

There was, first of all, the appalling thought of leaving home. The stoutest heart is not proof against this shaft of sorrow. And

⁷¹ *Apol. pro Fuga sua*, P. G. XXV., 666.

⁷² Cabrol, *Le Légend de sainte Thècle*, in *Gethsemane et le Monde* (1895). Also published in brochure.

⁷³ Cyprian, *Ep. LVI.*; Baronius *Not. in Mar. Rom. ad 2m Januarii*; Benedict XIV., *De Serv. Beat.*; Piolin, *La Vindication ou la reconnaissance authentique du martyre par l'Eglise*, in *Revue du Monde Catholique* (1889), 375-392.

⁷⁴ *Ad Mart. I.*, . . . *quam pacem quidem in ecclesia non habentes a martyribus in carcere exorare consueverunt.*

⁷⁵ Goyaud, *Les Conceptions du martyre chez les Irlandais*, in *Revue Benedictine* (July, 1907), 336-359.

the early Christian, with the waters of baptism still fresh upon his brow and the hideous pagan past receding swiftly before eyes that had seen the salvation of the Lord, was loath to leave the tender seductions of the fireside, now a thousand times sweeter and holier since Christ had stooped to enter in and sup with him at his table. For if the pagan was unstable in his affections, and consequently a vagabond, it was no doubt because the flower of genuine home life, with its deep virginal affection, did not sprout at his hearthstone from the bitter sterile root of ethnicism. The prevalence of divorce in Roman society shows clearly that the sturdy and lustful soldier knew not the most elemental joys of home. No wonder, then, that the exile felt half of life's happiness gone when he took the road of flight in answer to the cruel edict of a heartless Emperor or a conscienceless Senate. Well might St. Cyprian style him a valiant and worthy soldier who preferred to follow the "Incomparable Captain" rather than remain at home with parents or family at the cost of apostasy.¹⁰ If there were some who had remained behind him on the field of persecution, the extorris was hourly tortured by the racking remembrance of the danger to which his dear ones were constantly exposed. Father or mother might be standing that very hour before some inhuman Judge who had no respect for age or virtue; wife or sister might be struggling helplessly in the clutches of some foul ruffian, who, tearing them away from the pure home where they abode with Jesus, was about to consign them to the pestilential confines of a brothel. Tender infants, perhaps, were that moment sending forth their pitiful cries on the desert air near Lake Velabrum, by the Aventine, or at the Lactaria column, where defenseless babes were abandoned; or perchance the modest young spouse, fair as she was chaste, was being forced to take part in the vile performances of the vaudeville stage, worse than the orgies of hell itself. Again, if, as often happened, an edict was promulgated suddenly, like a bolt of lightning from the blue, and there was no time to arrange a concerted flight, family ties were torn asunder and the mangled, dis severed parts scattered like chaff before the wind. The tender, plaintive threnody of Evangeline of later days can be found foreshadowed in the Acta of those early ages. The keen eye can read between the lines of every one of these monumental histories of eviction the whole sad tragedy of broken hearts, bleeding wounds and pining, lonesome, homesick families. No doubt that note of ideal melancholy, soft and sorrowful as the plaint of the dove, which throbs through the earliest literature of nearly every Christian nation, was caught from the Acta Martyrum, which, far from enervating the heroes of the Middle Ages, presented to

¹⁰ Ep. LIV., 4.

them rather a glorious incentive to Gospel living and courage. The Mysteries and Miracle Plays of Europe, even when they seem least occupied with the story of the martyrs, cannot altogether put aside the elevating tenderness of those primal tragedies of Christian literature.

Then, too, the Roman citizen certainly was passionately devoted to his fatherland. Nor was the Christian less loyal patriot, despite the calumny of "*contemptissimae inertiae*" wherewith Suetonius would fain have defiled his honor. Biglmaier has shown, in his valuable monograph on the subject, that the early Christians participated in all those civic movements which did not entail a practical renunciation of their faith. Therefore, to roam about, an exile among savages, far removed from the privileges which Roman law and Roman institutions secured to the Christian and pagan alike meant no small anguish to the former. Apart from all this, what man could ever experience the fascinating spell of the City Eternal and feel quite at home in any other place? Even the motley throng of her bitterest enemies, her mongrel stepchildren of every clime, the Golden City subdued by an easy, spontaneous, unconscious and all-compelling charm. From her statesmen, too, and her officials Rome elicited a chivalric devotion which no other city could duplicate. Regulus, Cincinnatus and Coriolanus are typical and symbolical Roman heroes. And so, in "*Hypathia*"—that violent yet impotent hiss of the serpent scotched by the Tractarian movement of England—Kingsley gives us a true soul-picture of the statesman, Arsenius, depicting him as always dominated by a loyal Roman's high devotion to the "*civitas*." The state official turned monk can never forget the city he had helped to steer on the wild sea of statecraft. And yet he left it after much thought and premeditation. What, then, of those Christians who were haplessly dispersed without warning? Must not their thoughts have wandered back to the city which had hated and persecuted them, but which they loved with the noblest affection of an exile and a patriot? Did not the Apostle of the Gentiles himself often recall the golden city with its forests of statues, its rows of palatial residences, its brilliant life and busy idleness whither the Master had despatched His chosen Apostle when he tried to escape to Antioch from the hideous sight of all this gilded, refined corruption? Here would be established in the times to come the seat of the new religion's power and majesty; here was to reign the august Vicar of Christ, the mighty general who would safely direct the armies of that Leader of Men whom the Jews condemned to the ignominious death of the Cross as a vile malefactor and open enemy of Cæsar. Here the streets would be baptized in the blood of the martyrs; here the very roads would be worn away

by the ever-passing feet of palmer and penitent. Every stone in that city would take on a tongue to cry aloud against the mummeries of the pagan cult, now so proud and yet so dominant, a foul and idolatrous cult, which had proved itself utterly insufficient for man's higher needs or proper development. Apostles and their coadjutors would come for counsel and direction to "Rome, the nurse of judgment" (Henry VIII. ii., 2). Truly, the primitive Christians tenderly loved the pagan city, which even in their day was fast becoming the "*patria fidelium*." Tertullian, with his wonted originality, invented a classical barbarism—*Romanitas*—which epitomized the adage *Omnia Romanæ cedant miracula terræ*, then consciously felt by every man from the Tiber to the Danube, from England to the far-flung frontier of Parthia. Hardly had the faithful emerged from the Catacombs in the bowels of the earth, scarcely had the extorres returned forever from exile on the publication of the peace won at Saxa Rubra, than their hearts gave vent to a burst of enthusiastic admiration for Rome which prudence had forced then hitherto to suppress deeply in their heart of hearts. Jean Guiraud has written a beautiful essay on this, the Christian's loyal love for the municipality. It was in the fifth century, when the wounds of prolonged persecution had hardly healed, that the Christian patriot burst forth in a eulogy which seven centuries later Dante was to put into classic metre:

Figlia e madre d'eroi, che in pace e in guerra
Sempre sul l'Universo avrai l'impero
Roma, che sei de' Numi emula in terra
Con lo splendor de' Cesari e di Piero.

Innanzi a te quando in folle non erra
Sorgi a verti l'attonito pensiero;
Innanzi a te l'ossequio mio s'attera
Che in te sol veggio il grande, il bello, il vero.

Il tempo, che qualunque umana altezza
Transforma, trugge e alfin copre d'obblio
Ti guarda sì ma il tuo poter non spezza.

Sull' Aventin, dove a seder si pose
Dante un giorno così gridar s'udio:
E: Sia così! l'Eternità rispose.

And five centuries later the same cry is heard in the land of Innisfail from the fiery lips of Follian:

O Roma nobilis, orbis et domina,
Cunctarum urbium excellentissima.

This glorious vision of his native city floated frequently before the eyes of the wandering exile. It is not strange, indeed, that the thought of encountering wild countries and savage peoples affrighted the extorres. Some, indeed, succumbed under the moral ordeal of bidding farewell indefinitely to home and country. The "*insignes personæ*"⁷⁷ who preferred to remain at home are proof of this.

⁷⁷ *Epistolæ clerici Romani ad clerum Carth., inter Cyprianicas*, 2.

There were other obstacles which prevented the Christian from treading the broad basaltic streets leading from the great and gaily throbbing heart of the civilized world. These affect men more intimately. For that innate selfishness of the human heart, which begets a desire for ease and material prosperity, ill sustains the blasting of its fondest dreams and hopes. Hence the loss of property and possessions, the "*jactura patrimonii*"⁷⁸ was the last condition that the natural man cared to encounter. The Roman law confiscated all the goods and temporalities of the refugee if he failed to return within a year.⁷⁹ The concessions which Caracalla had made in this regard were abrogated by Decius in his edict of 250.⁸⁰ And later, when Valerian came to the throne, he found the State on the verge of financial bankruptcy. The national coffers must be refilled at all costs. Persecution, in this way, became a crusade of organized robbery to enrich the authorities at the expense of a despised and hated sect.⁸¹ Whatever the motives which elicited the second penal decree of Valerian, by which the possessions of Senators, nobles, knights "*cæsariani*" and noble ladies were confiscated, it is certain that the losses sustained by the Christians at large were not small nor insignificant. Once more they took the sorrowful road of exile. Well did they know that persecution was as it were an intermittent fever. When some rich merchant or legalized brigand with swollen money bags got the favorable chance he would buy or bribe his way to the throne. The real welfare of the commonwealth was to him and his supporters a matter of little or no concern. This was his day of golden indifference; this his hour of purple pomp and bestial carousing. Money alone was needed for this perpetual carnival, this never-ceasing bacchanalian orgy. As time wore on and the royal robbers somewhat relaxed their vigilance, could not the wanderer (one might ask) return, like a migratory bird, to the home he had been forced to abandon? Could he not establish himself again therein with the poor remains he had been able to save from the wreck of his earthly possessions? Not so! For the ravenous wolf of Rome had already devoured greedily the thousand minor patrimonies of the persecuted Christians which had been sacrosanct and inviolable from immemorial times in Roman jurisprudence.⁸² Hence the "*rei familiaris damna*," which occurs again and again in St. Cyprian's writings, was a powerful deterrent for the Christian who

⁷⁸ Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, 20; Le Blant, *op. cit.*, 229-234.

⁷⁹ L-5 (Digest LXLVIII., tit. xviii., *Mandatis vavetur, et si redierint et se purgaverint integram rem suam habeant. Si neque responderint neque qui se defendant habuerint, tum post annum bona in fiscum coguntur.*

⁸⁰ Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, II., 3; Ep. LXI.; Euseb., *H. E.* VIII., II., 18; Gregg, *op. cit.* *Passim*—and for confiscation of Cyprian's goods, 119.

⁸¹ Cyprian, Ep. LXXXIII., 1.

⁸² Callistratus, *Dig.* XLVIII., xxi.; Paul, *ibid.*, 7, 3.

was forced to choose between future penury or flight, between death or denial of the faith. Hence, too, the loss of dignity, the "dignitate amissa," the mention of which we meet with so often in the documents of that day speaks volumes for the living faith and generous sacrifice of its victims.

These, however, were not the worst trials. The conditions of banishment might well shake the courage of the bravest heart. When one considers the uncertainty of obtaining food and shelter; the long journeys undertaken in haste and often by night; the hiding in desert places and caves; the imminent danger from prowling wild beasts; the constant exposure to the elements or to the attacks of bandits and roaming marauders who set themselves like demons to prey upon and enslave the half-starved wanderers⁸³—the catalogue of woes which beset the fleeing Christian might be stretched out to an indefinite length of anguish. In the far-off lands and rural districts to which the victims fled their fellow-Christians were few in number and always difficult to identify. They were considered and punished as accomplices in crime if they welcomed and sheltered the unhappy strangers.⁸⁴ Most of them were poor, being of the few willing and conscientious taxpayers to the extravagant demands of that luxurious cosmopolis by the tawny Tiber that gathered in her resources wherever she could, only to lavish them all as a soothing sop or narcotic upon a proletariat always ripe for sedition and revolution. Besides, when hounded by his persecutors the fugitive was bound to surrender himself rather than betray his host.⁸⁵ The story of St. Arcadius, or the holy deacon Habib of Edessa⁸⁶ alone proves that the extorrees were never quite safe in their hiding places. For the State with a malicious cruelty had entered the names of the refugees on the list of the public criminals.⁸⁷ Branded thus, the poor victim was continually exposed to capture in the provinces at the hands of the Roman "strator" or detective. St. Cyprian says that the escaped hid in "latebris nostris," and this was a precaution consequent on flight. We know from the Acts that Sts. Polycarp, Gregory of Neocæsaria, Dionysius of Alexandria, Quirinus, Severus and the three sisters, Agape, Chiona and Irene,⁸⁸ were pursued by the Roman police, who had all to hope from the arrest of the Christians. And often enough the fugitive, alas! fell into the hands of these merciless and avaricious men. St. Domnina sprang into a

⁸³ Euseb., H. E. VI., 42; Cyprian, Ep. LIV.; Ep. LVI.

⁸⁴ Tertullian, Apologet. C., II.

⁸⁵ Pet. Alex., Canon VIII., xlii. This law does not appear to have been over-rigidly observed.

⁸⁶ Cureton, Ancient Syriac Documents (1864), 72 sq.; Duval, La Littérature Syriaque, 127 sq.

⁸⁷ L, 1, 2; Dig. LXLVIII.

⁸⁸ Allard, Histoire des Perse., IV., 278.

river with her two children to avoid capture by these subaltern and underpaid hounds of Roman injustice. With these few instances in mind, who will say with the French minimizer of Christianity's heroic children that flight was but a romantic escapade, a license, cloaked in religion, to enter upon a Bohemian and gypsylike mode of life?

If the lot of the enforced pilgrim for Christ was hard, yet the Master bids His reviled and persecuted children to rejoice and be glad. And His Spouse did not for so much as a moment forget the wanderer. If the ages have given the Church that most tender title of "Our Holy Mother," it was in the earliest dawn of her mission that the maternal instinct was clearly manifested in her solicitude for her afflicted and abandoned members. In the many excellent histories of charity and fraternal love, such as those of Gautier, Chastel, Ratzinger, Uhlhorn or Lallemand, there are golden pages revealing a love of God which found an outlet at this time in noblest deeds of mercy to unfortunate human kind. Truth to tell, the Middle Ages unfold glorious records of innumerable monastic foundations which became the true inns and hospices of the poor and forsaken. Charitable confraternities and associations also sprang up abundantly in those ages of faith. But the Benign Mother was then the Mistress of the World, the Matriarch of the Nations, whose every wish brought untold and fabulous riches to her feet. Of course, it is worth remembering that in days of earthly prosperity and power charity did not weaken nor wither in the Church. Yet it was marvelous to see the infant "Ecclesia" bestirring herself with the utmost solicitude to provide a refuge or a remedy for every misery at home and abroad among the faithful and the ethnic. This blossoming of a divine benevolence might be termed the blooming of the first crocus of the new spring after the dreary winter of paganism; the solemn anathema of the spirit of love upon the soulless philosophy which dared to exclaim with brazen assurance, "*Nihil ergo extra se amat Deus.*" Indeed, when there was even much to be done in the Church in the way of external organization and solidification her all-embracing charity had already created for itself a systematic method of operation. Well might the early defenders of the faith point with confidence to this hitherto unheard-of spirit of love which flowed forth over men of all classes. This was an argument that none could gainsay; here a doctrine that did not parade itself in the garb of sterile words or florid formulæ of conduct. That early "Christmoque," Julian the Apostate, attempted to reproduce this spirit in his pagan renaissance at Rome, thus attesting to humanity at large that Christ was alone worthy of imitation when He assigned as a test of His true discipleship that each should love

his neighbor as the Father in heaven hath loved us from all eternity.

So when the greedy and corrupt commonwealth was pushing the harmless and law-abiding Christians off the narrow road of civic justice and equality into the ditch of oppression, where every mean and avaricious citizen might trample them under foot, might fling them into that pit of despair where every crafty and sycophantic politician could find in the hopelessness of their civic status a pretext for renewed favor with the tyrannical Senate or the temporizing Emperor—at this very time of darkest desolation Christ walked among His children in His benign and blessed representatives, teaching all to embrace one another with the kiss of genuine brotherly love. Every little parish had its “*arca, concha carbona*,”⁸⁹ or, in other words, its sacred coffers, whereinto the alms of the faithful gushed as spontaneously and as refreshingly as torrents of purest water. There seemed to be a spirited emulation among the early Christians, most of whom were at first of the poorer classes, to manifest by their generous giving of alms their lively gratitude for the gift of faith. So liberal, in truth, were these donations that certain despicable wretches grew fat, like leeches, on this warm heart-blood flowing from the charity of the faithful. The needs of distant destitute brethren were supplied from many of these œcumenical banks where Jesus was the ever-present chief and president, the Bishop and his clergy the cashiers and every ardent Christian the willing depositor. Thus it came to pass that confessors of the faith languishing in rocky caverns and desert places were supplied with the necessities of life. These helpless suffering brethren were the first to whom the many angels of charity carried the gifts of the parish dispensary.⁹⁰ Besides, no stranger around whose brow shone the iridescent aureola of faith and suffering for Christ’s sake—and where was the Christian eye that could not discern that unmistakable halo at a glance?—was allowed to pass the door of the Bishop’s house. Bishop Melito, of Sardis, wrote a beautiful directory and guide, now lost, on the gracious virtue of hospitality.⁹¹ But even without this treatise the stranger and exile would have met with the most tender and loving treatment from the clergy. Holy hands took in the fugitives to their sanctuaries of refuge. Lips that were attuned to divine anthems of praise chanted touching snatches of the psalms and early liturgical canticles of love as this pilgrim conqueror of human hearts and human selfishness entered the Bishop’s

⁸⁹ Thomassin, *Anclenne et Nouvelle Discipline de l’Église*, 3 pars; I., II; Ratzinger, *Armenpflege*, 68-73, *Einmahme der Armenpflege*; Lallmand, *Histoire de la Charité*, II., Part I.; Tertullian, *Apologet.* XXXIX.

⁹⁰ *Const. Apost.*, V., 1; Probst, *Disciplin*, 171.

⁹¹ Carl Thomas, *Melito von Sardis. Eine kirchengeschichtliche Studie*, 135-137.

presence to present his letters of guarantee.⁹² The venerable man whose cheeks were furrowed and eyes red and swollen from constant weeping over the cruel taking away by legalized butchers of the sweetest and tenderest lambs of his flock, blessed the refugee who immediately handed to him the mystical emblem of Christ, a fish carven from gold or crystal, the recognized symbol from York to Carthage and Jerusalem of true union with the Mother Church at Rome.⁹³ Often, too, the travel-stained hand presented to the Bishop a small case holding the "*alimentum indeficiens*"—a necessary and consoling adjunct of the fugitive's meagre outfit.⁹⁴ Then was he taken aside for rest and nourishment, loving brethren bathed his tired feet, which had trodden the wine-press of suffering and the thorny road of exile. In those sacred hospices the clergy, from the Bishop down to the youngest acolyte, as it were, became pupils again, sitting at the feet of him who had passed through the school of adversity and could tell what the "*imitatio Christi*" really meant. They lodged him for three days; they concealed him from his pursuers; they provided him with necessities as he turned once more to a world unknown, untried, inimical. They gave him letters of recommendation to the distant clergy—foreshadowers of the *Tractoriæ* of later times⁹⁵—thus insuring a kind reception in every Christian house of the widely separated colonies and provinces. There is no more profitable reading in this age of empty philanthropy and futile endeavor for social reform than the touching narrative of the early Christians receiving and entertaining, with almost reverential awe "*cum canticis et hymnis in Domino*," the countless exiles of the faith. Nor did they stop short here. The wanderer was a brother in Christ. His sorrows were the common inheritance of all the faithful. So the aged prelate on the following Sunday begged the assembled brethren to pray for the hapless exile, for him who had been driven by pagan cruelty from home and all its blessed and cheering associations. The liturgy still preserves, as in a precious urn, much of the aroma of this genuine brotherly spirit. In the Milan liturgy may still be found a prayer "*pro fratribus in carceribus, in vinculis, in metallis, in exsilio constitutis*."⁹⁶

Beside the right of first claim to the alms of the parish, the extorres as bloodless martyrs received other tokens of the deep

⁹² Tertullian, *De Orat.*, 26; *De Cult. Foemin.*, II., 11; *Hermas*, *Simil.*, IX., 27; *Mandat*, VIII.

⁹³ Cabrol, *La Prière Antique*, 407.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ The *Tractoriæ* were Pontifical passports, allowing the bearer to demand hospitality and service for himself and horses throughout the Christian world. In relation to these billets some interesting data can be found in Migne, P. L. 105, 98-100.

⁹⁶ *Auctuarium Solesmense* (Solesmes, 1900), 37.

respect and predilection of the Church. Justin Martyr⁹⁷ records that the "blind and crippled," though not versed in the wisdom of this world, taught the sublime doctrine of the Cross more easily and more completely than Plato ever promulgated his philosophy. The "Magnanimous Man" of the Nicomacchaen Ethics had in truth revealed His secrets to the little ones of the household of the faith, who rejoiced to preach His glory and His unspeakable condescension among men. Now Probst⁹⁸ suggests that it was probably to those of the faithful who returned from exile or survived persecution that the office of catechetes was intrusted. The martyrs were undoubtedly considered part of that quasi-ecclesiastical corps which included the virgins, confessors, widows and deaconesses. Further, a passage in one of St. Cyprian's letters⁹⁹ would lead us to infer that the extorres passed over easily into the ranks of the clergy. The Church, following the hint of the Canons of Hippolytus,¹⁰⁰ showed a leniency in this regard worthy of all praise. In her maternal wisdom she adjudged that these students of divinity, having made their course in the Seminary of the Cross, were well fitted therein to receive the priesthood of the Crucified. Then, too, the martyrs from early times enjoyed great power in the Church with regard to the reconciliation of sinners and apostates. Pope Callixtus extended and elevated this prerogative of the martyrs to its apogee. Just what may have been the nature of their privilege in this respect would be hard to say. Some critics think it was the power of readmitting the fallen into the Church in view of a vicarious satisfaction arising from their sufferings; other historians, who are nearer the truth, it seems, maintain that by recommendation of word or letter (libellus) from the martyr the sinner and renegade were committed to the indulgence of the Bishop.¹⁰¹ But whatever may have been the extent of this prerogative, it is evident that the Church recognized the dignity of the living martyrs. Hence, too, the holy man of Carthage was moved to write that to be at peace with the martyrs was a certain sign of peace with God.¹⁰²

With such proofs of merciful consideration refreshing him in his

⁹⁷ I. Apol. LX.

⁹⁸ Lehre und Gebet, 92; Disciplin, 124.

⁹⁹ Ut qui sublimiter Christum confessi sunt essent clerum post modum Christi ministeriis ecclesiasticis adornarent. Ep. XXXIV.; also, Ep. XXIV.; Ep. XXXIII.

¹⁰⁰ Canon VI.

¹⁰¹ D'Ales, *op. cit.*, 350; Batiffol, *Études d'Histoire et de Théologie Positive* I., 88; Monceaux, *op. cit.*, 432, 367; Probst, *Sakraments, etc.*, 295; S. Charrier, in *Revue Augustinienne* (May 15, 1907), under the caption, "Tertullien et les Martyrs Penitentiels," attempts to restrict the powers of the martyrs to simply quieting or assuaging such discords as might arise among the faithful. *Cf.* also *ibid.*, July 15, 1907.

¹⁰² Ep. XXIII.

exile, the fugitive would have been an ingrate could he have ever forgotten the gentle Mother who had given him birth to Christ. From the Babylon of this world she watched and prayed and multiplied herself in a thousand delicate ways to lighten his burden and console his sorrows. If from no other motive than gratitude, the self-expatriated confessor felt himself bound to contribute to the spread of the Evangelion, to the casting abroad of the good tidings through all the nations of the earth. Though few cared to scrutinize the hidden designs of the Master in sending to His beloved ones so many and cruel trials, yet most were impelled by reason of their sacrifices made for religion to become ardent and efficient apostles of the Christian cause. The losses sustained for the faith did not tend to embitter the refugee. The touching remembrance of the Master's forgiveness on the Cross drew the exile as by "the odor of His ointments" from the putrid pool of pessimism or the lurid, burning pit of vindictiveness. Waldmann in a beautiful history of the love of enemies in Christian contrasted with pagan society, has proved more than sufficiently that the Cainlike principle of revengeful hatred did not obtain among the followers of Jesus. After all, had He not bidden them carry peace to every city? Had He not commanded them to offer the saving message of salvation to yonder village lying over against the sister hamlet which had had no ear for the Divine Founder and no understanding of His blessed spirit? The keen and observant Tertullian saw the possibilities of a successful propaganda in this very meekness and long suffering.¹⁰⁸ For, as he said, the pagan would inevitably be captivated by this manifestation of Christian virtue so sublimely superior to the stolid Stoicism and natural probity which in pagan gardens thrived side by side with rank polytheism. Before that St. Ignatius of Antioch bade the faithful pray for the unbeliever and show themselves meek under provocation, in order by such means to win the idolator to Christ.¹⁰⁴ And thus when every road to exile was trodden in those primitive times by men of intense faith and ardent charity—the lukewarm remaining at home without a scruple as to apostatizing—it did seem, indeed, and in its own way was true, that the invasion of enforced Christian fugitives would prove a missionary movement capable of speedily conquering the whole pagan world. To the average idolator of Gaul or Africa, the extorres was a living, unanswerable proof of the innate sublimity of the despised superstition which somehow commanded the greatest devotedness, whilst to the lukewarm Christian at home and in the fields a haunting rebuke of his own tepidity, worldliness and culpable loss of faith through

¹⁰⁸ Apolog. XLVI.

¹⁰⁴ Epist. Ephesian.

miserable compromises and base truckling to this world of darkness and its powerful ones.

We have here, then, a force of anonymous apostles who carried abroad, like winged seed, the saving message of the Galilean Redeemer until even the smallest and most hidden outposts of civilization speedily succumbed to the irresistible impact of their burning zeal and persuasive ministry. Men of principle who adhere boldly to their convictions can, as a rule, beat down any obstacle in their path. With the sharp sword of justice these men, like sturdy pioneers, can cut away any forest that blocks their onward progress. These living martyrs, journeying from place to place, did much, humanly speaking, to further the rapid spread of Christianity, and theirs shall ever be adjudged a miracle of sublime evangelization, despite the overstrained and far-fetched combination of human causes to which its explanation is accredited. The new religion, founded as it was on a rock, was instinct with granitelike attributes. It had nothing in it to commend itself to the carnal-minded pagan who groveled in sensualities or lived but for the glittering baubles of this world. The Founder of the hated superstition was an humble artisan—therefore, an object of scorn to the multitude of proud and haughty jewries where the Hebraic weakness for earthly grandeur and indomitable ambition was nurtured to excess. Furthermore, Christ was a Jew—therefore an outcast and a wretch, an object at the best only deserving of Gentile pity. His heralds spoke in a tongue that pitifully betrayed their mean origin and plebeian standing. No wonder that the Greek, who adored the “Word” with Bramanic enthusiasm, saw nothing in the new religion to attract his thoughts or captivate his spirit. The Roman, for whom language was but the vehicle of that adorable principle—law—could not fall down to adore “in spirit and in truth” the Word made Flesh and dwelling amongst men. Hence the stubborn opposition of the academicians who gauged all material success by

lo bello stile che m' ha fatto onore.

Tertullian himself cries out somewhere, “*Quid Academiae et Ecclesiae! Quid luci cum tenebris.*” The poor and lowly, not the rich and proud, were the first to give attentive ear to the homely and simple spoken agents of the Master. Roman slaves, struggling coloni came over in goodly numbers to the Divine Shepherd’s fold. It was not the hope of social betterment or worldly aggrandizement which drew the downtrodden to a religion that was everywhere compelled to walk barefoot in lowly and thorny pathways. It was the sweet wine of peace, the soothing oil of heavenly resignation exuding from every sentence of the Gospel that irresistibly allured and ravished the world-sated, the sin-stained and the miserable.

These found sympathetic brethren in the extorres, who knew from bitter experience what misery and suffering actually were.

It is difficult to state exactly in what measure Christianity penetrated into every upland and marshland of the empire and beyond it, through the intelligent efforts of the refugees. The documents of Christian antiquity contain many fragmentary and enigmatical references to the founders of churches in various countries. Duchesne and scores of other historians bear witness to the fact that the self-forgetting heroes who made history in those times cared little for its so-called immortality. To be brief, however, we know from Sozomen¹⁰⁵ that one of the western provinces of Persia, Adiabone, was evangelized from Armenia by the refugees. Eichhorn suggests that some confessors of the faith during the persecution of Nero or Domitian sought refuge in the Raetian Alps, where they converted the natives to Christianity. Egypt,¹⁰⁶ which in the second and third century was a safe haven for the exile's coracle, was likewise a seat of apostolic labor on the part of the extorres. Nowhere, probably, did the populace manifest greater tolerance. And the Christians, we may be sure, profited by this opportunity to impart the sacred truths for which they were and had been suffering. This, at least, is the opinion of Tillemont.¹⁰⁷ From the extorres' conduct in those parts and their methods of propaganda he formulates the canon which must have regulated their preaching and the use they made of pagan tolerance to spread the faith. Scholars are now agreed that Christianity entered the sand dunes of Lybia through the agency of those who fled from persecution.¹⁰⁸ St. Jerome pictures Paul the Hermit as the pioneer preacher of the faith in the Thebaid.¹⁰⁹ In both these desert places many hid themselves during the troublous times of trial and gradually formed an embryonic monasticism whence the saving light and warmth of the faith radiated throughout the entire region. It is most likely that the ecclesiastics captured by the Goths in their raids on Cappadocia and Galatia were fugitives for Christ.¹¹⁰ Indeed, the data on the introduction of the worship of the true God into the cold, barren "coelum teutonicum" are so few and have been so arbitrarily interpreted that we may still hope for some interesting and illuminating hypotheses on this subject.

This, then, is a brief summary of an important page of the Acta revealed to the student who is at pains to fill in the necessary historical context. The "Gesta" and "Passiones Martyrum," whose

¹⁰⁵ Hist. Eccl., II., 12.

¹⁰⁶ Euseb., H. E. VIII., 40.

¹⁰⁷ Memoirs pour servir, etc., III.

¹⁰⁸ Kaufmann, Eine altchristliches Pompeii in der libyschen Wüste, 5.

¹⁰⁹ Vita Sancti Pauli.

¹¹⁰ Philostorgius, H. E. II., 15; Routh, Reliquiae Sacrae, III., 256.

origin, contents and authority Dufourcq has criticized so profoundly and severely, tell the same story of the fugitives, to whom the words of Walafrid Strabo regarding the mediæval Irish monks are applicable, when he says of them that "peregrinantur pro Christo." With the learned professor of Bordeaux, with Delehaye and others, some may consider the "Gesta" as hagiographical romances and apocrypha, or, with De Rossi, Le Blant and Leclercq, may take them as interpolated versions of the original acts introduced by a partisan clergy anxious to frustrate the active literary propaganda of Manichæism. At all events, they bear witness to the fact that in the fifth and sixth centuries, and after that period, the faithful were never scandalized at beholding their heroic brethren resort to flight. Evident and reckless as are the extravagant statements of one kind or another in the "Gesta," many of the Christians are therein set down as refugees from persecution. Until some coming scholar accurately catalogues and tabulates for us this vast literature of the ages of faith, as Geraets¹¹¹ has done for the Acts of the Merovingian Martyrs, we must be content to undertake the stupendous task of perusing the entire corpus in order to get a comprehensive idea of the number of the extorres. Till that day we may satisfy ourselves with the conviction that the doctrine of the Fathers regarding flight from occasions of apostasy was never left in abeyance. From Thomas Aquinas¹¹² to Benedict XIV.¹¹³ is a long cry. But never was a rash self-surrender advised to neophyte or confessor, nor was the timid Christian absolutely and incontinently commanded to brave the tribunal of the pagan Judge. We may add, in conclusion, that the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith" in this our own day, and the many published lives of missionaries who have been hated and hunted down by the heathen in more modern times, approve that "law of martyrdom" which St. Gregory Nazianzen declared to consist in "not freely and of our own choice engaging in battle for the faith, since that were the act of a hasty and reckless mind."¹¹⁴

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¹¹¹ *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain*, 1899, 360-420.

¹¹² 2.2. æ. Quaest., III., art. 11, ad 2n, 3m.

¹¹³ *De Serv. Beat.*, III., xvi., 9.

¹¹⁴ *Orat.* 10.

THE CHURCH AND ASTRONOMY BEFORE AND AFTER GALILEO.

CATHOLICS who know the realities of the Galileo case have grown tired of explaining that the famous trial of the great Italian astronomer is an historical incident almost entirely personal in character, an exception to the general rule of the relationship of the Popes to science and absolutely no index of the policy of the Popes or of the Church toward things scientific, and, above all, toward astronomy. In spite of this view, so well established by the most careful and complete research, the Galileo affair is constantly assumed by Protestant writers and, of course, by the Protestant public generally, to be the keynote of the Papal attitude to science—the one fact from which all history may be judged. Cardinal Newman once said that the Galileo case was the exception that proved the rule of beneficent patronage of science uniformly exhibited by the Church authorities. It is “the one stock argument to the contrary.” Professor Augustus de Morgan, in his article on “The Motion of the Earth” in the *English Encyclopedia*, an authority not likely to be suspected of Catholic sympathies, has expressed exactly this same conclusion.

“The Papal power,” he says, “must upon the whole have been moderately used in matters of philosophy, if we may judge by the great stress laid on this one case of Galileo. It is the standing proof that an authority which has lasted a thousand years was all the time occupied in checking the progress of thought! There are certainly one or two other instances, but those who make most of the outcry do not know them.” Professor Huxley, writing to St. George Mivart, November 12, 1885, says “that after looking into the Galileo case while he was on the ground in Italy he had arrived at the conclusion that “the Pope and the College of Cardinals had rather the best of it.” In our own time M. Bertrand, the perpetual secretary of the French Academy of Sciences, declared that “the great lesson for those who would wish to oppose reason with violence was clearly to be read in Galileo’s story, and the scandal of his condemnation was brought about without any profound sorrow to Galileo himself; and his long life, considered as a whole, must be looked upon as the most serene and enviable in the history of science.”¹ Any one who knows the circumstances refuses any longer to accept the significance so usually given the Galileo case by writers who must find material in opposition to the Church.

¹ See Appendix, “Popes and Science,” Walsh, Fordham University Press, 1908.

I have thought, however, that since the Galileo case has been taken in many minds to show that the Church was opposed to the development of science, and especially to the progress of astronomy, that a presentation of another phase of the history of astronomical science during the century preceding and following the Galileo incident might be of service as showing the true attitude of the Church toward astronomy and astronomers. In every department of science that I have had to investigate, where there has been question on the part of Protestant historians of opposition by the Church authorities to the development of a particular science, I have always found that the reason for the confident assertion they make as to Church opposition to science is that they are ignorant of the real history of the science in question.

A typical example is to be found in the views held by many writers with regard to surgery. Surgery is supposed to be a recent development in the history of science, because during the Middle Ages the Church set itself in direct opposition to the development of anatomy in such a way as to prevent that evolution of surgery which must depend on accurate anatomical knowledge. President Andrew D. White, formerly professor of history at Cornell, summing up what many others have said before him, declares in his "History of Warfare of Science With Theology in Christendom" that as a consequence of this attitude of the Church towards surgery, surgery did not develop at all during the Middle Ages. He even goes farther and declares that "so deeply was the idea (of the sacredness of the human body) rooted in the mind of the Universal Church that for over a thousand years surgery was considered dishonorable; the greatest monarchs were often unable to secure an ordinary surgical operation, and it was only in 1406 that a better beginning was made, when the Emperor Wenzel of Germany ordered that dishonor should no longer attach to the surgical profession."

This paragraph, as I have shown in my chapter on "The Church and Surgery" in the volume "The Popes and Science,"² probably contains more arrant nonsense with regard to surgery and its history than one might think could possibly be compressed into so short a space. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, far from being periods barren of surgical development, constitute the most fruitful epoch in the history of surgery down to our own time. Gurlt, the great German historian of surgery, has devoted some three hundred pages of the first volume of his authoritative "History of Surgery in Middle and Western Europe," to the period when President White so calmly tells us there was no surgery in Europe. Professor Pagel, another German authority on the history of medicine, has devoted

² "The Popes and Science," Fordham University Press, New York, 1903.

much attention to this time, and tells us that "a more favorable star shone over surgery than over medicine during the Middle Ages." All the authorities are agreed in declaring this time to be much more important in the history of surgery than many of the succeeding centuries. President White knows nothing of the history of surgery at this time, and assumes that there was none.

Just this same state of affairs exists with regard to other sciences, as I have already said. A typical example is to be found in the history of astronomy. Those who exaggerate the significance of the Galileo case declare that the reason why astronomy did not develop before this time was that the Church was so unalterably opposed to it that its development was seriously hampered, if not actually prevented. They say this so confidently that ordinary readers are sure that they must know that there was no development of astronomy before Galileo's time. As a matter of fact, there is a very rich history of astronomy for several centuries before Galileo. There is no doubt that he was a great genius who illuminated his favorite science; there is no doubt either that his example inspired many other investigators to do great work, and that his discoveries ushered in a new and wonderful period in astronomical science; but to say that there was no astronomy before Galileo or that the subject had not been pursued seriously and very fruitfully by many profound students is quite as egregious a mistake as to say that surgery did not develop down to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

As a matter of fact, astronomy had developed very wonderfully before Galileo's time, and some of the men whose names are greatest in that science had made their contributions to it during centuries long before the seventeenth. Among them deserves to be mentioned Albertus Magnus, whose contributions to physical geography and to the general state of information with regard to the rotundity of the earth and the existence of the antipodes must be considered as representing the foundation of modern astronomy. His great contemporary, Roger Bacon, worked out the theory of lenses and suggested that light moved at a definite velocity, thus adding his quota to the foundation of astronomy. It was in the fifteenth century, however, that the beginnings of astronomy in our modern sense came, and the father of modern observation in astronomy is Regiomontanus. After him the great name in the science of the stars is, of course, Copernicus, and with him the newest phase in the development of astronomical science begins. The interesting feature about the work of all these men is that it was accomplished during the leisure afforded them by their occupations as clergymen. All of these men were faithful sons of the Church and were proud and happy to recognize her as their mother. Albertus Magnus has

received the honors of beatification. Regiomontanus, having been brought down to Rome by the Popes in order to correct the calendar, so impressed himself upon the ecclesiastical authorities in the Papal capital that he was made the Bishop of Ratisbon, succeeding after two centuries that other great ecclesiastical scientist, Albertus Magnus, in this see. Copernicus was the canon of the Cathedral at Frauenberg, a personal friend of his Bishop, who devoted himself to the help of his Bishop in keeping that diocese in the Catholic fold during the stormy times of Luther's revolt in Germany, when the dioceses all round them were going over to Lutheranism.

All this shows that surely there was no opposition between the Church and astronomy, but, on the contrary, that men were held in high estimation for their astronomical knowledge and received preferment in the Church as a consequence of it. One great churchman, Cardinal Nicholas, of Cusa, who was very close to the councils of the Papacy during the fifteenth century and who was commissioned to make such reforms as were needed in Germany, was also distinguished for his advanced thinking with regard to astronomical questions, and, as pointed out by Janssen in the first volume of his "History of the German People," declared that "the earth moves like the other stars," and other teachings that are supposed to be distant from such men's thoughts at that time.

The Galileo case is not the culmination of organized effort by ecclesiastical authority against astronomy. Of any such policy there is not a trace to be found anywhere. There is, moreover, another way of looking at the significance of the Galileo case on the background of what was being done for astronomy by churchmen just before and after his time that constitutes an even more striking contradiction of the impressions that many people derive from this famous historical trial and try to impress upon others. This is the relation of the priests of the Society of Jesus, the great teaching order established just about a century before Galileo's trial in 1534, and into whose hands were gradually falling the best opportunities for education in Europe about the time that Galileo became prominent. The Jesuits were closely attached to the Pope. The idea of their founder was that they should be a special Papal soldiery ready always to go wherever the Pope sent them, taking a special vow to this effect and trained to think of themselves as representing the Pope's special servants. During the century before and after the Galileo trial they were looked upon by all of Europe as in closer communion with the thoughts of the Papacy and as representing Papal thought and influence more than any other set of men.

It so happened that very early in the history of this order its members became interested in astronomy. Their teaching of the

studious youth of Europe tempted them to be leaders in thought in this great scientific department as well as in classical education. It was the one phase in physical science that was developing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with that strict scientific method and thoroughgoing investigation and observation that characterizes modern science. The Jesuits devoted themselves to it not only with enthusiasm, but with a success that has written their names large over all the history of astronomy for three centuries. Every single advance in astronomy saw the work of some Jesuit contributing to the conclusions that were finally reached. In many departments the original initiative came from them, and the intimate communication between their various houses brought about a wide diffusion of the enthusiasm for study that was of the greatest possible benefit for the rising science. Nearly every important Jesuit college had an observatory, in which good work was being done, and all the great secular investigators in science were glad to be in touch with the Jesuits, to write and receive letters from them, and in general to acknowledge that this body of clergymen was a world-wide academy of astronomers with whose work it was necessary to be in touch if one would keep himself *au courant* with astronomical progress.

Modern historians of astronomy and writers on the development of the science have not been slow to admit how much was done for their scientific department by the Jesuits. It is scarcely in Germany, however, that one could look for significant tributes to the successful devotion of the Jesuits to science, yet in recent years science has come to obliterate international prejudice and to smooth international feelings, and so it is not so surprising as it might otherwise be that it should also obliterate religious bigotry and intolerance. Bearing this in mind, a recent expression of Professor Foster, the director of the astronomical observatory at Berlin, in which he gives due credit to the Jesuit astronomers, past and present, will not be so surprising as it might otherwise be. In the *Quarterly Journal* of the German Astronomical Society for 1890 Professor Foster said:¹ "Among the members of the Society of Jesus in the past and in the present we find so many excellent astronomers, and in general so many investigators of purest scientific devotion that it is of important interest to their colleagues in science to notice them."

This tribute from Protestant Germany, in which for twenty years before its utterance the Jesuits had not been allowed to teach, and from which they had been driven so ruthlessly by a German Gov-

¹ "Vierteljahresschrift der Astronomische Gesellschaft," 1890, page 60. "Among the members of the Society of Jesus in the past and in the present we find so many excellent astronomers and in general so many investigators of purest scientific devotion that it is of important interest to their colleagues in science to notice them."

ernment that called the movement it was engaged in when it banished them a *Kulturkampf*—as if it were a struggle for culture and education—is the best possible evidence of how Jesuit scientists have won even their enemies to admiration of their accomplishments. The compliment may serve, indeed, as an introduction to what the Jesuits did for astronomy, though it must not be taken to mean that the members of the order did not devote themselves to other forms of science. Their names occur in every branch of science. They began their existence only in the middle of the sixteenth century, for more than a half century after 1773 they were not in existence, and yet the number of distinguished scientists in the order is simply marvelous. Poggendorf's "Biographical Dictionary of the Exact Sciences" contains in its first two volumes the names of 8,847 savants from remote antiquity until 1863. Amongst these names a little more than ten per cent. are those of Catholic clergymen. This number is magnificently significant of the attitude of the Church to science if we only reflect that clergymen take up science as a favorite avocation, while for most scientific discoverers the pursuit of science was in some form their vocation in life. Most of them belonged to professions which obliged them to devote themselves to the exact sciences, and they were teachers of physics and mathematics, chemists, hydrographers, engineers, nautical authorities and the like. Clergymen took up science, however, as a pleasure, not a labor.

Science, then, has been a favorite avocation for a great many clergymen, and they have pursued it with marked success. Amongst nearly 1,000 Catholic clergymen who have been distinguished in the domain of the exact sciences the Jesuits number nearly fifty per cent. Among the great number of men of all kinds who have proved themselves successful in the pursuit of science the Jesuits during the short space of two and a half centuries of existence have succeeded in placing about one out of twenty of all the men who were to be remembered by succeeding generations for attainments in science. For a society that was founded to carry out the will of the Papacy as exactly as possible, that has always devoted itself to the fulfillment of this object with exemplary fidelity, to have given this large number of men to science is the best possible answer to any pretense that the Popes or the Church were opposed in any way to scientific development.

Almost from the very beginning of their history, as I have said, the Jesuits applied themselves with the liveliest interest and with corresponding success to the study of astronomical problems. Within twenty-five years of the foundation of the order some distinguished astronomical observers had developed among them. At

the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the order was as yet scarcely more than half a century old, they were in correspondence with the great astronomers of the time—Kepler and Galileo—and were looked upon as distinguished authorities of the time. Already many of them had made original contributions of high order to various departments of astronomy, and it came to be a tradition that some of their best men should be constantly assigned to the task of keeping up Jesuit prestige in astronomical researches. De Backer's "Library of Writers of the Society of Jesus"⁴ shows that over 200 writers among the Jesuits have made important contributions to astronomical literature.⁵

The first Jesuit to attract world-wide attention for his attainments in astronomy, and especially the mathematics relating to it, was the famous Father Clavius, to whom Pope Gregory XIII. entrusted the reformation of the calendar. The Gregorian calendar, which was then substituted for the Julian calendar, so thoroughly corrects the tendency of the formal year to depart from the solar year that there will be a difference of a day in the reckoning only once in some three thousand five hundred years. By making every fourth thousand year, then, an exception to the ordinary rule with regard to intercalary days, even this tendency may be so overcome that further correction will not be needed for a term of nearly one hundred thousand years. Under ordinary circumstances, then, this will amply suffice to keep the computation of human time in sufficiently close relationship to that of celestial time, and the ease with which the difficult problem was solved only serves to show how well it had been studied out and how ingeniously the great Jesuit mathematician had succeeded in reaching an expression in very simple terms for correction purposes.

Besides the correction of the calendar, though it is not generally known, we owe also to Father Clavius the invention of that important instrument, the vernier, without which it would be so difficult to make many of the exact observations of all kinds in laboratories. This little instrument consists incidentally of two measuring scales

⁴ De Backer's "Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Comp. de Jesus," Paris, 1876.

⁵ The material for this article has been largely derived from the papers on Jesuit astronomy written for *Popular Astronomy* by Father William F. Rigge, S. J., of Creighton University Observatory, Omaha, Nebraska. The first of these papers, on the "Jesuit Astronomy of the Old Society," is a translation by Father Rigge of Father Johann Schreiber's article on the Jesuits of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and their relation to astronomy, published in the German periodical, *Natur und Offenbarung* ("Nature and Revelation"), Vol. XLIX., 1903. Father Johann Schreiber, S. J., was for years the assistant astronomer at the Haynald Observatory of the Jesuits at Kalocsa, Hungary. His death, March 10, 1903, deprived the scientific world of a distinguished worker.

moving upon one another and so arranged that one of them is divided into ten divisions, to which correspond nine divisions of the other, so that measurements can be read to tenths of the unit employed, whether that be an inch or a centimeter or a degree of an angle. Until comparatively recent years the invention of this extremely useful appliance has been attributed to either Nonius or Vernier. Brencing, however, in an article on "Nonius or Vernier" in the "*Astronomische Nachrichten*,"⁶ says: "Clavius has been forgotten or neglected in an unintelligible way. I was surprised when I came upon the following passages in his works, which give the clearest proof that we are indebted to no other than Clavius for the theory of vernier sub-division as well for linear as for circular measurement. They have been overlooked." He then quotes in full the passages which prove his assertion.

After Father Clavius the most distinguished Jesuit worker in astronomy was Father Christopher Scheiner, who died about 1650. He was one of the first, if not actually the first, to discover sun spots in March, 1611, and from that time on he observed them uninterruptedly, organizing a corps of observers, all Jesuits, to observe simultaneously in many other places. How wide this chain of observers was as the result of the spread of the order will be appreciated from the list, which shows Father Cysatus working at Ingolstadt, Father Gall in Lisbon, Portugal, Father Schönberger in Freiburg, Father Ruess in the West Indies, Father Malapertius in Belgium and Father Biancani in Parma. Father Scheiner's observations were made mainly upon the sun. He was the first to apply the so-called dark glasses that are now generally used and the first to invent the artifice of placing a diaphragm over the objective. He succeeded in collecting a truly wonderful amount of information regarding the sun, considering the inadequate means at his command. It has even been declared by good authorities that except for spectroscopy and photography, solar researches have not yielded anything in recent years that cannot be found in Scheiner's observations.

All that he had discovered with regard to the sun was published in a great work under the title "*Rosa Ursina*" in 1631. The German astronomer Winecke declared thirty years ago in the *German Quarterly of the Astronomical Society* that "in his '*Rosa Ursina*' Scheiner established truths that have been forgotten because this early observer was wantonly set aside, and then these once discovered truths had to be found out anew in our time." It is with regard to sun spots particularly that Scheiner's work shows his wonderful

⁶ Vol. XCVI., page 131.

⁷ "*Vierteljahreschrift der Astr. Ges.*," 1878.

powers of observation. He had mastered very thoroughly the formation and dissolution of the spots. The word *faculæ* comes from him. He had formed ideas about physical constitution of the sun very like those of to-day, and he even surmised that the interior of the sun, the nucleus or kernel, might have a rotational velocity different from that of the outer shell.

It is not surprising that Father Scheiner's greatest pupil, Father Cysatus, should have made some magnificent observations. He was the first to use a telescope on a comet. This was the comet of 1618. Wolff, in the "History of Astronomy," says that "his (Cysatus') paper on this comet, published in the 'Mathemata Astronomica' of Ingolstadt in 1619, is justly numbered among the most important papers of former times concerning comets." One very wonderful thing in the paper is that Cysatus shows that he had found a curvature in the orbit of the planet which had been supposed to be a straight line, and he declares that this would be a phenomenon of great importance if it could be confirmed by further observation. He would not trust himself, however, to come to a conclusion in the matter, so little was the deviation from a straight line, which yet did not escape his acute powers of observation. His description of comets remains classical down to our own day. After comets he turned his attention to *nebulæ*. They seemed to him to furnish an explanation of the structure of the comet's head. Cysatus was the first to mention not only the nebula of Orion, but also the so-called trapezium, that is, the stars that are compressed into a very narrow space in this nebula. This discovery is generally ascribed to Huygens, but there is no doubt that Cysatus had seen this phenomenon and described it many years before the Dutch astronomer.

Early in the seventeenth century the Jesuits began to make interesting and important observations on the stars. Father Zupi was the first to describe the dark stripes or bands which are to be found on Jupiter. He was also the first to see the phases of Mercury which Galileo surmised more than saw, and he furnished accurate drawings of this manifestation. Father Grimaldi carefully studied Saturn and determined very closely its oblateness.

The name of a great Jesuit astronomer is connected quite as closely with our knowledge of the moon as are the names of brother Jesuits with the sun. Father Riccioli introduced the lunar nomenclature, which is in use even to-day and which has lessened the labor of the memory in locating the lunar formations. His colleague, Father Grimaldi, drew up one of the first maps of the moon worthy of the name. This was published in the year 1651 in Father Riccioli's "Almagest." Wolff, in his "Handbuch of Astronomy," says

that the merits of this map have been much underestimated. It is in some particulars superior in completeness and accuracy even to Hevelius' map. Riccioli described the surface of the moon, and Wolff says that his remarks as to the probable nature of the surface are juster than those of most of his immediate successors. Both himself and Father Grimaldi occupied themselves with observations of the libration of the moon. Their published observations in this matter would make a good sized book. They were closely in touch with Hevelius at this time, and the epistolary correspondence of these three astronomers contains some interesting passages.

The most important literary work of the Jesuits during the seventeenth century was the "*Almagestum Novum*," written by Father J. B. Riccioli and published at Bologna in 1653. Ptolemy's great work on astronomy, which was the text-book of Europe for fifteen hundred years, is usually called, because of its Arabian designation, the "*Almagest*." Father Riccioli took a very ambitious name then. Von Littrow made little of the value of the work. Distinguished authorities, however, have agreed in designating the "*Almagestum Novum*" as the pandect of astronomical knowledge. This is a colossal work, and yet its author's modest object, as stated in the preface, was mainly to provide ready information for brother Jesuit astronomers. His idea was to make "an astronomical work which may be a kind of library for the men of our society and for others who cannot have access to the great number of such books or the leisure to read them—a work in which I have collected with the greatest fullness the whole of the old and the new astronomy, together with the controversies that occurred therein. This work is all the more valuable because it contains, perhaps, for the first time in the history of book-making, an index, in which all the persons mentioned in the book are named and the data of their lives, together with the pages on which references to their work occurs."⁸

Among the most noteworthy incidents in the story of the Jesuits' relations to astronomy is probably to be found in their relations to

⁸ Von Littrow's unjustified criticism of Father Riccioli's work is a reminder that occasionally one finds such prejudice existing among astronomical historians, and that the work of the Jesuits, because of intolerance, is not given its due place. It scarcely seems possible that the history of science would be thus disfigured, but it is. Professor Simon Newcomb, one of our best authorities on mathematical astronomy in this country, has vindicated Father Maximilian Hell, the Jesuit, against the misrepresentations of Von Littrow in the astronomical papers of "*The American Ephemeris*," Vol. II., pages 301-302. He says: "The conclusion was reached that Littrow's inferences were entirely at fault. Littrow's mistakes were due to the fact that he was color blind to red, in consequence of which he wholly misjudged the case on first examining the manuscript, and afterward saw everything from the point of view of a prosecuting attorney."

Kepler, the astronomer to whom we owe the laws that form the basis of modern astronomy. Kepler was, indeed, upon the very best terms with the Jesuits and continued to be so all his life. The great mathematical astronomer had been expelled by the Lutherans from the University of Tübingen and excommunicated by one of the Lutheran pastors at Linz. When the Emperor of Austria, however, issued a decree banishing all Protestant professors from the Austrian universities, Kepler was exempted by name and continued to occupy the chair of astronomy at the University of Gratz, and it was well understood that it was mainly through the influence of the Jesuits that this exception in his favor was made. There are a number of letters extant which passed between Kepler and the Jesuits, and especially a communication with regard to astrology, in which Kepler expressed his belief in this illusion, addressed to Fathers Serrarius and Ziegler, in Mainz. The date of this was October 18, 1606, twenty-five years before the condemnation of Galileo.

It is very evident that during the half century in which Galileo's work was done—from 1600 to 1650—the Jesuits were not only not hampered at all by their ecclesiastical superiors in the study of astronomy, but must have been encouraged in every way. We find them at work not in one or two places, but in every part of the world where there was an opportunity. We find them engaged not on a few academic problems, but on every phase of scientific progress. The sun, the moon, the stars, the comets, all the heavenly bodies come in for their attention, and with regard to every one of these subjects work done by Jesuits constitutes an important chapter in the history of astronomy. Very probably if their work had not been done others would have been found to do it, but as a matter of fact no other body of men connected by any bond in history accomplished so much for astronomy at this time as they did. They were in epistolary correspondence with most of the distinguished astronomical observers of the time and were looked upon by these men as respected colleagues and worthy workers in the same great cause.

The policy of the first half of the seventeenth century was to be continued during the next 125 years, until the suppression of the Jesuits. Humboldt, in his "*Kosmos*," at the beginning of the nineteenth century, writes: "I drew attention to the fact that Alpha of the Southern Cross is one of those stars whose multiple nature was first recognized in 1681 and 1687 by the Jesuits Fontaney, Noel and Richaud. This early recognition of binary systems," he adds, "is the more remarkable as Lacaille seventy years later did not describe Alpha Crucis as a double star. Richaud also discovered

the binary character of Alpha Centauri almost simultaneously with that of Alpha Crucis and fully nineteen years before the voyage of Feuillée, to whom Henderson erroneously attributed the discovery." This beginning of work on the double stars was to be continued with marvelous success by their Jesuit colleagues during the next century. It was Father Christian Mayer, S. J., working at Mannheim, who made the double stars a subject of special research. He expressly stated that "the smaller stars, which are so near the larger, are either illuminated naturally dark planets, or that both of these cosmic bodies, the principal star and its companion (the word *comes* which he used for this has since become classic) are self-luminous suns revolving around each other. That any fraternal solidarity did not influence their astronomical opinions can be appreciated from the fact that some of Father Mayer's teaching with regard to the double stars was rather strenuously assailed by Father Maximilian Hell, S. J., himself a distinguished astronomer and director of the Imperial Observatory of Vienna.

During the eighteenth century the work done by the Jesuit astronomers at the Imperial Observatory of Vienna attracted widespread attention. Father Maximilian Hell, whom we have already mentioned, issued about thirty separate publications. He edited the astronomical Ephemerides, in which the progress in astronomy was noted for nearly thirty years, and was succeeded in this editorial office by Father Triesnecker. The observations of the Jesuit astronomers at Vienna on the transit of Venus of 1761 are among the most valuable recorded. They were in correspondence at this time with Jesuits in many parts of the world.

One of the most distinguished contributors to astronomical science among the Jesuits during the eighteenth century was Father Roger Boscovich. We owe to him seventy rather important publications. Most of these are on astronomical subjects. One on gravitation attracted wide attention. Another on the determination of the orbits of comets and another on the annual aberrations of fixed stars are mentioned especially by Houzeau in his "*Vademecum de L'Astronomie*," which is usually considered one of the best bibliographical guides in astronomical literature. Father Boscovich did his work at Rome, and his opinions were frequently quoted everywhere as of authority. His work, and especially his suggestions with regard to the measurements of terrestrial arcs and his opinion as to the most probable value of the ellipticity of the earth from the results of all the measurements accessible to him, represented for geodesy, according to Wolff in his "*Handbook of Astronomy*," "the dawn of a new day."

Probably for our modern time the most interesting popular phase

of the success of the Jesuits in their devotion to astronomy is the number of ingenious instruments which they invented. Usually it would not be expected that such serious students devoted to book learning would have much success as mechanical inventors. While we might not be surprised at their accomplishment as observers, as mathematical calculators and as authors in astronomical matters, the invention of instruments would surely seem to be out of their line. We have already seen, however, that one of the most important adjustments for scientific instruments, the vernier, is the invention of Father Clavius, though called, as is the case with many another invention, by some one else's name. It is to them also that we owe the equatorial mounting of telescopes, by which the telescope, being turned about an axis parallel to the earth, enables one always to keep a star in the field of view without difficulty once the tube has been set upon it. This invention is derived from a contrivance of the Tyrolese Father Christopher Grienberger, who died in Rome in 1636. Father Scheiner is the inventor of the first astronomical telescope—that is, one consisting of convex glasses exclusively, the telescope in use before this, the so-called Dutch telescope, having both concave and convex glasses and absorbing much more light. This telescope has so many advantages that it entirely superseded the older form. Father Scheiner is also the inventor of the pantograph for the reproduction of drawings to scale which is so generally used to-day.

The idea of the reflecting telescope also comes from a Jesuit, and, curiously enough, was suggested by a young man scarcely more than twenty years of age, Father Nicholas Zucchi, who carried out the idea so far that he took the image made by a concave mirror and examined it with a concave lense. The idea of using the circular field formed by the last diaphragm in the telescope as a micrometer, called a ring micrometer, was the happy invention of Father Boscovich toward the end of the eighteenth century. Father Kircher, the distinguished Jesuit scientist and collector, after whom the Kircherian Museum at Rome is named, was the inventor of an apparatus for demonstrating to students the relative positions of the planets and the sun. He is also the inventor of what we now know as the magic lantern, the idea for which came from another Jesuit, but was developed by Father Kircher for teaching purposes.

Since the refoundation of the Jesuits at the beginning of the nineteenth century the same devotion to astronomy has characterized the order as before the suppression. One might think that in the supreme devotion of the generations of the nineteenth century to science and the success that has resulted the work of the Jesuits would be entirely overshadowed. This has not proved to be the case, however, but, on the contrary, in many parts of the world they

have accomplished so much by original investigation of a high order in subjects of all kinds relating to the heavens as to attract widespread attention. One of the great astronomers of the century was among their number. The work done at their observatories at Rome, at Stonyhurst, England; at Georgetown, in the United States, and at Kalocsa, in Hungary, has held the eyes of the astronomical world. In Havana and in Manila their observations in meteorology have added new chapters to this science and have proved the basis for practical advances in the foretelling of tropical storms that have saved thousands of lives and an immense amount of property. Their work has been thoroughly appreciated by the United States Government, at whose expense the observations made by the Jesuits in Manila have been published for the benefit of the world, since the Jesuits were without the means of publishing them.

The greatest exemplar of what the Jesuits did in astronomy came in the nineteenth century—indeed, so close to our own time that the memory of his work and accomplishment does not need to be recalled to many of our scientists, and especially astronomers, who followed it in the course of its accomplishment. Father Angelo Secchi, the head of the Roman observatory, was probably the greatest astronomer of the second half of the nineteenth century. He is the father of astronomical spectroscopy and one of the most ingenious of men, of almost unexampled devotion to his astronomical observations and marvelous success in the applications of his work to science and to teaching. All our modern text-books of astronomy not only mention his name with reverence, but still use his theories and his illustrations for teaching purposes. To quote from an unpublished manuscript sketch of Father Secchi's life by Father Rigge, S. J.:⁹ "Simon Newcomb, who is acknowledged by all to be at present the world's greatest mathematical astronomer, devotes considerable space in his text-book of 'Popular Science' to what he calls Secchi's first theory and Secchi's later theory of sun spots. Langley, in his 'New Astronomy,' gives a number of Secchi's illustrations. Secchi's typical sun spot as well as other figures still appear in every popular no less than in every technical treatise on the sun."

It was with regard to the sun that Father Secchi's greatest work was done. His text-book, "*Le Soleil*," written in French and printed in Paris in 1870, is the fundamental treatise for our knowledge of the sun during the nineteenth century. Every book written on the sun since quotes it, and its illustrations are largely drawn upon even

⁹ This sketch is to be published later in a series of "Makers of Astronomy," which, like "The Makers of Medicine and of Electricity," will serve to bring out very clearly that the great minds of science, far from being unbelieving, were profound and even devout believers.

at the present time. It was translated into most modern languages and became the standard work on the subject. Besides his work on sun spots, in which Father Secchi was a modern pioneer, his observations on the corona of the sun during eclipses, and especially his photographs of this object, place him among the great original contributors to our astronomical knowledge. In his own time his observations were considered the best of their kind that had ever been made, and far ahead of anything that had been accomplished before.

The critical examination and classification of the spectra of 4,000 stars entails an enormous amount of work. One would think that the observation for this would occupy a lifetime. Father Secchi was thoroughly convinced, however, that it was no use making observations unless they were thoroughly recorded and made available for others. His literary work in astronomy, then, is almost incredible. He sent nearly 700 communications to forty-two journals. Over 300 of these appeared in the *Comptes Rendues* and in the *Astronische Nachrichten*, the French and German journals of astronomy that are the authoritative records of scientific work. Besides this he wrote five books, the one on the sun we have already mentioned, a second on the stars was published in Milan in 1877, a third was on "Cosmography," a fourth was on "The Unity of the Physical Forces" and a fifth a posthumous work on "The Elements of Terrestrial Physics." The titles of his productions, without comment and without repetition, cover the amazing number of nineteen pages quarto in double columns of Summervogel's "Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus."¹⁰

While his name is irrevocably attached to the development of the astronomy of the sun, Father Secchi made observations of great value on every form of heavenly body and almost on every object that can be seen in the skies. He made frequent measurements of the heights of the mountains of the moon and called attention to many special features of its surface. He examined all the planets diligently, and was one of the first to see the so-called canals on Mars and to observe Jupiter's third satellite as spotted. "He made many spectroscopic observations on the comets and examined carefully the spectra of nebulae, meteors and auroras. It was with regard to the fixed stars more than to any other class of heavenly bodies, possibly more even than to the sun itself, that Father Secchi has won for himself an undying name. Besides measuring innumerable positions of double stars (Gledhill's "Double Stars" mentions his observations on almost every page), he was the founder of a new

¹⁰ This is the catalogue, in nine quarto volumes, of the works written by Jesuits during their existence for about three hundred years.

branch of astronomy, 'Stellar Spectroscopy,' and his analysis was so comprehensive and so thorough that Secchi's types of stellar spectra will ever remain an essential illustration in astronomical text-books." Here we have quoted once more from Father Rigge's article.

With all this it would be thought impossible that Father Secchi should ever have occupied himself with anything else. He was driven out of Rome by the Revolution of 1848, and for some two years worked at Georgetown University, in Washington, D. C. There he occupied himself for a time with a study of electricity, and his first book, "Researches on Electrical Rheometry," was accepted for publication by the Smithsonian Institution in September, 1850, and appeared as Volume III., Article II. of "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge," Washington, 1852. His observations in electricity naturally led him to magnetism, and he was one of the first to build a magnetic observatory and record and investigate carefully the behavior of the magnetic elements of the earth. Whatever he touched he illuminated. He built a third observatory for meteorology. His ingenuity enabled him to invent a number of instruments for the automatic observation of the weather, and one of these, his meteorograph, was exhibited at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867 and won for its inventor the grand prize of 100,000 francs and the cross of the Legion of Honor. This distinction was conferred upon Father Secchi by the Emperor Napoleon III. in person, in presence of the Emperors of Russia and Austria and of the Kings of Prussia and Belgium. The Emperor of Brazil sent him a golden rose as a token of his appreciation.

We think that even this brief enumeration of what Father Secchi accomplished will make it very clear that he was not only one of the greatest astronomers of the modern time, but also one of the acutest scientific minds of the nineteenth century. With all this he was an extremely faithful priest and a devout religious. He was noted for his faithfulness to his religious duties and for his devotion to his order. In his first book, "L'Unità della Forza Fisica" ("The Unity of Physical Forces"), he demonstrates the wonderful unity that obtains among the great forces of nature and how this unity is an implied proof of the existence and oneness of the Creator. No one had penetrated more deeply into modern physical science, and no one had realized the wonders of astronomy which through the spectroscope have been brought into the realm of men's knowledge in the last half century, yet his science, far from creating any doubts or difficulties for his faith, had strengthened his belief in the Creator, in Providence and in the beneficence of the mysterious powers that we feel all round us.

There have been other scarcely less distinguished contributors to astronomy than Father Secchi among the Jesuits of the nineteenth century. One of the best known of these was Father De Vico, whose determination of the rotation period of Venus and the inclination of its axis was considered so exhaustive that it was not questioned for half a century. Father De Vico also measured the eccentric position of Saturn in his rings and observed the motions of the two inner moons of this planet, which had not been seen before this time except by Herschel. He also discovered eight comets, one of them being the well-known comet with a period of five and a half years, which bears his name. Unfortunately this devoted observer, who had already given such magnificent evidence of his power to help in the development of astronomy, was driven from Rome during the Revolution of 1848 and went first to France, where he was enthusiastically welcomed by Arago, and then to England, whence he came to Georgetown College, but after a few months died, at the early age of forty-three.

Father Perry, of Stonyhurst College, England, was another of the distinguished Jesuit astronomers of the nineteenth century whose observations made him known to all the astronomical world. On a number of occasions he was asked to head government astronomical expeditions for special work. He was in command of the expedition to Kerguelen Land in 1874 to observe the transit of Venus in the South Indian Ocean. At the next transit of Venus, in 1882, Father Perry was asked to head another expedition which made its observations in Madagascar. At least four times he went at the head of expeditions to observe total eclipses of the sun. In 1889 he headed the expedition for this purpose that had its headquarters near Devil's Island, in the West Indies, since made famous by the Dreyfus case, and here he died of a pestilential fever after having accomplished some of the best work done anywhere during this eclipse. Father Perry was noted for his observations on Jupiter's satellites and for having done excellent work in meteorology and magnetic surveying, as well as establishing routine work of great value at Stonyhurst. His observations on sun spots conducted there was particularly valuable.

Father Sidgreaves, who succeeded Father Perry as the director of the Stonyhurst College observatory, is doing photographic work in astronomy that has attracted widespread attention. His photographs of the spectra of new stars and of the changing spectra of certain stars were exhibited at the Royal Society of England and the Paris Exposition and attracted much attention. Father Hagan, of the Georgetown University, is known for his work on variable stars and his "Atlas of Variable Stars" has laid a definite foundation

of knowledge in this important subject which enables astronomers to carry their observations further with absolute assurance of progress. Father Algue, of Manila, is known for his work in meteorology rather than astronomy proper, but he is looked upon as the world authority on the sudden storms of the Philippines, and it was he who, at the invitation of the United States Government, issued the large work in two volumes on "The Filipino Archipelago" published some eight years ago by the Government Printing Office.¹¹

The New Society, as the re-founded order is sometimes called, has been quite as ingenious in its inventions of instruments as the old society. One of the problems that has bothered astronomers has been the question of the exact moment of star transits and the difficulty that even the estimate of the same observer is subject to considerable variations. Father Braun, of the Hungarian observatory, and Father Fargis, of Georgetown University, have each of them suggested methods of overcoming this difficulty by instrumental means. Father Fargis has eliminated the personal equation in transit observation by a photographic process. His method is an improvement upon the one with which Professors Pickering and Bigelow had been experimenting at Harvard, and it seems to solve the difficulty. Father Algue, of Manila, who was at Georgetown for some time, has invented a modification of this which promises much. Father Braun suggested the invention of the spectro-heliograph for photographing the whole sun, with its spots and prominences. Father De Vico invented an instrumental device praised by Arago enabling observers to see the internal satellites of Saturn in telescopes much smaller than the one used by Herschel.

The literary activity of the new society has been quite up to the standard set by the old society. We have already called attention to the almost incredible labors of Father Secchi, but other great works deserve to be mentioned. Father Hagen's "Atlas of Variable Stars" is highly appreciated by astronomers everywhere, while his "Synopsis of the Higher Mathematics," in four volumes quarto, has a great reputation in the mathematical world. There has been a stamp of scholarliness in Jesuit astronomical work that has attracted widespread attention. Fathers Strassmeier and Epping, working together, the one as an Assyriologist, the other as an astrologer, upon Babylonian bricks containing astronomical data, have shown that the Babylonians knew even more about scientific astronomy than we were inclined to attribute to them. Father Kugler, of Alkenberg, in Holland, has added to this. Father Karl Braun, of Mariaschein,

¹¹ "L'Archipelago Filipino Por-Algunos Padres de la Mision de la Compania De Jesus En Estasislas," two volumes, Washington, the Government Printing Office, 1900.

Bohemia, has written books upon gravity and cosmogony that deserve even more attention than they have received, though they have been the subject of high praise from those who are best fitted to judge of their significance.

For those who know anything about this marvelous activity of the great Jesuit order in astronomical matters it is impossible to understand how any intelligent person with this data before him should continue to express the opinion that the Church has been opposed to the development of science, and, above all, astronomical science. The Jesuits are thoroughly representative of what is usually thought to be the most conservative element in the Church. They have been universally conceded to represent the mind of the Popes as closely as is possible. They are directly under the orders of the Pope, singly and as a body. If there was any tendency to discourage the development of astrology they would never have taken it up originally, and they surely would not have been allowed to devote so much time and so many of their most promising men to it for nearly three centuries. They began their work in astronomy nearly a century before the Galileo case. They were extremely active in it during the time when Galileo is supposed to have been so much persecuted. They continued their activity afterwards and have kept it up down to the present day. Their success is the pride of their own order and is looked upon as a bright jewel in the Church's crown by ecclesiastical authorities.

Those who think the Galileo incident so significant must either be ignorant of all this real history of astronomy or else they must have explained it away to their satisfaction as one of these pretenses which is supposed to be expressed by the word Jesuitism. If a pretense of interest in a science can enable men to accomplish as much of absolute scientific value as the Jesuits have done in astronomy, then what we want is more of such pretense and a lot more of these pretenders. Meantime the only conclusion must be that the story of what the Jesuits have done in astronomy before and after Galileo is the complete contradiction of practically all that is written with regard to the Church's opposition to science as exemplified by the Galileo case.

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New York, N. Y.

IN WONDERLAND WITH GILBERT KEITH CHESTERTON: A STUDY IN PARADOX.

"I wonder if I shall fall right *through* the earth! How funny it'll seem to come out among the people that walk with their heads downwards! The Antipathies, I think——"—Alice in Wonderland.

MY COPY of "Alice in Wonderland" is a vivid crimson with gold lettering on the back and a wonderful representation of a Cheshire cat on the front cover. Ever since my first perusal of the volume, when I dropped down the rabbit hole with Alice and made the acquaintance of the White Rabbit, the Duchess, the March Hare, the Hatter and the Dormouse, not to speak of the philosophy-loving Caterpillar and the Cat that could disappear progressively, beginning with its tail and ending with its grin—ever since that never-to-be-forgotten day I have had a weakness for red books with gilt letters on the back. I have just finished a collection of essays by Gilbert K. Chesterton called "Heretics,"* which is red enough and gold enough to satisfy my taste. But these are not the only points in which it resembles Lewis Carroll's masterpiece. The two opening chapters, one on "The Importance of Orthodoxy" and the other on "The Negative Spirit," are really two tunnels through which we drop down a chasm more mysterious than the famous rabbit hole which formed the dividing line between the real world and the wonderland of Alice's exciting adventures. If we decide to take the leap with Mr. Chesterton—and the paradoxes of this laughing philosopher are as irresistible to grown-ups as the White Rabbit's watch and waistcoat were to Alice—we find ourselves sinking suddenly and at last coming out where Alice feared her tumble would end—"among the people that walk with their heads downwards—the Antipathies." For that there is a distinction between right and wrong; that orthodoxy and heresy are absolute realities and not mere prejudices; that there is such a thing as standing on one's feet and seeing the world aright, and such a thing as standing on one's head and mirror-reading the universe—this is the contention on which the book is built, the pivot on which every one of the twenty chapters swings.

There has been too much levity, Mr. Chesterton thinks, on the subject of cosmic philosophy. We have talked of progress, of the relativity of knowledge, of science and empirical realities, until we have come to the conclusion that absolute reality and absolute truth are sheer adumbrations, the survival of phantoms created by the human mind in its myth-making and fetish-worshipping stages.

* "Heretics," Gilbert K. Chesterton. John Lane Company.

"General theories," as Mr. Chesterton says, "are everywhere condemned; the doctrine of the rights of man is dismissed with the doctrine of the fall of man. Atheism itself is too theological for us to-day. Revolution is too much of a system; liberty too much of a restraint. We will have no generalizations. . . . Everything matters, except everything." But why this fear of the infinite and the absolute? Are not the finite and the relative equally mysterious? To the din of voices assuring us that the absolute does not exist, or that if it does, it is forever unknowable and should be so denominated, with perhaps a capital letter for decency's sake, Chesterton asks in the words of the hookah-smoking Caterpillar: "What do you mean? Explain yourself. You! Who are *you*?" And since the credentials they produce fail to satisfy him, he decides that these noisy latter day prophets are nothing but common heretics—men who struggle vainly in a topsy-turvydom of their own creation. They are obsessed by what he calls "the negative spirit," the spirit that discerns weakness and failure, the spirit of disillusionment and dead ideals. "The eye that can perceive what are the wrong things increases in an uncanny and devouring clarity, while the eye which sees what things are right is growing mistier and mistier, till it goes almost blind with doubt. . . . To us light must be henceforth the dark thing—the thing of which we cannot speak. To us, as to Milton's devils in Pandemonium, it is darkness that is visible." And yet we talk of progress and modernism has become almost a religion.

Among the iconoclasts considered in this crimso-golden volume are Rudyard Kipling, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, George Moore, Tolstoy, Lowes Dickinson and Whistler. Kipling is a heretic because of his militarism. "The evil of militarism is that it shows most men to be tame and timid and excessively peaceable. . . . The military man gains the civil power in proportion as the civilian loses the military virtues. . . . Militarism demonstrated the decadence of Rome and it demonstrates the decadence of Prussia." Kipling reminds us of the Queen of Hearts, with her eternal "Off with her head; off with his head; off with all their heads." Bernard Shaw is a heretic because he cannot idealize; because he holds that "the golden rule is that there is no golden rule." He says to those who come to him for light what the Cheshire Cat said to Alice: "Oh, you are sure to get *somewhere* if you only walk long enough. In *that* direction lives a Hatter; and in *that* direction lives a March Hare. Visit either you like. They are both mad." H. G. Wells is affected with the great scientific fallacy, "the habit of beginning not with the human soul, which is the first thing man learns about, but with some such thing as protoplasm, which is about the last." Like the Duchess, he believes in facts, in everything that can be seen

or heard, touched or tasted. George Moore is a solipsist; his mania is a "dusty egotism." He is as self-centred as the White Rabbit, as interested in the figure he shall cut and the pose he shall strike. Tolstoy is banned because he lauds simplicity in externals, when "the only simplicity worth preserving is the simplicity of the heart. There is more simplicity in the man who eats caviar on impulse than there is in the man who eats grape nuts on principle." Is Tolstoy the Hatter? The Hatter was "a poor man," as he assured the King of Hearts three times over in the course of the famous trial concerning the stolen tarts. Besides, the Hatter lived on bread and butter and tea—a very simple diet. "Why is a raven like a writing desk?" asked the Hatter. But when Alice gave it up and called for the solution, he answered gravely: "I haven't the slightest idea." Tolstoy, too, is a master scoutsman in the matter of running down difficulties; but what one of our modern evils has he corralled and despatched? As for Lowes Dickinson, his advocacy of a return to paganism makes it plain that he is as mad as the March Hare and as unlikely to recover. Whistler, with all his merits, suffers from ingrown artistic temperament—a most painful disease. He must have drunk of "the little bottle without a label that stands near the looking-glass" in Wonderland, and, like Alice, he soon found his head pressing against the ceiling. He had become a great man in his own estimation.

"Curiouser and curiouser," we echo after Alice, as we wade deeper and deeper into the pool of modernism under the spell of the Chestertonian paradoxes. "Adventures are to the unadventurous." "No one can be really hilarious but the serious man." "Romance is deeper than reality." "We admire things with reasons, but love them without reasons." "It is the vague modern who is not at all certain what is right who is most certain that Dante was wrong." These are a few taken at random. Now, a paradox, if some faith is still to be put in dictionaries, is "a tenet or proposition contrary to received opinion; an assertion or sentiment seemingly contradictory or opposed to common sense; that which in appearance or terms is absurd, but yet may be true in fact." This apparent absurdity, this seeming contrariness is peculiarly characteristic of everything really worth while—of faith and hope and love; of truth and goodness and beauty; of life itself. We are far from the road that leads truthward until we have come to see that what we have been interpreting figuratively must be taken literally, while what we have supposed literal must be construed mystically. It is really true that the first shall be last and the last first; that he that seeketh his life shall lose it, while he that loses shall find forever. For in some mysterious way, in some deeper sense than we as yet understand,

the Cross lies at the very heart of things. Now, the Cross has always been to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Gentiles a scandal. The Cross cannot be rationalized, and yet there is nothing irrational about it. Or rather, as Mr. Chesterton tells us, it is understood of the people just because it is non-rational. "A page of statistics, a plan of model dwellings, anything which is rational, is always difficult for the lay mind. But the thing which is irrational anybody can understand. . . . That is why religion came so early into the world and spread so far, while science came so late and has not spread at all."

With this gay challenge to the eristic of the logicians, G. K. C. fares forth to battle for the truth. And the first fact he seeks to establish is that there is such a thing as truth. "A man with a definite belief always appears bizarre," he tells us, "because he does not change with the world; he has climbed into a fixed star, and the earth whizzes below him like a zoetrope." But let it whizz, is his advice; do you stand still. The men who have done things in this world have been dogmatists every one. The modern idea that mental growth is in some way connected with the breaking of bonds and the overthrow of dogmas is all wrong. "If there is such a thing as mental growth it must mean the growth into more and more definite convictions, into more and more dogmas." He has no use for those writers and thinkers who try to get over this difficulty by talking about "aspects of truth," as if one could recognize the aspects of something he had never seen or known. "If we talk of a certain thing being an aspect of truth, it is evident that we claim to know what truth is, just as, if we talk of the hind leg of a dog, we claim to know what a dog is." But the age is afraid of universal truths and dogmatic certainties; or, rather, as Chesterton suggests, it is fearful lest a belief in absolute verities might make bigots and fanatics out of us. But this view, he insists, is itself founded upon a bigoted prejudice. "In real life the people who are most bigoted are the people who have no convictions at all. . . . Bigotry may be defined as the anger of men who have no opinions. It is the resistance offered to definite ideas by that vast bulk of people whose ideas are indefinite to excess. Bigotry may be defined as the frenzy of the indifferent." And fanaticism, instead of being the obstinately headlong pursuit of an ideal, is a distemper peculiar to men who have no ideals. "It is precisely because an ideal is necessary to man that the man without ideals is in permanent danger of fanaticism. . . . Religious and philosophical beliefs are, indeed, as dangerous as fire, and nothing can take from them that beauty of danger. But there is only one way of guarding ourselves against the excessive danger of them, and that is to be steeped in philosophy and soaked in religion."

Now the Middle Ages above all others were "steeped in philosophy and soaked in religion." Time was when the history-mongers dubbed these ages "dark." But that day is passed. The term mediæval is coming to be synonymous with luminous. It is modernism that we associate with mediocrity, grayness, averages, dead levels of all sorts. Chesterton is a mediævalist. "If we compare," he says, "the morality of Ibsen's 'ghosts' with that of the 'Divine Comedy' we shall see all that modernism has really done. No one, I imagine, will accuse the author of the 'Inferno' of an early Victorian prudishness or a Podsnapian optimism. But Dante describes three moral instruments—Heaven, Purgatory and Hell, the vision of perfection, the vision of improvement and the vision of failure. Ibsen has only one—Hell." This inability to conceive perfection, this skepticism concerning ideals is essentially neoteric. In the Middle Ages it was imperfection that was considered incomprehensible. It may be, as Mr. Chesterton suggests, that the monks of that age overdid the contemplation of ideal wholeness and happiness; it may be that they neglected important things for a dream-world, an unreality. But still, as Chesterton insists, it was wholeness and happiness they were contemplating. If they went mad, it was for the love of sanity. "But the modern student of ethics, even if he remains sane, remains sane from an insane dread of insanity. The anchorite rolling on the stones in a frenzy of submission is a healthier person fundamentally than many a sober man in a silk hat who is walking down Cheapside. For many such are good only through a withering knowledge of evil." We have too much respect for silk hats, Mr. Chesterton thinks; too much respect for the moneyed and the educated classes. A little of the early Franciscan love of poverty would be good for us. "We are always ready," he says, "to make a saint or a prophet of the educated man who goes into cottages to give a little kindly advice to the uneducated. But the mediæval idea of a saint was something quite different. The mediæval saint or prophet was an uneducated man who walked into grand houses to give a little kindly advice to the educated." It is probable that the educated are in as much need of a little kindly advice in the twentieth century as they were in the twelfth, but there seems to be a dearth of saints and prophets.

Mediævalism means optimism; ages of faith are ages of joy. As we should expect, the author of "Heretics" is an optimist. "Wherever you have belief," he tells us, "you will have hilarity. Leisure and larkiness always have a religious origin." But this does not imply a hedonistic ethics; quite the contrary. "Great joy does not gather the roses while it may; its eyes are fixed on the immortal rose that Dante saw. Great joy has in it the sense of immortality."

The Greeks accidentally hit upon the end-as-happiness standard, and then deliberately set it up as the worthful goal of human activity. "The pagan determined with admirable sense," Chesterton points out, "to enjoy himself. But by the end of his civilization he had discovered that a man cannot enjoy himself and continue to enjoy anything else." The conscious quest of the delightful always ends in misery. Not the seeking of pleasure, but the abiding belief that back of all that is incomplete and inexplicable, back of the apparent failure of goodness and the flamboyant victories of evil, there is a will that wills righteousness and a power that sustains virtue—this it is that validates forever our ethical ideals and aspirations. We must believe that the heart of the universe is good before we can be really happy. We must see, as Chesterton says, that there is "an eternal gaiety in the nature of things." "About the whole cosmos," he confides to us in a jubilant aside, "there is an air of tense and secret festivity like preparations for a great holiday. Eternity is the eve of something. I never look up at the stars without feeling that they are the fires of a schoolboy's rocket fixed in their everlasting fall."

This idea that "eternity is the eve of something" implies belief in personal immortality and the acceptance of what is called "the two-world system of philosophy." Personality is the deepest fact we know. Immortality without the persistence of personality is as inconceivable as it would be undesirable. All the talk we hear of Humanity with a capital H, and of Society with a capital S, all the metaphors concerning a universal will and a universal consciousness are, to quote Chesterton, "so many pseudo-scientific attempts to conceal from men the awful liberty of their lonely souls." We must accept this fact of our own ultimateness and the responsibility of the freedom of our wills whether we like it or not. We can never again be satisfied with the Oriental ideal of passivity, of absorption into Nirvana. We are done with the philosophy of the Rubáiyát. The teachings of the Son of the Carpenter cannot be reconciled with those of the Persian tentmaker. We see at last that a theism which denies the reality of the human will and the finality of human personality is little better than atheism. "The real objection which a Christian should bring against the religion of Omar," Chesterton urges, "is not that he gives no place to God, but that he gives too much place to God.

"The ball no question makes of Ayes or Noes,
But Here or There as strikes the Player goes;
And He that tossed you down into the field,
He knows about it all—he knows—he knows.

A Christian thinker, such as Augustine or Dante, would object to this because it ignores free-will, which is the valor and dignity

of the soul. The quarrel of the highest Christianity with this skepticism is not in the least that the skepticism denies the existence of God; it is that it denies the existence of man." We must keep a place for ourselves in our theory of the uni-verse. Perhaps, in order to retain our own significance we shall have to give up the unification ideal, for which science has struggled so long and so valiantly, and be content to live in what James calls a "multi-verse." But no matter what the cost, we shall gladly pay it, if thereby we may vindicate the dignity and reality of the human soul.

Mediævalism, optimism and faith in humanity—these are the corner-stones on which Chesterton builds his temple of orthodoxy. Out of his mediævalism springs his admiration for the Church of the Middle Ages, the Church that produced a Dante, a Thomas Aquinas, a Francis of Assisi. "When Christ at a symbolic moment was establishing His great society," he observes, "He chose for its corner-stone neither the brilliant Paul nor the mystic John, but the one who had failed in the hour of need, a coward—in a word, a man. And on this rock He has built His Church, and the gates of hell have not prevailed against it. All the empires and kingdoms of the world have failed because of this inherent and continual weakness, that they were founded by strong men and upon strong men. But this one thing, the historic Christian Church, was founded on a weak man, and for that reason it is indestructible." Out of his optimism comes his proclamation of the poetry of the commonplace, the glorification of the ordinary. He has a childlike power of appreciation, a child's capacity for enjoyment. "The child is, indeed, in these, as in many other matters, our best guide," he tells us. "And in nothing is the child so righteously childlike, in nothing does he exhibit more accurately the sounder order of simplicity than in the fact he sees everything with a simple pleasure, even the complex things. To the child the tree and the lamp-post are as natural and as artificial as each other; or, rather, neither of them is natural, but both are supernatural. The flower with which God crowns one and the flame with which Sam the lamplighter crowns the other are equally of the gold of fairy tales." Out of his faith in humanity he evolves his disdain for science and its world-machine; for naturalism in philosophy, opportunism in politics, realism in art and rationalism in religion. "The Middle Ages, with a great deal more sense than it would now be fashionable to admit," he says, "regarded natural history at bottom rather as a kind of joke; they regarded the soul as very important." After all, it is as true to-day as it was in Plato's time that the proper study of mankind is man. "Not that I mean to say anything disparaging of any one who is a student of natural philosophy," Socrates says, or was it Plato?

"but the simple truth is, O Athenians, that I have nothing to do with these studies."

We are beginning now to speak of the failure of science, but it was we who failed in expecting too much of it. The key to the universe, the solution to the tantalizing mystery of the Sphinx, like the tarts made by the Queen of Hearts, has been stolen "quite away." And our attempts to recover the lost key have been every bit as ridiculous as the trial conducted by the King of Hearts, with the White Rabbit as herald of the accusation and all the principal characters of Wonderland in the jury-box.

"What do you know about this business?" the King said to Alice.

"Nothing," said Alice.

"Nothing *whatever?*" persisted the King.

"Nothing whatever," said Alice.

"That's very important," the King said, turning to the jury.

"Unimportant, your Majesty means, of course," interrupted the White Rabbit.

"Unimportant, of course, I meant," the King hastily said. "Consider your verdict," he commanded the jury in a low, trembling voice.

"There's more evidence to come in yet, please your Majesty," said the White Rabbit, jumping up in a great hurry. "This paper has just been fixed up."

The new evidence was presented.

"Sentence first—verdict afterwards," said the Queen.

"Stuff and nonsense!" said Alice loudly. "The idea of having the verdict first!"

"Off with her head!" the Queen shouted at the top of her voice. Nobody moved.

"Who cares for you?" was Alice's reply, her final taunt, flung full in the face of assembled Wonderland. "You're nothing but a pack of cards!"

This is Chesterton's ultimate conclusion concerning the curious band of decadents he has grouped under the heading "Heretics." They are nothing but a pack of cards.

It is nearly three years since "Heretics" was published. The orthodoxies it defended and the heresies it condemned are still locked in a deadly struggle. Chesterton is young—only thirty-three. It may be that he will live to witness the convalescence and eventual recuperation of his heretical brothers. It is only eight years since he printed his first book, "Graybeards at Play," a volume of fantastic verse. This was followed by "The Wild Knight," with its serious poetry, its hints of unsuspected depths. Then came "The Defendant," "Varied Types" and "The Napoleon of Notting Hill."

Incidentally there were essays, reviews and polemics without end in the magazines and in the *Daily News* and the *Speaker*. "A madman raving in an insanity of paradox," was the verdict of certain staid ones among the critics. "The most vital force in English journalism," "the clearest visioned of the moderns," "a youth turning somersaults over the tombstones of the dead," was the decision in other quarters. And then people began to ask who this Gilbert Keith Chesterton might be. That was in 1905. His friend and fellow-liberal, Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, hastened to enlighten them. G. K. C. was a Liberal in politics and what is called an Anglican "Catholic" in religion. He was born in London and educated at St. Paul's. When he left school he intended to be an artist, and still has a weakness for sketching in crayon. He wears a large slouch hat, which is the despair of his friends, and is given to long walks through the heart of London. He is a member of the Anti-Puritan League for the defense of the people's pleasures; he hates with an abiding hatred the philosophy of George Bernard Shaw and the Fabians; he is a good fighter and "loves the very breath of controversy."

He gravely argues No means Yes;
He shows that joy is deep distress.

* * * * *

He tells you soap is made of cheese,
And any well-known truth you please.
He proves with most consummate ease
Confoundedly confutable.

There is something peculiarly soul-satisfying about being the champion of a forlorn hope; there is something thrillingly exhilarating about the defense of a lost cause. We all smile at Don Quixote, but we all love him. Chesterton may be a visionary, but his is a glorious vision. Like his own "Wild Knight," he fares forth, a seeker after God. And ever as he journeys on he sings the song the "Wild Knight" sang as he rode:

So with the wan waste grasses on my spear
I ride forever seeking after God.
My hair grows whiter than my thistle plume,
And all my limbs are loose; but in my eyes
The star of an unconquerable praise.
For in my soul one hope forever sings,
That at the next white corner of a road
My eyes may look on Him.

M. A. DUNNE.

THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE PRIESTHOOD OF PIUS X.

TWENTY years ago Catholic Christendom was celebrating the golden jubilee of the Thirteenth Leo. All eyes were then turned towards the ripe scholar, the experienced statesman who was shedding lustre on the chair of Peter. To-day the same Church Universal is celebrating all over the world a similar joyous anniversary of a Pope of another type, who in the less than half dozen years of his Pontificate has succeeded in drawing admiration to his high office and loyalty to his person to a degree probably never surpassed in the annals of the See of Rome. He came to his position of incomparable dignity by the almost visible action of the Divine Spirit on the minds of those whose votes the tears of his humility sought in vain to alter. He brought to it no showy antecedents known to the world outside. He was the scion not of a palace, but of a cottage; yet the blood in his veins was none the less pure because it was not princely. He had written no books; his name was unknown to the pages of even the reviews of ecclesiastical science, but his training in the ordinary curriculum, supplemented by constant study and providentially perfected by labors as professor and president of a seminary, had fully equipped him with the knowledge and balance of mind well suited to direct the researches of experts. It is not at all necessary that a Pope be a specialist in any branch of knowledge; yea, from some points of view it is better that he should not be so, but rather be unhampered by any special predilection in facing the various problems and phases of problems which come before him for decision—just as in some national administrations, in England, for instance, it is thought best to have the Secretary of State for War not a military man, but a civilian, whose judgment will be less biased by expert theories. What is necessary is that the Pope should have a solid fund of knowledge of all the subjects with which his sacred office may bring him in touch, and a sound mind, which will readily receive the enlightenment and assistance of the Holy Ghost. This clearness of mind and soundness of judgment are possessed in an eminent degree by the elect of the last conclave, as the event has proved, notably in the encyclical on Modernism. Again, the Patriarch of Venice became present to the minds of the Cardinals on that day of August, 1903, not as a trained diplomat versed in the astute ways of the world's politicians, but none the less strong, wise and fearless to defend his Master's kingdom, as anti-Christian statecraft has since learnt to its cost. But what most attracted the favorable notice of the conclave was the combined humility and piety, gentleness and firmness of the character, as well as the consistent, fruitful

career of Cardinal Sarto as priest, pastor, Bishop and Patriarch. His brother Cardinals were led by the Divine Spirit to see in him the "man of God" providentially equipped to guide the Church through the difficult times now pressing upon her. Power and influence in the Old World are passing away rapidly from their ancient depositaries of high estate to the common people. The Church has no occasion to fear this transition; she is the Church of the people, the Body of Him who cast His lot and hers among the common throng of the poor and lowly. None the less, it has been no easy matter for the Church in Europe to adjust herself to the new status that has arisen for her, through the loss of the temporal power and the unloosening of the many ties which bound her to the courts and governments of the Continent. Such a situation called to the chair of Peter a man of the people, who, clothed in the divine authority of the Papal office, would set himself resolutely to one task alone, the same for which Peter had been raised up—to guide and safeguard, to feed and cherish the flock redeemed and committed to his keeping by the Divine Shepherd, Christ.

The past five years have justified the wisdom of those who elected Pius X. Perhaps never in the long history of the Church have so many and serious difficulties cropped up in the course of so few years, and never, too, has a Pope crowded into so narrow a space so many and far-reaching acts of Pontifical authority. Circumstances over which he had no control created the difficulties of the situation. The personal character of the man, informed by the Divine prerogatives of his office, has known how to solve these difficulties and take measures to prevent their recurrence. The two very first acts of the new Pontiff—the choosing of a name and the adoption of a motto—indicated the set purpose of his reign—a purpose which has since found ample field for its activity. He chose to be called Pius and he adopted for his motto the words of St. Paul, "Instaurare omnia in Christo." The Popes named Pius stand forth in the history of the Church in a very marked manner as the saintly and intrepid defenders of purity of doctrine and of the Church's divine organization and prerogatives. To speak of the later ones only: There was St. Pius V., who gave practical effect to the Council of Trent and saved Christendom from the Mahomedans; there was Pius VI., who fought heroically against Josephism in Austria and against the civil constitution of the clergy in France, and who died a martyr to principle; there was Pius VII., who was called to resist the mighty Napoleon in defense of the Church's laws concerning marriage as well as of the rights of the Holy See, and, last of all, was Pius IX., the great Pontiff who was raised up and long preserved by God to bridge over the transition from the old

order of European society to the new, while reasserting in the face of liberalism the unchangeableness of the faith, the divine origin of the Church's organization, the supremacy of its Head.

Those great Popes who bore the name of Pius were, we know, present to the mind of Pius X. when he chose his title, and their line of action was adopted as his own should occasion arise. To guard at all hazards the integrity of the deposit of the faith, to preserve intact the Church's organization, to bring her closer and closer to her Divine Master, Christ, through the restoration of the primitive fervor of frequent communion—this was evidently the fixed purpose of the newly elected Pontiff when he chose Pius for his name and "to reëstablish all things in Christ" for his motto.

Providence has provided during the past five years a very fruitful field for the display of the high purposes of Pius X. He has had occasion to defend the deposit of the faith from the most insidious attacks from within the very fold; he has had to uphold the unchangeable organization and independence of the Church against the hostile machinations of an infidel government, and he has steadily kept in view the encouragement and development of a higher spiritual life within the Church. This twofold purpose steadily and zealously pursued realizes the saying of the reputed prophecy which designates him as "*Ignis Ardens*," a column of fire shedding light and warmth all around and fanned continuously by the charity of Christ.

The primary and most important duty of every Pope is to keep the light of faith shining in all its pristine brightness; to keep and safeguard the deposit of revelation committed to the Church. This is the very *raison d'être* of his office. For faith is, as St. Thomas teaches, the first of virtues in the order of generation, though not in the order of excellence, where charity reigns supreme; or, as the Council of Trent puts it, "Faith is the root and foundation of our justification;" for by faith we know God and knowledge must precede love. Now, to preserve the unity and integrity of the faith there must be one supreme teacher in the Church with the office and mission to teach authoritatively and infallibly. Otherwise there would be the variations of every wind of doctrine, the disintegration expressed by the proverb, "*Quot homines, tot sententiae*."

There is scarcely any period in the Church's history in which attacks of one kind or another have not been made on the faith. These attacks have varied in form and in origin, but in substance they have ever been the same emanations of the pride of intellect rebelling against the acceptance of "the things unseen." But it was left for our day and for the present Pope to have to deal with a determined and well ordered design on the part of professing Cath-

olic writers and thinkers to strive to reconcile the dogmas and discipline of the Church with the vagaries of current historico criticism and philosophy. It was, indeed, an apparently plausible though ambitious scheme to capture the swelling tide of rationalism, which had engulfed the Protestantism which had produced it and to mingle it with the clear, placid stream of the faith and tradition of ages. This union would have entailed the whittling down of dogma to a merely subjective and variable mode of thought; it would have sapped the very foundations of belief and made man's individual consciousness the final arbiter of revelation. Those who set on foot this movement known as Modernism failed, or did not trouble themselves to see that its ultimate issue would be the destruction of Catholicism, as it had already eaten up its foolish parent, Protestantism. But Pius X. was on the alert, and he fearlessly fulminated against this new synthesis of all the heresies of the past an encyclical letter, which for lucid exposition, close reasoning and irrefutable conclusions ranks among the most far-reaching documents ever issued by a Pope. It required absolute fearlessness and sureness of his ground to send forth the encyclical on Modernism. These qualities the Divine Spirit easily formed on the groundwork of Pius X.'s natural strength of character and soundness of judgment. The Pope had already given proof of both those high qualities in his brief of June, 1907, to Dr. Commer, of Vienna, congratulating him on his refutation of the late Dr. Schell, of Wurzburg, to whom his modernist admirers were about to erect a monument of glorification, notwithstanding the fact that his writings had been condemned by the Holy See. This brief, which the Pope ordered to be published, came as a thunderbolt on the haughty professors of Wurzburg and elsewhere, who had been sedulously fomenting contempt for the ordinances of the Holy See. But the good result was immediate and complete. The backing of Modernism in Germany was effectively broken. It remained for the great encyclical of the following September to squelch the hydra in every part of the Catholic world where it had protruded its noisome head. And this squelching has been so thorough that it is safe to prognosticate that Modernism will not be again heard of within the Church.

Nor has the Pope been wanting in constructive work in connection with his office as supreme teacher of the faithful. His creation of a special doctorate in Scripture on November 9, 1903, and his letter on the study of Scripture in March, 1906, show his desire for the prosecution of higher studies in this all important subject. And his encyclical on Christian doctrine, issued in April, 1905, showed the practical bent of his mind and has been an encouragement and incentive to pastors as well as to catechists throughout the world.

Moreover, in his encyclical on Modernism he has definitely promised the establishment of a higher institute of studies suited to meet the requirements of modern science.

The second chief feature of the Pontificate of Pius X. has been his noble, uncompromising defense of the divine organization of the Church and of the inalienable rights of the Holy See against the iniquitous designs of the present anti-Christian Government of France. It would seem to be for this special purpose that he was raised up by God. His own vision of what was in store for him when he assumed the name of Pius proved prophetic. He found himself in presence of a situation more complex and embarrassing than that which confronted Pius VI. mid the full flow of the tide of Revolution, or Pius VII. resisting to the face the conqueror of Europe. To break definitely with the Government of France, the "eldest daughter" and the right arm of the Church for fifteen hundred years; to advise the French clergy and laity to sacrifice all, even the salvage of partial compensation to be gathered from the wreck—this was the formidable issue which confronted Pius X. in the third year of his Pontificate. The whole world knows how calmly and fearlessly and wisely he met the situation. He did not court the breaking of the Concordat, which with all its defects had given a tolerable amount of religious peace to France for over a hundred years, but if the French Government picked a quarrel to break it, then the separation must be complete; no further gilded chains would be accepted. In other words, the Pope determined to uphold in all its integrity the divine organization of the Church, and consent to no weakening of the links which her Divine Founder welded together to bind pastor and flock to one another without any intermediate interference on the part of State or potentate. Not only Catholics, but right thinking men everywhere applauded what the *Saturday Review*, of England, called "the stand taken by Pius X.," a stand which it maintained was wise and necessary and for which the entire Christian world was beholden to the Pope.

The decision of the Pope in this matter entailed, of course, dire temporal distress for the Church of France. She found herself at one fell blow on the part of the government deprived of her revenues, her properties, her equipments, her charitable foundations and brought to a state of poverty like unto that of the Upper Chamber at Jerusalem, with similar enemies raging around her on every side. But the Bishops, clergy and laity of Catholic France, the descendants of so many countless martyrs and confessors, rose to the occasion, swore to follow where Pius led and thereby sealed forever the noble traditions of their apostolic spirit. The act of Pius X. has broken once for all the shackles that bound the Church of France so long

to the chariot of a State which had become openly anti-Christian. Freedom in poverty is better than slavery in abundance. A new fire is enkindled in France, and it is bound to go on increasing unto the perfect day of full religious freedom and development. For this the French Church historian of the future will glorify the name of Pius X.

In the sphere of the interior discipline and life of the Church the Pontificate of Pius X. has been hitherto marvelously active and fruitful. The unusually large number of his *motu proprio*s and encyclicals attest his activity, and his energy does not cease with the publication of his wishes, but he takes effective measures for securing their being carried out. One of his first concerns in disciplinary matters was the music and singing used in the celebration of the Divine Mysteries and in the other offices of the Church. In his letter to Cardinal Fischer, and especially in his *motu proprio* of November, 1905, he enjoined the use of plain chant in the Church's offices and the exclusion of women from church choirs. This was but a returning to the ancient discipline which enabled the people through the use of plain music and song to take a live part in the holy mysteries. There was in the ancient times in the Latin Church a continuous commingling of the prayers of the people with those of the celebrant, similar to that which still obtains in the liturgies of the Greek Church. One of the many bad results of the persecutions consequent on the revolt of the sixteenth century was the breaking up of the old Catholic tradition in English-speaking countries. For centuries the Low Mass was as much as could be secured in the face of the priest hunters, and the long cessation of High Masses has left its mark upon us. When the more solemn ceremonies were restored the ancient music traditions were lost and theatrical rather than congregational singing got into vogue. The result has been that in many places the High Mass was apparently little more than a sacred oratorio calculated to tickle the ears of the theatre-goers. Against this abuse Pius X. has protested, and the carrying out of his ordinances will enable the faithful to have a more immediate and pious participation in the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice.

In other matters of a disciplinary character, such as the regulations for seminaries, the founding of religious congregations, the mode of action of Catholic associations, Pius X. has exercised unusual vigilance. But there are three measures especially which will leave his practical and determined character indelibly imprinted on the discipline of the Church. These are the codification of the canon law, the readjustment of the functions of the several Roman congregations and the regulation of the marriage laws. It is said that

wise churchmen have long sighed for these measures, but the difficulties in the way of carrying them out seemed insuperable. But the word "impossible," when applied to useful measures for the good of the Church and the glory of God, is unknown to the sturdy mind of Pius X. In a short time a new and more up-to-date order will reign over the higher central administration of the Church; her laws, the product of the experience of ages, will speak with one voice in all parts of the world, and the only marriages of her own children which she will recognize are those which she herself has witnessed and blessed.

It is easy to see the comprehensive character and the far-reaching effects of these disciplinary measures. They affect all categories of the Church's members, from the Cardinals of the Curia down to the humblest adult, and their ultimate effect must be to emphasize and safeguard more and more the independence of the Church's organism, such as she possessed and claimed for it in the beginning.

All these measures taken by Pius X. for the preservation of the deposit of the faith and the safeguarding of the Church's organization and internal discipline have for him as for every Pope one final purpose—the preserving and cherishing the spiritual life of the Church, just as the final purport of our Divine Lord's life was that we "may have life and have it more abundantly." The salvation of the souls of its members is the sole purpose for which the Church exists. And this truth, in all its apostolic simpleness, has been ever present to the mind of Pius X.; it is covered by his motto, "Instaurare omnia in Christo." To restore all things in Christ, to have the Divine Master rule over all the Church's activities, to have Him live in every one of her members is the sublime aim of the "Papa Pastorale" who now sits on the chair of Peter. It is in active pursuit of this ideal that he issued in December, 1905, his immortal decree, "Sacra Tridentina Synodus," whereby he threw open to all the faithful frequent, yea, daily Communion, and invited them thus to renew in themselves and in the Church the life and fervor of the early Christians. Pius X. will be known to history as the Pope of the Eucharist. He has put into fresh relief the great truth that what the Church, the Body of Christ, most needs at all times is close union with its Head, the Author of Life, and this union is effected in the most real, true and substantial manner by partaking of the very Bread of Life in Holy Communion. The decree under consideration has put an end forever to the controversies that have existed for ages concerning the advisability and the conditions of frequent Communion. It rightly styles the Blessed Sacrament the "Divinum Pharmacum," the Divine remedy for our weakness, not the reward of merit. It states that "the primary purpose of the

Sacrament of the Eucharist is not that the honor and reverence due to our Lord may be safeguarded, but that it may serve as an antidote whereby we are delivered from daily faults and preserved from deadly sins." And the decree adds that it is "the desire of Jesus Christ and of the Church that all the faithful should daily approach the sacred banquet." The only conditions laid down are freedom from grievous sin and from unworthy motives, and confessors are enjoined not to dissuade from even daily Communion the penitents who fulfill these conditions.

This epoch-making decree, which has for special purpose to revive the practice of the early Christians, which it declares to have been that of daily Communion, will necessarily have for effect to increase very largely the spiritual life and vigor of the Church. And there never was a period in her history when this increase of strength from on high was so much needed by her. As the world grows older in its worldliness the Church is being more and more isolated as the one impregnable rampart against the forces of evil. What reckes the world of any of the multitudinous sects who claim to stand up against it? They are brushed aside with silent contempt. The Catholic Church alone is the enemy to be counted with, and against her the gates of hell are being opened with ever increasing violence. Thank God, her house is firmly fixed on the rock against which no tempests will prevail. But her indwellers as well as her defenders need an increase of warmth and strength in proportion to the bitterness of the storm outside. This they receive in all abundance in the Holy Eucharist. And for this increase to the full measure of daily food they are beholden to the divinely inspired Pius X.

We have touched briefly and on a few only of the many measures, policies and acts of Pius X. The time is not yet come for taking a deeper and more comprehensive view of his Pontificate. But already the fruits of his energy and single-mindedness are being gathered into the granary of God's kingdom on earth, and if he were to disappear to-morrow his short reign of a little over five years would be indelibly impressed on the history of the Church. The abundance of the harvest already gathered is due in no inconsiderable measure to the loyalty and intelligence of those whom his wisdom has chosen to aid him. Foremost among these ranks the marvelous young churchman whom Pius chose for the highest post in his official household. The choice itself was characteristic of the penetrating wisdom and fearless courage of the Pope. How many arguments the wiseacres could put forth against appointing a young man less than forty years old to the second highest office in the Church—that of Secretary of State to the Supreme Pontiff! Here again the event has justified the far-seeing wisdom of the Holy

Father. There was probably in Christendom no other man so well suited to serve and second the providential work of this Pontificate as Raphael Merry del Val. His noble Spanish and Irish blood, his English birth and training, his intimate knowledge and experience of the languages and ecclesiastical affairs of all the great Christian nations were heaven-sent gifts to be placed at the service of a Pope who had never traveled outside his native land and who knew no modern language but that of Italy. Yet it was not these exceptional gifts so much as similarity of character and aim which served as the loadstone to attract those two noble minds to one another. Those who knew the young Secretary of the conclave most intimately admired him not so much for his rare hereditary and acquired gifts of the natural order as for his unfeigned piety and boundless charity. The same apostolic spirit which the youthful Father Sarto had displayed as curate at Trombolo, as pastor at Salzano, as spiritual director and chancellor at Treviso, and which he perfected as Bishop at Mantua and as Patriarch at Venice, found a very close reproduction of itself in the piety, zeal and charity of the young, noble, highly cultured Monsignor, who was known to spend himself in preaching the Gospel to the poor, in catechizing neglected children and in winning back the wayward of low and high degree. It was but natural that two such minds should be attracted to one another. And so it happened during the conclave. The new Pope manifested his esteem and confidence by appointing the secretary of the conclave his Pro-Secretary of State. The closer acquaintance of the following months confirmed this mutual esteem and affection, which found expression in the letter of definite appointment dated October 18, 1903, in which the Pope said: "The vote of the eminent Cardinals who elected you secretary of the conclave, the kindness which led you to accept and sustain in those days the cares of the Secretary of State and the affectionate earnestness with which you have fulfilled the very delicate office oblige me to ask you to assume definitely the office of my Secretary of State." This appointment carries the mind back to the almost identical circumstances of the appointment of Gonsalvi by Pius VII. And the best proof of the wisdom of the appointment is the fact that the enemies of the Church, the Freemason Liberals of Europe, regard the eminent Secretary of State as the *bete noire* of the present Pontificate. But there has not been a Catholic gathering, occasion or work of any importance in any part of the world these past five years which has not been the recipient of the blessing and of the fatherly interest of Pius X. conveyed in the comely phrases of his cultured and indefatigable Secretary of State, whose name is indelibly connected with his in every Catholic heart.

The golden jubilee of the priesthood of Pius X. is drawing out from the whole Church renewed expressions of loyalty to his sacred office and person, and even the world outside has learnt to admire his great personality, the mingling of gentleness and strength, of unswerving faith and unlimited charity which embraces all men and all interests in the love of his Master, Christ. There is, however, a certain tinge of sadness mingled with the joy of such a celebration. For the very length of years that forms the vista of the past seems to shut out the hope of a long vista in the future. It is a noted fact in the life of Pius X. hitherto that the number nine has marked the several stages of his career. He was nine years curate, nine years parish priest, nine years chancellor, nine years Bishop, nine years Cardinal Patriarch, and now he is in the sixth year of his Pontificate. A prayer rises up to-day from every heart in Christendom that this last stage of his life may be prolonged threefold, and that, like his two immortal predecessors, he may see the days of Peter, and see still more of the fruits of his labors to restore all things in Christ.

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THE USES AND SCOPE OF HISTORICAL READING.

“GIVE a man a taste for reading and the means of gratifying it and you can hardly fail of making a happy man, unless, indeed, you put into his hand a most perverse selection of books. You place him in contact with the best society in every period in history.” It were a thing very much to be desired to see every member of our extensive reading public heed this salutary advice of Sir Herschel. In that event the number of desultory readers would be reduced, popular literature would be relieved of much that is worthless and the taste of the reading public would be vastly improved. However, if our reading is to be no superficial and time-killing occupation, it must cover such topics as will naturally lead the mind to examine and apply what passes before its vision. Light, frivolous novels or romantic tales picturing exaggerated, unreal scenes will hardly induce the reader to pause and to gather useful information, but they will rather blunt and dissipate his mental energies. Our minds, like our limbs and physical powers, are strengthened by vigorous and judicious exercise. Poetry and well selected works of fiction store the mind with noble images and

yield the most exquisite, versatile expression of thought. Yet they will hardly call for a vigorous exercise of the critical and speculative faculties. These are more apt to be drawn out when the mind occupies itself with things of universal interest. Such subjects are, for instance, man's struggles and trials, his reverses and successes, his aspirations and disappointments. All these considerations fall within the domain of history. Hence it is that this branch of knowledge furnishes most useful and valuable reading. Since, however, history has within the past decades—thanks to the epoch-making publications of Niebuhr, Ranke, Jannsen, Pastor, Lingard and Cantù—been elevated to the dignity of a science, the perusal of it must of necessity be conducted along critical lines.

Like every other science, history has passed through various phases of development. In the days of Herodotus it was little beyond a bare recital of interesting events. It confined itself to the relation of such facts as were likely to engage the imagination and to elicit sentiments of admiration and reverence. Thus it merely responded to a certain æsthetic interest in the marvelous events which occurred in the hazy past and, by consequence, took on the form of the narrative. But with the progress of civilization men began to gather practical lessons from the records of the past. The causes of friendships and enmities between nations, of the mutual relations of States and colonies, of treaties and agreements were looked for in the transactions of former generations. Men inquired into the causes of events and traced the motives of actions until they began to seek, from the course of events, practical rules to regulate the affairs of State and guiding principles for the maintenance of a healthy national and moral life.¹ Of this pragmatic form of historical writing Thucydides is the first exponent. A higher species is that which deals with historic events with a view to ascertaining their origin and their relation to each other in the continuous development of mankind. The unity of the human race and the intrinsic interdependence of all occurrences conspiring to form a continuity of progress constitute the fundamental principles according to which all events are valued.

The genetic form of history took its rise in the second half of the last century and differs from the narrative and pragmatic both in the method of treatment and in the quality of style adopted. It is but natural that the historian vary his manner of style according to the subject-matter in hand. If he presents facts and occurrences he employs the narrative style. This manner of style is most commonly in use among historians. If the narrative pauses to depict a battle or landscape, to describe a city or national hero, the language

¹ Cf. Bernheim, "Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode," p. 22.

becomes more vivid and is known as the pictorial style. Finally, when events have been recounted and scenes described, the historian draws inferences, assigns causes and points out consequences. This form of treatment constitutes the philosophical style.²

In addition to these forms of style, there is a fourth, the imaginative. This is intimately connected with the narrative and pictorial styles. As the name imports, it avails itself of the imagination not to dress up the heroes and ideas of former times in fantastic perfections, but to present a lifelike and vivid account of the past by means of the present. It also has recourse to the philosophical style, seeing that "It recognizes more distinctly the truth that all historic events are to be explained by certain causal influences or agencies which are furnished in man's own nature in the circumstances of his condition and in the purposes of the living God."³

To accurately determine the presence and operation of these causes is the province of what is known as the philosophy of history. To many this term "suggests something very profound, attractive and incomprehensible."⁴ Yet there should be no difficulty in the term. If a study of the universe, of its origin and nature, of its laws and properties is possible there is no reason why the human mind should be unable to deduce general principles from a succession of particular facts. To deny to man the prerogative of investigating the factors of development, of analyzing the causes of human actions and of tracing the results of historic events were to question the capabilities of the human mind, which, so far from being trammelled by the phenomena of sense, is by nature prone to follow up all things to their last causes. As a matter of fact, there have been eminent thinkers and profound historians who possessed and so cultivated the power of analysis as to be able to discover with subtlety and precision the most recondite causes of human conduct and the most secret springs of national acts. This is in part what the philosophy of history justly endeavors to achieve.

It would, then, appear that the science of history as pursued in modern times consists preëminently in the genetic form which aims at presenting events in their bearings on the continuous development of mankind. Some thinkers and critics, we are aware, persist in denying to history the distinction of being a science on the ground that it is rather an art. It does not proceed along strictly defined laws of its own, so they would have us believe, and arranges its material in artistic form. History, it is true, follows only certain

² The author has borrowed this thought from Sheran, "Handbook of Literary Criticism," ch. xxxii.

³ Noah Porter, "Books and Reading," p. 139.

⁴ *Id.*, op. c., p. 140.

regularities in the circumstances of events and in the activities of human nature, and after a series of scientific researches has been duly conducted proceeds to collect the authenticated facts into one artistic whole. However, it must be borne in mind that the claims of historical inquiry are not satisfied by the historian who merely notes an event and reduces it to results of obviously favorable or antagonistic influences. It is part of his duty as scientist to study and interpret an event in its innermost relation to others connected with it and in its dependence on the general laws of physical and psychic nature. Every important personage, every event of moment must be examined as to what it has in common with the general drift of development and as to what it presents of individuality which would point to a departure from the general progress.

This feature differentiates history from the natural sciences. The latter invariably work according to general and uniformly operating laws, whereas the former regards the particular as well as the general. Hence it can never be reduced to the effects of mere mechanical forces. In like manner politics as a science has nothing in common with history. It draws its subject-matter from the various forms of government, investigates their nature, examines their effects on society and studies their relations to other existing forms of government. History, on the other hand, is concerned with society in so far as the latter is affected by the progress of civilization, by the circumstances and causes which were instrumental in the formation and downfall of States. Scientific analysis of general types of government *as such* is foreign to the domain of history. By a strange mixture of inharmonious ideas history has at times been identified with sociology. This study inquires into the conditions, the foundations and the changes of communities in order to ascertain and formulate rules for the successful construction of society; history notes the *achievements* of society. While, then, it is true that history may profit by the achievements of the arts and of the sciences or bear some resemblance to them as to form, it cannot be gainsaid that it is distinctly a science of its own. Thus the massiveness and complexity and unity of design in architecture fitly represent the artistic form of history. Like painting, it presents a variety of gorgeous scenes from battlefield and forum to palace and cathedral. Like the drama it portrays living characters moving amid real scenes, surrounded by real dangers and temptations. *History, then, is a science setting forth in artistic form the results of learned inquiry for the instruction, interest and improvement of mankind.* Instruction being the primary function of history, it follows that a study of history, when conducted along critical lines, will not fail of enriching the mind with a store of positive and relia-

ble information.⁵ In the words of Alzog, it is "the record of the systematic training and improvement of mankind by divinely appointed means as a preparation for the coming of Christ, that God might, through the coming of His Son, secure from man a spontaneous homage and a worship worthy of Himself."⁶ Forsooth, in presenting to us the records and experience of millions, the motives and consequences of their actions, history proves an unfailing source of invaluable instruction. It points out the road that leads to success and the byways whose goal is destruction. It enables us to acquire with comparative ease knowledge which others have gained only after bitter experiences. As we travel in spirit over many lands and our minds are carried back to the distant past, we note the customs of diverse nations, their civilization, their manners of worship, their commerce, their cultivation of the liberal arts, and by so doing we gather wisdom for our own conduct, finding in the past the key of many problems which perplex the present generation. This supposes, of course, that facts are not suppressed or distorted by prejudice, but presented in their true colors. If historians would, like Milman in his "History of Christianity," freely indulge in misrepresentations, or, like Garner and Lodge, to put the case mildly, make light of things and persons Catholic,⁷ the reader could hardly be expected to derive honest profit from the study of history. A more dangerous because more subtle form of error are false theories such as Hegel and Bancroft weave into their histories.

The study of history, furthermore, at once stimulates and satisfies the innate craving of man to become acquainted with the achievements, the struggles and reverses of the human family. History as no other science appeals to the broader sympathies of every educated and intelligent person whose interest in the course of human events is not bounded by the narrow limits of provincial or insular pursuits. It arouses attention to general affairs as opposed to those of local interest. It aids man in forming a truer conception of human brotherhood, coupled with a fair appreciation of the efforts made by the nations of the earth to promote culture, science, literature and the arts.

Respecting the relative importance of the various branches of learning as formative factors we make bold to affirm that history is second to none. A thorough and scientific study of history tends to foster culture by reducing prejudice. We are led to observe and compare the nations in all the departments of the institutional life.⁸

⁵ We refer to the *general* reliability of history.

⁶ Alzog's "Universal Church History," Introduction.

⁷ This criticism is directed against the "glaring errors" which marred the first edition of the "History of the United States."

⁸ By institutional life is meant the fivefold life of a nation. This com-

We note their progress in education, in the forms of government, in industry, in moral excellence. We discover in their wars and strifes the workings of the human passions, analyze their influence upon the world's culture and trace in the march of mankind through the ages the dispensations of Providence. Like the traveler who from a lofty eminence surveys a picturesque scene in which part corresponds to part, valley, river and meadow blending into one harmonious landscape, so we are elevated above the ordinary impediments to our mental vision, our intellectual horizon is widened and we discern points of view which before failed to attract our attention. At a glance we see the solution of certain problems which were well nigh insoluble to generations of bygone days, while, on the other hand, an intelligent reader of history will not be slow to realize that some historical phenomena must ever remain enigmas as long as man "sees but darkly as through a glass." "History," to use the words of a profound scholar, "constitutes the apparently easy and first elements of all instruction, and yet the more cultivated the mind of a man becomes the more multiplied opportunities will he find of applying it and turning it to use, the more will he discern its richness and divine its deeper sense."⁹

Yet here, as in every other form of reading, concentration of the mind upon what is being read and careful discrimination are the conditions necessary to ensure the beneficial results of which we speak. The desultory reader who has a smattering of superficial knowledge picked up here and there is, as a rule, unequal to the task of so fixing his attention as to put into requisition all the faculties of his intellect. And how can it be otherwise? His mind has not been disciplined into serious and sustained reflection on any one subject. He reads merely what for the moment dazzles his fancy and appeals to his unformed, uncritical and perverted taste. The position of a mind which has rarely if ever exercised the critical faculty in historical studies is analogous to that of a child who marvels at the multiplicity of shapes and colors presented on the wrong side of a piece of tapestry. The multitude of events which pour in upon the mind are to the desultory reader little beyond isolated and meaningless facts.¹⁰ To him the stream of human events presents no more than an upper current; for him the study of

prises the political, the social, the industrial, the educational, the religious phases of national life. For a comprehensive treatment of this subject, cf. Mace, "Method in History." For a brief and lucid exposition of the meaning, the origin, the value and the organic unity of the institutional life, the reader is referred to Sheran, "Handbook of Criticism," ch. xxxi., p. 228 ff.

⁹ Frederick v. Schlegel, "Philosophy of History."

¹⁰ Cardinal Newman, "Idea of a University," University Subjects, No. IX., p. 495.

history is a mere surface view; to him the course of actual events as affected by the laws of nature, by the passions of the human heart and by the several agencies whether favorable or adverse on which the issue of every momentous movement depended—in a word, the general results and interdependence of all the past transactions of the human race,¹¹ are a mass of discordant elements “without actual connection, without order or principle, without drift or meaning.”¹²

It would, then, be an unpardonable error of judgment to measure the extent of one's knowledge of history by the multitude of histories devoured. To suppose, furthermore, that a mere smattering of historical data will yield the gratifying results which accrue from a critical study of history were equally false and illusory. On the other hand, we are far from contending that the reader of history is required to learn by rote a detailed table of events. The first and lowest step to be taken in the acquisition of sound historical knowledge is the ascertaining of true facts. Unfounded myths are to be relegated to the domain of the fabulous, exaggerated accounts to be corrected, doubtful happenings to be investigated—in short, a precise knowledge of facts and dates is an indispensable requisite, without which there can be no thought of entering further into the study of history. Moreover, our ideas of commerce and civilization call for an emphatic treatment of the facts of history that have gone to build up trade and education. The modern historian must write the life of the schoolmaster, the artisan, the poet and the saint—in a word, of the men whose influence has shaped the religious, the intellectual and the social life of the nations. The battlefield may still hold a conspicuous place in the diorama of history, but equally prominent will be the workshop and the school. Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon will still figure prominently, but their fame as conquerors will be measured by their achievements in behalf of human *progress*. More than this, modern historians are not content to entertain their readers with stirring narratives of hotly contested claims of rival princes, of hard won triumphs, of romantic tournaments and religious revolutions. Time was when the “pomp of victory and the splendor of pageants”¹³ made up perhaps the greatest portion of historical works. All this has been changed. With the progress of criticism the spirit of the chronicler has been superseded by a more rigorous method of treatment as well as of research. The scientific historian nowadays feels himself constrained to ransack libraries, consult state papers and penetrate into the cabinets of minister and King, yea, into the very heart of man, there to search for the causes

¹¹ Schlegel, *op. c.*, p. 65.

¹² Cardinal Newman, *op. c.*, *ibid.*

¹³ Noah Porter, *op. c.*, ch. xii., p. 145.

of personal and national acts. May we hope that this welcome change in the department of historical composition will elicit in the reader a like critical spirit, or will history continue to be for him "a mere story book, or biography a romance?"¹⁴

The student of history must not suppose, however, that a correct interpretation of events is a matter that admits of being readily put out of hand with success, for "the circumstances which have most influenced the happiness of mankind, the changes of manners and morals, the transition of communities from poverty to wealth, from knowledge to ignorance, from ferocity to humanity—these are for the most part noiseless revolutions."¹⁵ There are, moreover, three agencies—the freedom of man, the power for evil permitted to Satan, the workings of Providence—which play a prominent part in shaping the course of history. There have not been wanting historians who affected to ignore these agencies. Having no sound first principles of knowledge to guide their efforts and unschooled in the laws and exercise of relentless logic, they have lost themselves in the mazes of theories and hypotheses as absurd as they are extravagant. There are on record historical phenomena of various kinds, the full significance and solution of which is an unknown quantity to the historian who refuses to recognize the freedom of will, the mystery of evil and the dispensations of Providence. Still we can account for many phenomena on purely natural grounds. Among these we place in the first rank the subtle and complex passions of the human heart. It requires no lavish expenditure of mental energy to become convinced of the fact that the horrors of the savage persecution to which the Catholic contingent of the English nation was subjected for centuries had their rise in the guilty passion of Henry VIII. for Anne Boleyn. Again, it were folly to deny that the religious upheaval in the sixteenth century sprang from the pride and obstinacy of a conceited monk. Century after century furnishes us with examples of prominent men whose ambition, avarice, pride or lust plunged whole nations into wars and misery.

Further important factors not to be overlooked in determining the causes of historic events are the accidents of time, place and environment. It is a fact too well known to need rehearsal that England owes her greatness, next of all, to her rock-bound coast and her singularly advantageous position, and, in the second place, to the opening out of her extensive coal and iron mines. Had the English Channel been narrower and England's coast less defiant, the historians of Albion would in all likelihood have a different tale to tell of Dutch fleets, French expeditions, and Spanish Armadas. Had

¹⁴ Cardinal Newman, *op. c.*, *ibid.*, p. 502.

¹⁵ Macaulay, "Essays—History."

England's coal and iron fields been less extensive, she could not have controlled European trade, she would not now be mistress of the seas. Take our own country. Who will not grant that our isolated and impregnable position was our strongest ally in the War of Liberation?

Closely akin to the study of causes is that of consequences. Thus an observant and critical reader of history will not fail to trace the consequences of the Protestant Reformation down to our times. The reformers stood for private interpretation and, by implication, denied authority. As a consequence whole nations became infected with a hatred of obedience and a spirit of insubordination. Revolution after revolution devastated the countries of Europe. In England the civil war created internal dissension and sent King Charles to the block; in France the monstrous revolution deluged the country in blood, robbed the nation of its legitimate sovereign and conjured up years of unrest and strife. Italy fared no better in the last century, whilst society in general experiences to our day the dire results of liberalism in the alarming indifference to all belief and in the threatening social unrest. Again, what would have been the fate of Europe had not Charles Martel defeated the Saracens, had Lepanto been lost to the Christians or had Napoleon delayed his march into Russia? History would probably read differently.

In the career of Napoleon—to cite one instance among many—we remark the operation of another agency, the intervention of an unseen yet powerful hand. In the successes and reverses of this mighty man the finger of God is clearly discernible. If truly observant in this and other phases of history, the reader cannot fail to note the dispensations of a Power "that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." Given a vigorous exercise of the critical faculty, the intelligent reader must admit with Noah Porter that "The same criticism which has proved so destructive to the myths of Grecian and the legends of Roman story, has proved itself most positive and constructive when applied to the miraculous and supernatural which are alone adequate to explain the rise and development of the Mosaic and Christian economies."¹⁶ Nor is this strange. When we survey the course of history we shall find it to present certain groups of historical phenomena which invariably urge upon candid minds the conviction that the administration of Providence is at once a logical necessity and an historic reality. The experience of mankind has ever shown that all nations which abandoned their belief in the Divine either courted certain destruction or drew down upon themselves the just judgments of God. Is it not a remarkable fact that when nations grow haughty and surrender themselves to

¹⁶ Noah Porter, *op. c.*, ch. xl, p. 134.

the excesses of unrestraint they sooner or later suffer a reverse? The Greeks perished as a nation when the Divine became for them an object of derision. The story of Israel is likewise an instance in point. "Was it not a wanton roving after things forbidden, a curiosity to know what it was to be as the heathen [that was] one chief source of the idolatries of the Jews?"¹⁷ Had not the prophets lamented the waywardness of their people who, from a headstrong and infatuate craving for a novel worship, had left the God of their fathers? But Israel paid dearly for its stubbornness and hardness of heart when the rod of Roman dominion lay heavily on its shoulders. The Roman Empire, in its turn, began to totter when, with supreme contempt, the debauched and conceited Romans repudiated whatever savored of religion and worship. Hence its inability to withstand the inroads of barbarian hordes and the readiness with which it fell an easy victim to the warlike and believing nations of the north. Again, many a nation now groaning under the lash of oppression and pauperism, rent with internal dissension and stripped of the unity of faith is only a shadow of its former self.

Then, too, the very idea of retributive justice, such as it has been among the various nations of the earth, and the desire to propitiate an offended deity after the commission of crime, testify to the ruling of a Supreme Being over the affairs of men. Moreover, does it not seem strange that barbarian hordes should leave their Asiatic homes and travel irresistibly westward, finding no rest until, like a mad hurricane, they bore down upon the decaying empire of the Cæsars? Would it not appear that they had come to wash away in blood the corruption and outrages of a depraved heathen world? Why should they come just at the time when the enervated Roman stock, though elevated and purified by Christianity, sorely stood in need of an invigorating constituent to make it the foundation of future Christian nations?

Divine justice, it is true, may not in each instance visibly overtake the originators of political crimes, of national disorders, of religious upheavals. Henry VIII., Luther and some of the encyclopedists may not have been laid low by the thunderbolts of heaven, but in every case the nations sooner or later suffer for their transgressions. The Right Rev. Mgr. John S. Vaughan has written a thoughtful paper on "National Decay and Romanism," in which he contends, among other things, that England is in no small measure indebted for her national prosperity to her Catholic forefathers. After demonstrating this proposition he advances a statement which is to our purpose. "We are sorrowfully bound to confess," he writes,

¹⁷ John Henry Newman, "Parochial and Plain Sermons," Vol. VIII., Sermon V., p. 64.

"that the superficial pomp and splendor, and wealth and luxury, and outward show, of which so many boast, are more than counterbalanced by the appallingly irreligious, immoral and vicious state of multitudes of its inhabitants and the misery, squalor, wretchedness and degradation of enormous masses of her people."¹⁸ What are the reasons of this deplorable condition? Seeing that punishment is the natural sequel of guilt, must we not look for the prime causes of the present national ills of England in the turning away of that country from the faith of its fathers? France, too, paid dearly for her acceptance of blasphemous doctrines. It brought on her all the horrors of the Reign of Terror. Yet even then God's Providence raised up Napoleon, who was to crush the monster of anarchy and lawlessness, but who in his turn, after waxing insolent in the flush of victory, had to acknowledge the power and inviolability of her who is the centre and life of history, the Catholic Church.

This latter fact goes to show the importance of considering another agency necessary to a just interpretation and estimate of history. No reader who pauses to reflect can honestly set at naught the claims of Christianity. He will allow with Schlegel that "without this faith the whole history of the world would be naught else than an insoluble enigma—an inextricable labyrinth, a huge pile of the blocks and fragments of an unfinished edifice—and the great tragedy of humanity would remain devoid of all proper result."¹⁹ Christianity is the centre and pivot of the human record. From the earliest dawn of history all the lines of human endeavor converged to Christ the Redeemer and to His Church. But man proved false to God, meriting by his apostasy the terrors of Divine wrath. Such was the depth of irreligion and consequent moral degeneracy to which he sank that, while at the height of culture and learning, the world had to own in the person of Socrates that "unless some one came to put aside the thick mist, man could not know how he was to comport himself toward God and man." Hand in hand with this negative preparation for the coming of Christ God Himself kept alive the faith anciently vouchsafed to man by renewing the promise of a Redeemer and by leading His chosen people into heathen lands. We go further and say that He designedly centralized the whole world under Rome's dominion in order to facilitate the diffusion of the Gospel and the expansion of His kingdom on earth.

And when the God-Man finally appeared to sanctify this sinful earth by lifting the curse which for ages had rested on the sons of men, He became at once the Redeemer of mankind and the centre of the world's history. After a holy life, spent partly in obscurity,

¹⁸ Rev. Sasla, S. J., "Christian Apologetics," p. 698.

¹⁹ "Philosophy of History," Lecture X., p. 279.

partly in public ministration, He was condemned to death and crucified, restoring by His passion and death the order which sin had inverted. Then having proved His divinity by the most stupendous of all miracles, the Resurrection, He entrusted His mission to the Church, through which He sanctified and elevated the human race. Gently has the Church insinuated her doctrines into the minds of men, inaugurated reforms, leavened society and by patient firmness renewed the face of the earth, all the while rising to a height of magnificence and glory that struck men's minds with amazement. True, waves of barbarian devastation hurled themselves upon the eternal rock, heresy threatened disruption, Greek schism and Turkish invasion wrought untold havoc upon the Church, royal oppression and outbreaks of popular fury checked the free display of her activities, but the Ship of Christ weathered the storm bravely, preserving to us the priceless blessings of faith and civilization. Luther affected to reform her, atheists sought to undermine her, princes and rulers opposed her, secret societies use every endeavor to compass her ruin. But all to no effect, and *never* with impunity! Full many a time the bark of Peter has ploughed through billows of blood and breasted the waves of human passion, but never yet has her Divine Pilot failed to hush the winds and bid the waves retreat. Forsooth, "She was great and respected before the Saxon set foot on Britain, before the Franks had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch, when idols were still worshiped at Mecca, and she may still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveler from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul."²⁰

To sum up, the study of history as a prolific source of useful information consists not in omnivorous and desultory reading, but in a careful and intelligent perusal, with due attention to the coherence of events, to their causes and consequences, to their relation with religion, and, above all, with the religion of Christ. If pursued along these lines, the study of history will reveal a hidden store of knowledge and will become a source of permanent learning and delight. From the pages of history we can learn the unity of the human race and the story of its continuous development. It teaches that every individual member of the human family may be a link in the mighty chain of progress; that man's is a life well worth living; that a sublime aim is to govern his efforts, and that, if he be true to his destiny, he must strive nobly and well. History, moreover, furnishes the key of many problems of practical life. More than this, it is a potent factor in leveling prejudice by leading us to value the achievements of others. We are constrained to deprecate the bigoted and

²⁰ Macaulay, "Review of Ranke's History of the Popes."

misleading lucubrations of historians and to reject, if not to confound, the manifold errors propagated in the press and through the many-mouthed organs of public opinion. We frankly acknowledge the debt of gratitude we owe to such eminent critics as Cardinal Newman and Spedalieri for the signal services they have rendered to Catholic truth by their masterful refutations of the insidious "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;" to Balmes for his critical examination of Guizot's "History of Civilization;" to Archbishop Spalding for his scathing criticisms of Prescott and Bancroft. And if well informed and scholarly laymen like Dr. Walsh, who silenced the slanderous charge of a professor in a well-known Eastern university, meet the attacks of unscientific historians, we heartily endorse their action. For truth is sacred. And such as are of the truth will not commit the effrontery to wantonly urge the unfounded charge against the Catholic Church that she ever minimized or discountenanced the claims of true science. The impulse given to modern historical research by Leo XIII. is a matter of recent knowledge. The encouraging words spoken by the scholarly Pontiff are not likely soon to be forgotten. "Continue to work with courage and perseverance, zealously and cheerfully, not so much in order to obtain earthly reward or human praise, but above all do this work for the love of God and for His honor, for He will requite your endeavors with heavenly and everlasting reward." Such is the message which the Church in the person of the Divinely appointed custodian of natural and revealed truth delivers to honest and reputable scholars.

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ON THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPES.

II.

CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

MR. DUCHESNE traces the gradations in the acquirement of temporal sovereignty by the Popes, showing how their moral influence all along, especially as the Empire in Italy became more and more inefficient, had been such as to give them the command over the Roman people even in civil concerns. The Roman Bishop was like no other Bishop as regards his control over men, and this fact was declared in the ordinal for the consecration of a Pope, where he is styled Apostolical Lord, Vicar of St. Peter, High Priest of the Roman Sanctuaries, Primate of the Bishops in the whole world, Universal Doctor. "Such a Bishop," remarks Mgr. Duchesne, "could not have been subject to the Duke of the Roman Duchy, as the Bishops of Venice and Naples were subject to their Dukes." The idea is borne out by the address of St. Leo I. to Rome: "Saints Peter and Paul have raised thee to this glory that thou art a holy nation, an elect people, a city at once priestly and kingly, with a presidency wider by divine religion than by earthly domination!"

As for the Lombards, the rivals and possible enemies of the Papacy, their Princes gradually became Catholic and showed themselves amenable to the Pope's will when their conquests put it in their power to be recalcitrant. Mgr. Duchesne thinks that what greatly stood in the way of their being chosen, instead of the Franks, protectors of the Holy See was their near neighborhood, which would make them more interfering, but especially their barbarous manners and repulsive features, which were bars to equality of intercourse. Their Kings, Luitprand, Rachis and Didier, were religious men. Astolphus, on the contrary, was aggressive, and it was against his encroachments that Stephen II. invoked the aid of Pepin, who with his Franks lent assistance rather out of reverence for St. Peter than out of any desire to supplant the Byzantine Emperors in their hereditary lordship over Italy. When the iconoclast, Leo the Isaurian, persecuted the Popes instead of defending them, not only the weakness, but also the violence of Constantinople became urgent reasons for throwing off the allegiance to it and seeking a better over-lord. So it was to Charlemagne that Hadrian I. appealed against the Lombards, whose King the Franks thereupon conquered and deposed. The next summons to Charlemagne for

protection was made because of an internal revolution at Rome, which the Pope was not physically strong enough to hold under control, with the consequence that his own life was in danger. The result of the application was that the Pope received confirmation of his sovereignty over his temporal States, and in return Leo III. crowned Charles Emperor of the West, with the special duty to be the secular arm of the Church. The new title of Emperor was much more significant than the previous one of Patrician, and later ages tried, by recourse to Roman law, to stretch to the very utmost the power of the revived imperialism over the Popes. It was the battle between Sacerdotium and Imperium as two universal powers. Herodian had written: "Where the Emperor is, there is Rome." A Christian Father wrote: "Where Peter is, there is the Church."¹ Eginhard says that the coronation came to Charlemagne as a surprise. How much of prearrangement there was about the whole matter is left in dispute. It is certain that no exact theory of the situation was elaborated from the first. It was in later times that the extreme imperialists, strong in Roman law, held that Charlemagne was Emperor by conquest, with all the powers of the Augustan line, while the Papal party, on the other hand, said that the Christian empire was an institution of the Pope, who made it what primarily it was—namely, his instrument for the service of the Church—and yet further a third theory was in the field, that of patriotic Romans, who held that they as heirs to the capital city were the inheritors of the old rights. A curious setting aside of the several pretensions is made by M. Laurent in his book, "*La Papauté et L'Empire*," a work which forms part of the series "*Histoire des Droits des Gens et des Relations Internationales*." As an evolutionist he thinks that he sees in the contest a necessary step towards the production in Europe of free countries and free peoples through two powers which were both tyrannies. The Papacy, he allows, did the supreme service of moralizing the barbarians and educating Europe for freedom, while the empire acted as a needful check on the Papal aspirations to be simply dominant. We have come thus, thinks the theorist, to independent nationalities, with liberty for their component individuals, the price of this boon having been a time of subjection to two universal dominations, neither of which were in themselves admissible on the true principles of human freedom. Such is M. Laurent's view. We may leave alone the abstract precision of theories to see how in practice the power of the Emperor in relation to the Pope began to work on the general but not narrowly and jealously defined principle of friendly coöperation. We may find the materials for a judgment in Migné's "*Latin*

¹ St. Ambrose Migne, t. 14, col 1,082.

Fathers," tome 98, which shows a very different spirit from that which arose not long afterwards, when the investiture controversy waxed hot and competition supplanted coöperation. Mgr. Duchesne dwells rather one-sidedly on the admonitory and almost pedagogic tone in which Charlemagne wrote to Leo III. concerning the conduct which the Pope should pursue to prevent a future outbreak among his subjects. The accusations against Leo III. had been very grave indeed. Alcuin says they went as far as charges of gross immorality, but in those days it was usual to let the urgency of the desire to destroy a character settle the gravity of the allegations. When Charlemagne arrived at Rome to quell the faction he could not as judge summon the Pope to his tribunal, but the Pontiff undertook to expurgate himself on oath from the crimes alleged, and with this policy we may compare the act of Pope Damasus, who had, when pressed by the Anti-Pope's party, submitted his case to the Emperors.² We shall never understand the position of Leo III. and subsequent positions unless we bear clearly in mind that Rome in the Middle Ages was one of the turbulent Italian cities, and not the least turbulent. Constantly the people got quite out of hand as regards the Pontiff who tried to hold the reins, and he had to throw them down and take to flight. No single governing power over Italy ever succeeded to the Augustan Empire; nothing more than an Augustus could have any permanence, and at intervals a strong man brought a strong hand to bear on the peninsula. There was in name, from the time of the Lombard invasion, a King of Italy, but he meant very little. He was either the Emperor or a vassal of his, at least titularly. The southern part of the peninsula was broken off from the rest, being under the dominion of Greeks, or Saracens, or Angevins, or Aragonese. A number of free cities lapsing into petty tyrannies, along with a few larger States, kept up a perpetual warfare, in which foreign mercenaries were largely hired, and the Popes had to live as they could, while to this sad condition of things was added the further misfortune that on several occasions they were elected by a faction irrespective of qualities fitting them for their sacred post.³ Popes and Emperors had a very fluctuating control over their nominal charges and they weakened each other by mutual disagreements.

If we look now to the correspondence that passed between Leo

² Similarly Pascal I. swore to his innocence before the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Louis when these were sent to investigate a charge of murder at Rome.

³ The irregularities following on the ill-treatment of the corpse of Pope Formosus led to the condition that the Papal election should take place, *preventibus legatis imperatoris*. Lambert was then emperor; Otho I. later acquired the right to approve a Papal election before the elect was consecrated.

and Charlemagne, we find that the former remonstrates on occasion thus: "Your Serene Highness despatched to us imperial missi for the execution of justice, but it is harm rather that they are doing." All the same the Pope does not repent of having assigned to Charles his office: "We beseech your imperial clemency so to treat the donation which you received from God to give it over to the Apostle Peter, that it may in no manner suffer diminution, but by your strenuous exertions may ever abide in security."⁴ Again the Pope has to write about the imperial missi in Rome, adding trustfully: "After all we commend everything to your most wise decision."⁵ If we look next to the letters of Charlemagne in reply, we find a good disposition to do his duty to the Church. We must not be surprised at or take too technically language which in the time of later quarrels would have signified a usurped authority. For instance, Charlemagne writes: "*Praelectis Excellentiae vestrae litteris valde gavisus sumus . . . in humilitatis vestrae obedi-tiae et promissionis ad nos fidelitate.*"⁶ This is the language of a strong Prince who had given—but not simply given where there was no other title—domains to a Pope, and had rescued him from rebellious subjects afterwards, and now was speaking not as a trained theologian, nor yet as a polite gentleman most careful to use language with no possible offensiveness in its terms. It is the speech from a plain-tongued conqueror of domains imperially wide, who was obviously the greatest potentate of his age⁷ and accustomed to wield authority. It is true that not everywhere in the books called Caroline, when they magnify ecclesiastical power, is the voice that of Charlemagne; nor, on the other hand, are the words which were uttered in the Council of Frankfort held in 794, six years before he was made Emperor, proved to be personally his utterances. For example, these: "*Cujus ecclesiae, quoniam in sinu regni, gubernacula Domino tribuente suscepimus.*" It is pure conjecture to suppose here some pique at not having been consulted about the second Council of Nicea, which gave decisions on the cultus of images that were not pleasing to the Westerns.

As to the capitularies of Charles, which embody much real history, we find therein how Church and State worked together by joining their two distinct but not uncombinable authorities for the good of the Christian peoples. National assemblies and ecclesiastical synods

⁴ Migne, tom. 98, col. 522.

⁵ Col. 526.

⁶ Col. 907.

⁷ The friendly offices of Charlemagne may be compared to those of Valentinian and Gratian towards Pope Damasus, who submitted to their judgment the case against the anti-Pope, because he had not himself the temporal power to control the insurgents, but his spiritual jurisdiction he most firmly asserted all the while.

legislated in concert, and some members belonged to both bodies. The nation took up a number of the synodal decrees, making the enactments its own. The Capitularies⁸ forbid clerics to bear arms and to fight. In accordance to arrangements made after consultation with the Pope, the manner is laid down after which accused clerics are to expurgate themselves or receive penalty for offenses.

Charlemagne did as England gradually came to do after the throne had been humiliated by the reverence paid to St. Thomas of Canterbury—he put clerical offenses, even the criminal cases, under episcopal jurisdiction.⁹ The Justinian law for the greater crimes was degradation from clerical rank and then judgment by the lay tribunal: "*Spoliari sacerdotali dignitate et ita sub legum fieri manu.*"¹⁰ The Capitularies thus continued their regulations; the imperial *missi* might examine into the conduct of clerical officials;¹¹ priests must qualify for ordination by a previous examination;¹² those summoned to appear before the imperial commission must obey the mandate—*ut episcopi et potentiores quicumque ad nostram jubeantur venire praesentiam.*¹³ More than once it is noted that the Pope had been consulted upon the matter decreed, and we must further observe that the decrees just mentioned affected not Rome, but various other dioceses in the Empire.

Mgr. Duchesne lays much stress on the Constitution of Lothaire, whom his father, the Emperor Louis the Pious, sent to Rome for the purpose of quieting a disturbed state of affairs. It seems to us that too much is attributed by our author to the authority displayed in the document, which is to be found in Harduin, c. iv., 1261-1262. Persons under Papal and imperial protection are to be held inviolable: "*Et hoc decernimus ut domino apostolico in omnibus justa servetur obedientia.*" Those Romans only whose right is established by ancient custom are to be the electors when a new Pope is to be chosen;¹⁴ *missi* are to be appointed by Pope and Emperor to give to each of these sovereigns a yearly account as to how officials have discharged their functions; complaints are to be laid first before the Pope, who may refer the cases to the Emperor; the inhabitants must name the law¹⁵ under which they are going to live, and accord-

⁸ Harduin, IV., 943.

⁹ Capit., c. 28, anno 789; c. 39, anno 803.

¹⁰ Novell. Pref., Sect. 2.

¹¹ The Northern invaders were wise enough to see that the Roman law was a better code than their own customaries, and therefore they left a choice of systems to their subjects. In the present case Romans may have escaped penal law by escaping Roman law by recourse to Lombard and to Salic law.

¹² P. 953.

¹³ P. 954.

¹⁴ P. 956.

¹⁵ This may have helped the lay party in Rome to recover their votes.

ing to the code of their choice Pope and Emperor will see that they are judged; while the Emperor is at Rome, in order that he may have the opportunity to become acquainted with the men responsible in various departments, these must come into his presence and receive instruction. Everywhere in the document we find the Pope named before the Emperor, and if we grant the necessity of the imperial control, its office is not too much magnified. Then there is the concluding decree, which is wholly favorable to the Pope: "*Novissime precipimus et monemus ut omnis homo, sicut Dei gratiam et nostram habere desiderât, ita præstet in omnibus obedientiam atque reverentiam Romano Pontifici.*" The reigning Pontiff was Eugenius II.

A further indication how Charlemagne did not assume that he had won for himself and still retained the rulership over the Roman States is sought in the terms of the division which he made of his realm among his three sons. After assigning to them their three portions respectively, which did not include the Papal territories, he adds with regard to the Pope that all should jointly act as his defenders: "*Super omnia autem jubemus ut ipsi tres fratres curam ac defensionem ecclesiae Sancti Petri simul suscipiant, sicut quondam ab avo nostro Carolo et beatae memoriae genitore nostro Pippino rege, et a nobis postea suscepta est.*"¹⁶ Charles never forgot that the Popes, besides the claim due on the score of the donations made by himself and Pepin, had a title in the choice of the peoples over whom they ruled and who had been free to choose after the failures of the Byzantine Emperors. Also there was a title, if not a complete one, in the Papacy itself and in the necessities of its condition during the early formation of Christendom, when clerics were almost the only educated and competent administrators. Some will here recall Newman's description of the Pope's claim, inasmuch as the Pontiff was "heir by default" to Rome.

It is urged that before the coronation by the Popes, which came later, Charlemagne appointed Louis Emperor and Louis appointed Lothaire. As to these facts Hergenröther favors the inference that Papal agreement had previously been attained.

In any case there is no proof that the force of the original derivation of the title from the Pope was thereby nullified or set at defiance in order to assert a right by conquest. As to the Emperor's share in the making of a new Pope, he was first content with a notice sent to him what election had been made; later he claimed a more positive power of approval, and there was some reason for this when the elections became less pure in their proceedings. From the Byzantine Emperor the last Pope to ask confirmation had been Zachary.

¹⁶ Harduin, IV., 446.

Lothaire's Constitution limited the electors to Romans having a prescriptive right; the rules were afterwards variously modified, and unfortunately rules sometimes were set at defiance in the strifes of the ambitious of the factious.¹⁷ The Empire which started with Charlemagne did not fulfill its early promise, for though his grandson, Charles the Fat, reunited under his rule the previously divided dominions, he proved unequal to his position, and with him the first line in the new empire came to an end, 886. Yet we must give the Carolingians credit for what they did or what was done under their favoring reign. "Under the early Frankish Kings the Church was the main source and principle of civilization—the dominant power of society. All important acts of legislation emanated from its councils. Its prelates were ministers of States; its priests were civil magistrates; justice was ordinarily dispensed through its tribunals. Church and State were so intimately blended as scarcely to be distinguishable. Feudalism brought the important change, turning Bishops, abbots and the higher dignitaries into territorial feudatories."¹⁸

This feudalism had much to do with secularizing the clergy; with filling its ranks from the needy sons of the barons and squires; with violating the canons that forbade the clergy to become soldiers on the battlefield,¹⁹ and with many other evils which spoilt the good which ought to have been derived from the union of the Church with the State, and from the large concessions made to the spiritual powers to have their decrees enforced by the magistrates and to judge cases in their own tribunals till the time should arrive the civil law should find a laity more fitted for its administration.²⁰ It is not needful to

¹⁷ Alexander Noel, de Marca and others denied that the Pope held his temporal estates independently; they asserted a joint tenure with the Emperor.

¹⁸ "The Church in France," by W. H. Jevons. When, in England, William of Wykeham and other clerical statesmen were deposed to make way for laymen, the last proved exceedingly corrupt and had to be prosecuted by the Good Parliament.

¹⁹ The eightieth of the apostolic canons said: "Ne quis episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus militiæ vacet." Under pressure of Norman invasion, St. Leo IX. appeared in arms; Julius II. was also ready to fight in the Crusades. One of the latest decrees on the subject is dated July 12, 1900: "Quisquis de clero ut bellis et politicis contentionibus opem utcumque ferat, propriæ residentiæ locum absque justa causa, quæ a legitima ecclesiastica auctoritate recognita sit, deseruit et clericales vestes exuerit, quamvis arma non sumpserit, et humanum sanguinem minime fuderit; et eo magis qui in civili bello sponte sua militiæ nomen dederit, aut bellicas actiones quocumque dirigere præsumerit, etsi ecclesiasticum habitum retinere pergat, ab ordinum et graduum exercitio, et a quolibet ecclesiastico officio et beneficio suspensus ipso facto maneat."

²⁰ Some question has been raised about the decree in the Capitularies apud Baluze Capit. Reg. Franc. Lit., VI., n. 366, p. 985: "Quicumque litem habens, sive possessor sive petitor fuerit, si iudicem elegerit legis anti-

follow Mgr. Duchesne into the sad history of the Papacy when family ambitions decided Papal elections and two bad women, Theodora and Merozia, were using their baleful influence. The Emperor Otho I. (936-973) brought the beginnings of better things, but was quite unable to become a second Charlemagne. A greater reform was started by Gregory VII. in conflict with the Emperor Henry IV. (1073-1080), who continued the struggle against Victor III., Urban II. and Paschal II. (1073-1106). Then Henry V. imprisoned Paschal II. and his Cardinals till they yielded investiture rights, which afterwards they could not conscientiously confirm. The compromise was the Concordat of Worms, 1122, when Calistus II. was Pope. There followed the Conflict of Frederick I. against Hadrian IV. and Alexander III. (1154-1180) and that of Frederick II. against Honorius III., Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. (1216-1250). Here in a substantial sense may be said to have ended the long duel between *Sacerdotium* and *Imperium*, with the defeat of the latter and with a severe wound left in the former.

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ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

ONCE more the attention of the world is directed toward the East, and its eyes are fixed upon Constantinople. Although it was known that the party of "Young Turkey" had been at work for a long time, we could hardly expect such a complete, though peaceful revolution, and such a complete emancipation as we have witnessed in the last months. Newspapers and magazines have kept us busy with rumors of war in Turkey and the neighboring provinces, and it is hard to foresee what is in store for the Turkish Empire and, consequently, for the Mahomedan world.

I shall endeavor to give a bird's-eye view of the history of what was once the Empire of Byzantium, and thus lead up to the events of the present year.

The early history of Hellas, and of that more ancient people that

titem, etiamsi altera pars refragatur, ad episcoporum iudicium cum sermone litigantium dirigatur. Omnes itaque causa quae vel praetorio jure vel civili tractantur, episcoporum sententis terminatae, perpetuo stabilitatis jure firmantur, nec licet alterius tractari iudicium, quod episcoporum sententiae decident." Charlemagne also took up the old rule of Chalcedon (Mansi, VII., 981), that a civil law which contravened the canons should be invalid.

preceded it, the Pelasgi, is, like the history of most of other nations, buried in obscurity and entirely impenetrable except to the researches of the archæologist and philologist. When the dawn begins to break it is obscured by the fables of mythology. The exploits of Hercules, the golden fleece and the voyage of the Argonauts, as well as the siege and downfall of Troy, belong to this fabulous age, though beneath it all, no doubt, underlies a substratum of truth. When, finally, the sun of Grecian history rises we find Hellas, with its three principal tribes of Æolians, Dorians and Ionians, split up into a number of small States, kingdoms or republics, with the Amphycthionic Council as their congress and band of unity. Sparta and Athens are the rising stars among the Grecian cities, but Hellas is of wider extent than the territory of Greece proper, for wherever Hellenes are found there is Hellas. Greeks or Hellenes inhabited the shores of Asia Minor, whence their brethren had crossed over to Europe, and they had colonized Sicily and southern Italy. Legislation, internal politics and feuds occupy the several States of Hellas until the beginning of the fifth century before Christ, when the great Persian wars begin. The three great Eastern empires of Chaldæa, Assyria and Babylonia had passed away, Nineveh had almost disappeared and Babylon was in a state of irreparable decay. Persia, with Cyrus at its head, was the ruling power of the Orient. Unlike the Turks, the mediæval enemies of the Hellenic race, the dwellers on the plains of ancient Oran, the Medes and Persians, belonged to the same great branch of the human family as the Greeks; they were Aryans. The representatives of autocracy in Asia and the lovers of freedom in Greece appear in collision in the reign of Darius I., who had succeeded Cambyses, son of Cyrus. Several of the Greek cities of Ionia in Asia Minor which had been subjugated by Cyrus had endeavored to throw off the Persian yoke, and the Athenians encouraged them in this revolt. Thus in 499 B. C. and in 1897 A. D.—that is, with an interval of 2,396 years—we find Athens sending forth an armed force to help its kinsfolk beyond the seas, and on each occasion a war is precipitated. In 1897 the Greek fleet and army intervened to help Crete against Turkey, and in 499 B. C. the Athenians sent twenty ships and a small force to aid the Ionian insurgents against the Persians. There was then, however, no European concert to check the designs of the Athenians, but they had the mighty Persian monarchy to encounter, and Darius determined to take vengeance on them for the burning of Sardis. Macedonia was invaded and subjugated, but the expedition could not push forward its successes, the fleet having failed to coöperate, owing to a fierce storm which shattered it off Mount Athens. Darius now sent heralds to demand the submission of the

Hellenic States. The cities on the islands generally made their submission, as did many of the continental States.

It was at this critical juncture, when Hellenic civilization was threatened by Eastern despotism, that two champions arose in Athens and Sparta. Their conjunction aroused the spirit of Hellas, and a defensive league was formed, in which most of the lesser States joined. The Persian army sent by Darius landed in the bay east of Attica, and on the immortal plains of Marathon it was encountered by the Greeks under Miltiades. How gloriously different the campaign of 490 B. C. from that of A. D. 1897! The Athenian army of 10,000, reëforced by 600 from Plataea, met a Persian army ten times its number, defeated it and saved Athens. How different from the battle of the Milouna Pass and the rout at Larissa.

Ten years passed, and Persia again invaded Greece. Xerxes had succeeded Darius, and Sparta now stood at the head of the Hellenic League. It is noteworthy that the Persian invasion of Greece under Xerxes covered nearly the same ground as that of the Turks in the campaign of 1897. The Asiatics advanced westward through Thrace and Macedonia, and then, turning southward, rushed through Thessaly upon Attica. Another analogy between the campaign of Xerxes, and that of Edhem Pasha we find in the fact that the Asiatic invasion was a complete success. In the ancient campaign, however, the tide was soon completely turned, and victory perched upon the banners of the Greeks. When the Persians came pouring into Greece the Greeks determined to take their stand at Thermopylae. A small force of only 7,000 troops, under command of the Spartan King Leonidas, was sent to defend this mountain pass against the vast host of Xerxes. For two days they held the enemy at bay, until a traitor pointed out to the Persians a mountain pass by which they might turn the position of the Greeks. Most of the Greek officers now proposed retreat, but Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans and seven hundred Thespians, resolved to die at their post. The rest of the allies were permitted to retire. The heroic band, advancing into the open space, were soon surrounded by the enemy, and they perished to a man, leaving an immortal memory to their country. Alas! 2,359 years later occurred the retreat from Larissa.

Athens, deserted by its population, was reduced to ashes by the Persians, but all was not lost for Greece. The naval victory of Salamis discouraged Xerxes, as much as it raised the spirits of the Greeks, and the Persian monarch retreated to his own dominions, leaving a force of 300,000 men, under Mardonius. The following year the victory of Plataea, gained by the Spartan leader Pausanias and the Athenian Aristides, routed the enemy, while the battle of

Mycale, in Asia Minor, destroyed the remnant of the Persian fleet. The battles of Salamis, Plataea and Mycale decided the war, and the Persians never again invaded Greece. Europe was thus saved from Oriental despotism, and this is one of the many debts it owes to little Greece.

The half century that now follows forms the most glorious period of Athenian history. It was the golden age of Pericles. But, alas! it was also in this age that the seeds were sown of that internecine strife that was to prepare the way for the downfall of Grecian freedom and for Macedonian supremacy. Pericles lived to behold the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, that great struggle between oligarchy and democracy, Athens heading the Ionian, or democratic, and Sparta the Dorian, or aristocratic party. Athens fell, and Sparta became the greatest power in Greece, to be succeeded by Thebes.

Philip of Macedon now enters into Grecian politics. Acknowledged a member of the Amphyctionic Council, his ambitions grew until at last he became master of Greece, and Hellenic liberties fell. Since that day the Grecian people have never entirely recovered their liberties. The spirit of ancient Hellas is broken. Under Alexander, the son and successor of Philip, Greece again met Asia, this time as the aggressor. The Persians were obliged to encounter their old enemies in the heart of their own kingdom. The Persian monarch, Darius Codomanus, was overthrown, Persia acknowledged the dominion of Alexander the Great, and the short-lived Macedonian Empire arose on the ruins of the great Persian monarchy. Though this mighty empire crumbled after the death of its founder, yet its results were lasting. Grecian culture imposed itself upon Asia, and Greek became the predominant language of the civilized world. Less than two centuries later, Greece was merged into the Roman Empire, after the downfall of which it was to pass into the power of the Turks.

The name of Turk first appears in history in the fifth century of our era, in the reign of the Emperor Justinian. We find the Turks the most despised portion of the slaves of the great Khan of the Geougen (Jouan-Jouan), working the iron forges of their masters on the slopes of the Altai Mountains. Under the leadership of Bertezena they vindicated their rights as a separate tribe, and, sallying forth from their mountain home, they began to wage war against the neighboring tribes. Proceeding from victory to victory, they established in Tartary the powerful empire of the Turks, which entered into relations of peace and war with the Romans on one side and with China on the other. This great empire lasted a period of two hundred years, and then vanished from history, leaving,

however, the Turks masters of the great Asiatic steppes. Supplying the Arab dynasty of the Samanis as well as the Saracen Khalifs with mercenary troops, they again slowly came forth into the light of history, and in the eleventh century, once more founded a great empire, that of Seljuk, which aided greatly to propagate the doctrines of the Prophet of Mecca, which Seljuk and his descendants had now embraced. First as slaves, then as a military aristocracy and, finally, as conquerors, the Seljukian Turks absorbed Persia and the whole empire of the Khalifs. Togrul, the grandson of Seljuk, and Alp-Arslan, the successor of Togrul, consolidated their empire and began to encroach upon that of the Romans. Under Malek Shah the frontiers of the empire were still further extended. Soliman added to his dominions a new kingdom, that of Roum, or of the Romans, which was formed from the dominions of the Byzantine empire in Anatolia, or Asia Minor, and Nice became the capital of the Sultan. Finally Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Seljukians. The yoke of the Fatinite Caliphs had weighed lightly on the Christians of Palestine, but that of the Northern Barbarians became galling. The cries of the persecuted Christians reached the ears of their brethren in the West, and the voice of Peter the Hermit stirred Europe to its very depths. The Council of Clermont followed, and the Christian nations of the West poured forth their thousands for the relief of the Holy Land. The Crusades saved the West from the Seljukian Turks, and gave to their empire a blow from which it never recovered.

In the middle of the eleventh century of our era, the Turks of the dynasty of Seljuk first appear in collision with the Byzantine empire. Under the leadership of Togrul, the grandson of Seljuk, the Turkish horse overspread the Greek frontier of over six hundred miles, and the blood of one hundred and thirty thousand Christians was poured out without any lasting result for the invader, whose arms were met by the bravery of the Romans, as the Greeks of the lower empire loved to style themselves. Alp Arslan, the successor of Togrul, was more successful, and Armenia and Georgia were wrested from the Byzantine empire. The brave Emperor, Romanus Diogenes, fought with courage, but the resources at his command were insufficient, and the heroic Emperor, a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, was forced to subscribe to the exorbitant demands of his conqueror. The Seljukian Sultan dictated then to Romanus Diogenes, as the Ottoman Sultan a few years ago dictated to Greece. A ransom of a million, and an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty thousand pieces of gold were demanded.

The Asiatic provinces of the Greek empire gradually fell into the hands of the Seljukian Turks and the Holy City of Jerusalem finally

became subject to them. It was this last event that aroused the Western nations and began that gigantic uprising which history has handed down to us as the Crusades, a movement which though it did not succeed in rescuing the East from Mahomedanism, at least saved Europe from the Seljukian Turks.

The Ottoman Turks first appear in history in the thirteenth century. In the last year of that century, the Caliph Othman invaded Greek territory. His son and successor, Orchan, subdued the province of Bithynia as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. The Byzantine empire was now verging to its fall, which the intestine divisions of the Greeks themselves only served to precipitate.

The great Mongol invasion under Zingis Khan swept like a tidal wave over the East and over a part of Europe, and when it rolled back, death and desolation lay in its path. Still the Seljukian line survived. It was mid the excitement of this invasion, that the Ottoman Turks first came into notice. The Seljukian Sultan of Iconium being one day hard pressed by the Mongols, a small body of unknown horsemen reversed the fortune of the day, and the Seljuk gained the victory. The strangers had accidentally come upon the battlefield of Angora, and at once declared for the weaker side. Only 400 in number, they belonged to the Oghuz family of Truks, and Ertoghrul, son of Suleyman, was their leader. More than six centuries have passed since then, and the family of Ertoghrul still exists. Thirty-five Princes in the male line, without a break in the succession, separate Abdul Hamid, the present ruler of Turkey, from his ancestor Ertoghrul.

A small district was given to these new auxiliaries of the Seljukians, and there the foundations of the Ottoman empire were laid. Here, in 1258, was born Othman, the son of Ertoghrul, from whom the present Turkish race has taken its name. This territory lay in the old Seljukian kingdom of Roum, and when at the end of the thirteenth century the Seljukian dynasty became extinct, it was one of the ten States that arose upon the remnants of the Seljukian empire. Gradually the Ottomans gained by the sword the ascendancy over their rivals, and Othman bequeathed a growing empire to his son Orchan. The attacks on the Byzantine empire continued, and in a short time a considerable portion of Asia Minor was in the hands of the Turks. Before the middle of the fourteenth century they had crossed the Hellespont. Under Murad I., Orchan's son and successor, Macedonia and Thrace succumbed and Adrianople became the European capital of the Turks. Alas, the age of the Crusades was over and the Turks were permitted to gain that foothold in Europe which they have held to this time. The enemy sub-

duced the province of Thrace from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus and Adrianople became their European capital. The empire of the Greeks dwindled away to the small strip of land on which Constantinople stood and the end was near. Bajazet, the Turkish Sultan, might indeed write to the Emperor Manuel that beyond the walls of Constantinople he had nothing left.

For a while the Turks felt that if they attempted to take Constantinople they might provoke a coalition of the Christian Powers of Europe, more formidable even than the Crusades. In view of recent events, I deem it useful to cast a glance at the action of those powers in the downfall of the Eastern empire. One factor must not be lost sight of in the relations between the East and the West—namely, the schism. The differences existing between the Latin and Greek Christians were far less important than those which divide Catholics from Protestants, yet they were vital. In point of doctrine the faith of the Greeks was, with the exception of a few points, identical with that of the Latins, yet these differences were essential. The doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost in the Blessed Trinity and that of the supremacy of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff opened a chasm which could not be bridged over, and Greeks and Latins looked upon each other with undisguised contempt. The Latin nations, centred around the Pope, were a unit, while the venerable patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria were in the power of the Mahometans. Constantinople alone held out, and, as Gibbon remarks, in its four last centuries its friendly or hostile attitude towards the Pope and the Latins may be observed as the thermometer of its prosperity or distress. When the Seljukian Turks threatened Constantinople, the Emperor Alexius implored the protection of the Pope, and the Crusades were the answer to his supplication. No sooner is the danger past than the Greeks throw off the mask and again exhibit their hatred of the Latins. Various fruitless negotiations between Greeks and Latins follow, the union effected at Lyons does not prove lasting and, finally, the Greek empire approaches its agony. John Paleologus goes to Rome in person; he enlists in his favor Urban V., but the age of the Crusades has passed, and, unlike the other Urban, whose appeal had stirred Europe to its inner depths, the Pope fails to move the Powers of Europe in defense of Constantinople. Thirty years later Manuel, his son and successor, made another appeal in person to the Christian powers. He traveled through Italy, France, England and Germany. He was everywhere received with the highest honors, but his efforts to obtain assistance came to naught. The time could not have been less propitious. It was the period of the great schism. The Council of Florence, held later on, proved as ineffectual as that

of Lyons had been, the union was short, and in spite of the fidelity of the Emperor himself, the great body of the Greeks remained obstinate in their schism. The end came at last, and while the nations of Europe looked on with indifference, Constantinople fell. Venice, Genoa, Naples and the Pope alone made a feeble effort to aid the Greeks in their final struggle.

It is true the Hungarians, reinforced by Christians from various countries of Europe, made a heroic attempt to stem the tide of Mahomedan invasion, but their King, Sigismund, was defeated by Bayazid, the successor of Murad. Hungary, however, continued to be the bulwark of Christendom, and finally saved Europe. The victory of Timur, the Tartar, over Bayazid granted a lease of life to the Byzantine empire. Under Mohammed I., the Ottomans soon regained their vitality, and in the reign of his successor, Murad II., we begin to hear of the glorious and immortal Hunyadi, whose victories have rendered him one of the most romantic figures of that age, though he was not always successful.

We now come to the saddest period of Byzantine and the most glorious of Ottoman history, that of the fall of Constantinople. Two figures loom up above the darkness of that awful day, when the empire of Constantine came to an end—one the victor, the other the vanquished, Mahomet II. and Constantine Paleologus. The son of Murad II. had enjoyed a most liberal education, including the knowledge of five languages. Among his virtues his sobriety was attested, but this was more than counterbalanced by his cruelty and unnatural lust. He could stoop from the heights of ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit, and while peace was on his lips war was in his heart. He was a soldier, yet he does not deserve to rank among the great conquerors of the world, for his forces were always more numerous than those of his enemies, and he frequently suffered defeat. Such is the estimate Gibbon forms of the character of Mahomet II.

Constantinople had fallen, and the echo of its fall went ringing throughout Europe, filling the hearts of Christians with consternation. Yet Christendom could not be aroused from its lethargy. The heroic age of the Crusades were a thing of the past, and the voice of Peter the Hermit was silent. The powers of the earth were too much occupied with their own selfish interests and the spirit of chivalry was dead. In vain did Nicholas V. attempt to rouse the dormant spirit; the political power of the Papacy was on the wane, and the noble-hearted Pontiff died while the Turks were menacing Christendom. In vain did the fiery Spaniard, the energetic old man, Calixtus III., on the day of his accession to the Papacy register a solemn vow that he would devote his life to the recon-

quest of Constantinople and the downfall of the Turks; in vain was the crusade preached by his order throughout all Christendom; in vain did he himself prepare armies and fleets. The masses were aroused, but the powers of the earth remained deaf. The Italian States could not agree. Alfonso of Naples evaded the difficulty by all manner of subterfuges; the empire deliberated, but did nothing. England was too much distracted by civil strife, and France positively declined to enter into the Pope's views. One country alone took part in the work, Hungary, and in that country three heroic figures stand towering above the rest as beacon lights of chivalry in a dark age. The names of Cardinal Carvajal, the Pope's Legate, the intrepid Hunyadi, and the humble friar, St. John Capistran, stand boldly inscribed in the annals of history as the champions of the Church. By their efforts, the Crusade was inaugurated, and the army of the Crusaders, hardly better equipped than those that had followed Peter the Hermit, gained the decisive victory of Belgrade, which broke the power of Mahomet II. on the continent, and hurled back the force of Mahometan invasion. Another heroic figure of this age is that of the mountaineer Skanderbeg, who for years after the downfall of Constantinople, held the Turks at bay in Albania. An attempt made by Mohammed to drive the knights out of Rhodes failed, and the following year the conqueror of Constantinople was no more.

The reign of Bayazid II. was inglorious for the Turks, but his successor, Selim I., extended the bounds of the Ottoman empire, conquered Egypt and paved the way for the reign of his son, Suleyman the Magnificent. In the beginning of his reign, Rhodes, the last bulwark of the Christians in the East, fell, and the knights capitulated on honorable terms. The year previously, Belgrade had been captured, and the way lay clear before the Turks. Hungary fell, and in 1529 Soliman and his army were before Vienna. The Ottoman empire had now reached its highest power. Had Vienna fallen, heaven only knows what the result would have been. But Divine Providence intervened, Vienna was saved, and the Sultan beat an inglorious retreat. With the death of Suleyman the long decline of the Ottoman empire began. The immortal victory gained by Don John of Austria at Lepanto over the forces of Selim II. contributed to decrease the Turkish power at sea, and the Ottomans never regained what they had lost. From the death of Murad IV., in 1640, until the beginning of the present century, the Turkish Sultans were but figureheads. The real rulers of the empire were the Grand Viziers, and one is reminded of the last days of the Merovingian dynasty. The principal wars of Turkey were now with Austria. The Poles, under John Sobieski, gained two crushing

victories over the enemies of Christendom, but the direct advantages to the Christians were slight. Once more Vienna was threatened, but the gallant Sobieski was at hand, and for a second time Vienna was saved, and to the present day we commemorate the victory of the noble King by the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary. By the peace of Passarowitz, in 1718, the Turkish frontier on the north was drawn on nearly the same line on which it remained until the Congress of Berlin.

Meanwhile Russia had appeared on the scene, and for a long time had been in occasional conflict with the Turks. Peter the Great had his eyes fixed on Constantinople, and Catherine II. continued to pursue his policy, gaining various advantages over Turkey. Again and again war broke out between Russia and Turkey, and the end is not yet. In 1808, Mahmoud II. ascended the throne and the rule of the Grand Viziers came to an end. The new Sultan found his country at war with Russia and Bonaparte at the height of his power. The latter had come into contact with the Turks as early as 1798, in the days of the Directory. Invading Egypt, he gained the battle of the Pyramids over the Mamelukes, who held the country for the Sultan, but his fleet was destroyed by Nelson at the battle of the Nile. The Sultan now declared war against the French Republic, and Bonaparte conceived the bold design of overthrowing the empire of Constantinople. His Syrian campaign was, however, a failure, and he returned defeated to Egypt, whence his troops some time later were sent back to France. At the peace of Tilsit, in 1807, a secret understanding was arrived at between Napoleon and the Russian Czar, which left Turkey to the mercy of the latter. The intrigues of Napoleon and his designs for the partition of Turkey were frustrated by Canning, the British Minister to Constantinople, who brought about peace between Russia and Turkey and the treaty of Bucharest in 1812.

Mahmoud II., when the external dangers that threatened his empire had been removed, determined to inaugurate a series of reforms and mould his government upon a European model. The all powerful body of janizaries stood in his way. For a long time they had been ruling Turkey, and like the Roman Praetorian Guard in the days of Rome's decadence, making and unmaking Sultans at their pleasure. Mahmoud determined to deal them a deathblow and exterminate them at one stroke. Their last mutiny was that of 1826. By a bold determination of the Sultan the barracks were blown up, and 40,000 janizaries perished. Never did the Sultan need an army more than at this critical juncture, for the Grecian revolution had been in progress since 1820.

This event is of supreme importance in the history of modern

Europe, as it began the dismemberment of the Turkish empire and added Greece once more, after the lapse of many centuries, to the family of European nations. Greece proper, the home of the great heroes of Hellas, became independent, although the capital of the Byzantine empire still remained in the hands of the Turk. For a brief period the Morea had been in possession of the Venetians, but it again fell into the power of the Turks, and the fate of the Greeks was worse than ever. In their distress they turned to Russia, but though the growing empire of the Czar pretended to encourage them, the aid received was more apparent than real. Meanwhile the secret society of the Hetairia began to exert a widespread influence for Hellenic freedom, and the Grecian patriots, under Prince Ipsilanti, began to invade the Danubian provinces. Russia failed to help them, and they were defeated by the Turks in 1820. The next year the rising became general. The Turkish garrison was driven from all Athens, but the Acropolis, and the Suliots rose in Albania. The Greeks were, however, defeated at Thermopylæ by an overwhelming force under Omar Pasha. In 1822, Prince Mavrocordato was elected President of the Greek Republic and the Greeks gained great successes in Albania. At sea the patriots, aided especially by their fire ships, did great execution among their enemies.

The constancy and heroism of the Greeks were reëchoed over Europe and America, and they found a response in many hearts. The cruelty of the Turks also gained friends for the cause of Greece, but, unfortunately for the latter, the Greeks too often imitated their enemies and rendered themselves guilty of acts of barbarism. Parties of young men calling themselves Philhellenes began to enlist in the cause of Grecian freedom, and an illustrious ally was obtained in the person of the English poet, Lord Byron. The mutual jealousies of the Greeks themselves and their want of discipline tended, however, to frustrate his intentions and to make him regret the step he had taken. Before he was able to effect anything in the cause of Grecian independence the poet died at Missolonghi, in 1824. Though the Greeks fought with heroic constancy, they proved to be their own greatest enemies by their internal divisions, although the English admiral, Lord Cochrane, and the English general, Church, did much to keep peace among the parties. A battle fought between General Church and Ibrahim Pasha resulted disastrously for the Greeks, the Acropolis was taken and nothing remained to the patriots but the citadel of Corinth and Naupliae. Their cause seemed hopeless, when England, France and Russia determined to intervene. A combined fleet of the three powers entered the Mediterranean, intending to treat with the Turks, but, accidentally as it were, a battle was precipitated which ended in the

destruction of the Turkish fleet. This engagement, known as the battle of Navarino, saved Greece, for Ibrahim Pasha, son of the Viceroy of Egypt, evacuated the Morea, while General Church drove the Turks back to the northern parts of Greece. The war ended with the declaration of the independence of Greece, and the establishment of the kingdom of the Hellenes under the protection of the powers, with Prince Otho of Bavaria as King.

The year after the massacre of the janizaries, the battle of Navarino was fought. Turkey was blockaded and the French helped to expel the Egyptians from the Morea. In 1828 war again broke out between Turkey and Russia, and in the Treaty of Adrianople the Sultan was forced to grant the independence of Greece.

Shortly after this event the Viceroy of Egypt, the Sultan's vassal, arose in rebellion, and pushing his conquests across Syria threatened the Bosphorus. Russia, whose vigilant eye is ever on Constantinople, intervened and saved the capital. As a recompense for its aid the Treaty of Hunkiar Iskelesi gave to the empire of the Czar the exclusive right of way through the Dardanelles.

While the war with Mehemet Ali, the Egyptian Viceroy, was in progress Mahmoud passed away, leaving Turkey to his son, Abd-ul-Medjid. Mahmoud II. may be ranked among the great successors of Ertoghrul, and perhaps he may be regarded as the greatest Sultan since Soliman the Magnificent.

The year 1841 is important in the history of Turkey, for in that year the English fleet, having taken Acre, Mohammed Ali was confined to his Egyptian possessions, under the suzerainty of the Sultan. The latter himself became a ward of the great powers who assumed a protectorate over Turkey.

The greatest figure in Turkish history during the period which now followed was the British diplomatist Stratford Canning. No Christian ever exercised such influence over the Turks, and he succeeded in obtaining many reforms, while the Young Turkish Party was striving to bring Turkey up to the level of the Western nations.

In 1849 a warcloud passed over Turkey, when Russia and Austria demanded the extradition of the patriot Kossuth and others, which the Turks, advised by Canning, refused to grant. The English and French fleets at the entrance to the Hellespont prevented, however, an open rupture.

Five years later, the Crimean war broke out, the remote cause of which were troubles among the Christians in the East and the claim of Russia to a protectorate over the members of the Orthodox Greek Church. The direct occasion of the war was the sinking of a Turkish fleet by the Russians. This memorable conflict, which began in

March, 1854, ended with the fall of Sebastopol in September of the following year, and the Treaty of Paris in March, 1856.

In the Crimean war, Greece would have gladly sided with Russia against her old enemies, but England and France prevented her by force. The hatred of Turkey continued, however, to exist, and from time to time the ominous rumbling of the storm was heard, while the Eastern Question, like a black cloud, remained hanging over Europe. The frightful massacres of Scio or Chios and of Constantinople still rankled in the heart of every Greek, and the Armenian horrors have merely shown that Turkish ferocity is not dead and that the "tiger has not changed its skin."

In 1861, five years after the Crimean war, Abd-ul-Medjid, under whom so many important reforms had been obtained for Turkey, died. His successor, Abd-ul-Aziz, was destined to disappoint the hopes that had been conceived at his accession, for under the influence of his mother, the Valideh Sultana, Turkish corruption increased to an alarming extent and the empire was brought to a state of insolvency. His deposition and mysterious death, in 1876, placed his brother, Murad V., on the throne. The reign of the latter was shortlived, for, whether justly or unjustly, he was soon deposed as an imbecile and succeeded by his brother, Abd-ul-Hamid, the present Sultan. It is, perhaps, difficult to form a just estimate of the character of Abd-ul-Hamid, so different have been the judgments passed upon him, but it must be admitted that the massacres in Armenia and Constantinople, still fresh in our memory, have placed him in a most unenviable light. His reign from the beginning has been troubled. When he came to the throne, rebellion was rife in the Danubian principalities. The efforts at mediation made by the great powers failed, and Russia, separating from the European concert, declared war on Turkey in April, 1877. At first the Turks held their own, and even defeated the Russians in Asia. Ottoman Pasha defended Plevna with heroic resistance for five months, but, finally, the fortress fell, though it cost the Russians 50,000 men. The Turks had proved that their old vitality was not quite extinct. The Russians now crossed the Balkans, and pushed their way on to Adrianople. Only a short distance separated them from Constantinople, and the venerable city of the Byzantine Emperors was on the point of falling into the hands of the Czar. But Europe would not permit it, and the war ended with the Treaty of San Stefano, signed in March, 1878. The result of this war was a great decrease in Turkish territory.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, a storm which for some time had been brewing burst over the Ægean Sea. The first thunderclap was heard in the Island of Crete. Again the brave

and fierce islanders were in rebellion against the Sultan. The echo of their swords' clash was wafted over the waters, and a chord of sympathy was touched in the kingdom of Greece. The Cretans wished for annexation to that kingdom, and Greece lovingly extended its arms to the sea-girt isle, longing to clasp it to its bosom. The great powers of Europe, jealous one of the other and fearful of a general conflagration, protested. Much blustering and bullying was done, and to intimidate the little Hellenic kingdom, England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Russia sent their ironclads to Cretan waters. But popular enthusiasm was aroused in Greece, great pressure was brought to bear upon King George, and, in spite of the protest of the powers, Colonel Vassos was sent with his little army under the escort of Prince George's little navy, and the Greek troops took possession of Crete on February 15, 1897. The sentiment which inspired this action was one of humanity, for the Greeks of the mainland feared, and justly, a repetition of the Armenian massacres on the island. Yet it must be confessed that the act in itself was implicitly a declaration of war against Turkey, and a defiance flung into the face of the Sultan. Yet we cannot but feel admiration for Greece, that alone dared face the storm and teach to egotistic Europe the broad principles of humanity, upon which the powers, absorbed in their own petty interests, had failed to stand on the occasion of the Armenian atrocities.

The powers, to coerce Greece, threatened to institute a blockade, but such was the current of events that it became unnecessary, for in the month of April the flames of war had burst forth on the northern frontier. Alas, nothing succeeds like success. Had the Grecian arms been victorious, the world would have been ringing with the praises of the heroic little kingdom. But Greece failed, and then we heard the cry of imprudence, rashness, want of preparation, misplaced enthusiasm, and so forth. What could Greece have done? By taking the first step it became necessary to take the second. The occupation of Crete was a premise, warlike preparations on the frontier a consequence, and war with Turkey the natural conclusion.

We know the sad result, which is still fresh in our memory. After the warlike agitation, of which the "Ethnike Hetairia" was the soul, and some desultory skirmishing, actual war began. The Greeks were defeated at the Milouna Pass on April 18 and 19, and then began that disgraceful retreat from Larissa, which may be described as a complete rout. Grecian successes after this were few and unimportant, while the Turks followed up a series of victories, which might have resulted in a complete annihilation of Greece, had not the opportune armistice intervened.

We may now philosophize on this disastrous outcome of the war. We have already disposed of the question as to the rash conduct of Greece. It may now be asked, to whom is the blame to be attached? Who stands accused before the public, the King, the commander-in-chief of the army, or the army itself? It cannot be denied that things looked rather dark for Greece. The Hellenes rushed into war with flying colors amid the greatest enthusiasm, and they rushed out of it with still greater haste. Yet, laying aside all passion and prejudice, we may come to the conclusion that Greece is not culpable, and that the blame is to be attached rather to the Greek character, their want of organization, and to the force of circumstances. I think it is generally admitted that King George of Greece during his reign, a period of more than forty years, has satisfactorily acquitted himself of his duties. In the difficult position in which he was placed he did not shrink from the task before him. Toward the powers he was not defiant, yet, on the other hand, he gave no evidence of cowardice. His was a most trying position, placed as he was between Scylla and Charibdis, the European concert on the one hand, and the Greek people on the other. To reconcile them was impossible, and every impartial judge will admit that his action was the only one consistent with the safety of his dynasty, and perhaps the dictates of humanity.

Exception may, perhaps, reasonably be taken to the appointment of Prince Constantine as commander-in-chief. I doubt whether he possessed the necessary qualifications for such an important position, when the welfare of a nation was at stake, and certainly the result of the war did not place his generalship in a very favorable light.

The greatest cause of the failure of Grecian arms must finally be sought for in the Greek character, and in the poverty of their resources as compared with the Turks. The Greek is not a coward; this he has proved in many instances in his history, and though the blood which now courses in the veins of the modern Greek may no longer be the pure blood of the heroes of Marathon and Thermopylæ, yet there is enough of it left to fill him with the spirit of his ancestors, although centuries of oppression have not failed to leave their mark. The greatest defect of the modern Greek, from a military standpoint, lies in his individuality. He is brave, enthusiastic, romantic, but the spirit of the modern army, the spirit of drudgery, of discipline, in a word, the spirit of the machine is alien to him. He makes a splendid guerilla fighter, he can stand any amount of fatigue, he can swoop down with irresistible force upon an enemy from his rocky fastnesses, and pick him off from his ambuscades, but the stern monotony of that iron system called the

modern army is not in accordance with his character. Herein, I think, lies the reason why the Greeks were unable to cope with their better disciplined enemy, the Turks.

The form of Turkish government, until quite recently, was one of Oriental despotism. Supreme head of Church and State, the Ottoman Sultan was an absolute and irresponsible sovereign, whose power was limited only by the commandments of the Koran. Two subordinate officers aided him in his administration—the Grand Vizier, who was his lieutenant in the temporal administration of the empire, and the Mufti, who took his place in matters connected with religion and law. Since the reforms inaugurated in the present century, the Sultan had also his Cabinet of Ministers, which, however, was subject to his constant control. The Reis Effendi was Chief Secretary of State. The successor to the throne is the Sultan's oldest male relative. His brothers were generally kept secluded in the palace.

The Turkish empire is divided into a number of provinces styled Vilayets, each being under a governor general, with the title of Wali. At the head of the judiciary stands the Sheik-ul-Islam, or elder of Islam, whose duty it is to interpret the laws according to the precepts of the Koran. He is to be consulted in all important matters of state. The Nobles or Sherifs are the recognized descendants of Mohammed in the Turkish empire.

Nicholas I. called Turkey the Sick Man, yet it may not be quite so sick as the outer world is inclined to imagine, and, as the Greeks learned in their last war, to their great discomfiture. In the many wars waged by Turkey in the present century, when not taken at a disadvantage, as in the period which followed the massacre of the janizaries, Turkey has given cause for reflection to the rest of Europe. Our old enemy may appear to be dying, but there is sometimes much vitality left in a dying lion. It must be remembered that Asia Minor is the recruiting ground of the Turks; that the Asiatic hordes are still available for the service of the Crescent, and that the voice of the Sheik-ul-Islam may still summon the Mahomedan world to arms and rally it around the standard of the Prophet. It is, also, important to note that the Turks have had in their pay German officers and that the German army ranks high for military discipline. There are several military colleges in Turkey with a commendable curriculum of studies. The army consists of the standing army, the reserves, the levée en masse and the auxiliary troops. The standing army, divided into several corps, is scattered over European Turkey and the Asiatic dominions, from Constantinople to Arabia. The auxiliary forces are, perhaps, the most dreaded of the Turkish military system. They are formed of

the bashi-bazouks and various contingents from the barbarous tribes of Asia, such as the Kurds and the Arabs. These tribes are commanded by their own chiefs, who have unlimited power over their men.

At the period of the last Russian war the Turkish forces on a war footing consisted of 666,530 men, 51,009 horses, with 624 guns, a force not to be contemned. The regular army is recruited from the Mussulman population by conscription.

Since the war with Russia, it appears that the Turkish navy has considerably declined. The Turks seem to have entirely neglected it, and in the recent struggle with Greece it did not figure at all.

The Sultan is the supreme head of the land and naval forces, and next to him comes the Grand Vizier. The Minister of War, or Seraskier, directs the various services.

When we compare the present dimensions of Turkey with its frontiers in the days of its power we cannot but feel that the end is approaching. In its old extent, the empire consisted of European Turkey and the Danubian principalities, Greece and the islands, the Crimea and a portion of southern Russia, Asia Minor to the borders of Persia, Egypt, Syria, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers and Arabia, or about 2,000,000 square miles. After the war with Russia this territory had dwindled down to 680,000 square miles, with a population of about 16,000,000.

Such is the synopsis of Turkish and Grecian history, exclusively of recent events, the consideration of which I reserve. I may now be permitted to retrace my steps for a better understanding of the Eastern question, which seems to resolve itself into this: "What is to be done with Turkey?"

When the Western empire of Rome had at last fallen under the repeated blows of the barbarians, new States arose upon its ruins, and a new order of things slowly came forth from chaos. The Eastern empire continued its existence for several centuries, but in the West the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Lombards, Celts, Franks, Anglo-Saxons and Slavonians began to settle into the condition which has brought forth our modern nations. In the East, again, a new power arose, Mahommedanism, which for a time threatened Christian civilization, while by the empire of Charlemagne the Christian nations of the West were brought into closer relationship. Out of Charlemagne's empire grew Germany, France and Italy. The ruler of Germany was also King of Italy and Emperor of the West. During the greater part of the Middle Ages, the feudal system held sway and the King's power was greatly limited by that of the powerful barons around the throne. There were no standing armies, and the monarchs depended almost entirely on the loyalty of their vassals.

The nation was, as it were, a system of confederated principalities, of which the King was the head. Relations among States were fewer than they afterwards became, but the appeal to the sword was more frequent. The Pope grew to be the central figure in international politics. In the twelfth century, the movement began which drew the nations of Western Europe closer together. The existence of a common enemy caused them to lay aside for a time their mutual enmities and to unite against Mahomedanism in the East. Thus the Christian nations were brought into closer relationship, commerce obtained a new development, and the ideas of men were broadened. The sale of old feudal estates began the downfall of feudalism; nations became accustomed to large armies, and the power of the King began to increase.

International marriages, which we find in Europe as early as the period of the Merovingian dynasty, increased as time went on and contributed one of the many sources of complications. Towards the close of the Middle Ages, feudalism fell, standing armies were created, the military arm was strengthened and a wave of absolutism swept over Europe. At the same time, the old Roman Empire passed from history at the downfall of Constantinople. Contemporary with this event we have to record the intellectual awakening of Europe known as the Renaissance, which turned the minds of men to the study of the classical works of antiquity, and produced the observation of natural phenomena from which modern science was born. Two events came now to assist this intellectual movement, and bring the nations into still closer relationship either of peace or of war. I mean the printing press, and the discovery of America. By means of the former, knowledge became universally diffused, and the discoveries of one nation in any department of human wisdom became the common property of the race. The discovery of America enlarged the horizon of men's vision, and afforded a new field of operations upon which the great maritime nations of the world—Portugal, Spain, France, England and Holland—began to display their energies. The constant contact into which they were thus brought necessitated more systematic relations; diplomacy became a science, and we begin to hear of resident ambassadors at the various courts. The affairs of one nation began to exercise a greater influence on those of its neighbors in proportion to the greater international relations which now existed. States looked with interest upon events that did not directly concern them, but the reaction of which they might feel. Thus did William III. of England become implicated in the wars of the Spanish succession, and the influence of the sea-girt isle of Albion made itself strongly felt in continental affairs.

We begin now also to hear of the balance of power. The central-

ization of national power in the monarch might easily endanger the peace of the world by raising one sovereign at the expense of others. Such has often been the case in the world's history, and it was witnessed when our century dawned with the star of Bonaparte in the ascendancy. The policy of the balance of power aimed at an equal distribution of force by means of alliances, treaties and congresses, in order that no State should have a preponderating influence over the others.

This balance of power became greatly disturbed at the great upheaval of the French Revolution, in which democracy gained a bloody triumph over absolutism, to yield in its turn to the passing despotism of Bonaparte. At Waterloo, the star of the modern Alexander set, to rise no more, and the man before whom Europe had been crouching found himself a prisoner at St. Helena. The Congress of Vienna that followed became the dividing line between the past and the present. It rearranged the States of Europe upon a new basis. Shortly before this, the Holy Alliance had been signed at Paris by Russia, Austria and Prussia, and subsequently nearly all the sovereigns of Europe joined it. Though originated by Alexander I., influenced by Madame de Krüdener, as a means of strengthening the Christian bond amongst the nations of the earth, it soon degenerated and became the weapon of absolutism against democracy. Metternich grew to be its leading spirit.

We may probably date from this period the enormous rise of plutocracy which this century has witnessed. Although ever since money has been used as a medium of exchange, it has exercised immense power over men, and the great usurers of the Middle Ages were personages to be feared, yet history has never witnessed such an accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few men and the power connected with this wealth. Until the great impulse given to trade by the maritime discoveries of the sixteenth century, nations had been accustomed to look to their own internal resources. It is true, that the Crusades had paved the way, yet foreign commerce remained for a long time the monopoly of a few cities. With the increase of foreign trade, manufacturing industry began to flourish, more capital was needed and more capital was accumulated, while with the downfall of feudalism and the increasing expenses of the concentrated government of nations, more money was required in the royal treasuries.

The earlier rulers had been accustomed to apply to their faithful subjects for aid, and not always by gentle means. This system might be kept up as long as the needs were comparatively small and as long as absolutism lasted, but with the increasing power of the people it became impossible. In Holland autocracy had been over-

thrown, and in England the Commons gained the ascendancy. From this period we begin to hear of a national debt, of which William III. of England may be called the originator. The French Revolution could only emphasize the principle thus brought into politics, and the money lenders became thus a power not to be overlooked. At the Congress of Vienna, the Rothschilds, the great financiers of modern times, were rising and their influence has remained to the present day. They are the power behind the throne. As early as 1804, Mayer Anselm Rothschild had begun to lend money to States, Denmark being one of the first to profit by his financial aid. Between 1815 and 1830, the Rothschilds had lent nearly one thousand million thalers to England, Russia, Austria, France and Prussia.

We now come more specially to our predominant subject—Turkey. The Eastern question may be said to date from the fall of Constantinople. At first a menace, the Turks were gradually admitted to the family of European nations, and to-day they are an incubus with which no one seems to know what to do. Perhaps the greatest factor in Eastern politics is Russia. Since the days of Peter the Great, the empire of the Czar has had its eyes on Constantinople, and its agents have been actively engaged abroad in promoting Russian interests.

The day when Constantinople falls into the hands of Russia, as it finally may, the world will be revolutionized. Constantinople, the key to the Orient, will become the European mart, and Asia, with its resources, will be opened up by means of a well developed railroad system to commerce and Western civilization. England, whose dominion stretches over a great portion of the Asiatic continent, and who thus far, by means of the Suez Canal, has held undisputed possession of the far East, naturally looks with a jealous eye upon these ambitions of Russia, and the rivalry between these two great powers is a clue to the understanding of the Eastern question.

The Crimean war brought the two powers into conflict. For a long time, France had been regarded as the protector of the Latin Christians in Palestine. This privilege had been accorded her by the Sultan as early as the days of Francis I., and to France was also granted the privilege of protecting the holy places in Palestine. On the other hand, in spite of this agreement with France, the Greek Church also obtained concessions, and the Greeks finally claimed as much right to take care of the Palestine sanctuaries as the Latins. Disputes arose in consequence, and, of course, France sided with the Latins, while Russia stood up for its coreligionists. Besides, Russia, extending the meaning of a clause of the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarja, signed in 1774 between Catherine II. and the Ottoman Porte, claimed a protectorate over all the Christians of the Greek

Church in Turkey. This claim was, however, not admitted by Turkey nor by the other powers. The dispute regarding the holy places of Palestine was easily settled, as the Turk did not care one way or the other, but on the second matter Turkey held its ground. Russia invaded the Danubian principalities; the Crimean war was the result. Since 1841, Turkey had been under the tutelage of the great powers. At the Crimean war the great powers separated, France and England espousing the side of Turkey against Russia. The result of this war was the Treaty of Paris. The provisions of this treaty guaranteed the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire, abolished the Russian protectorate over the Danubian principalities and Servia, which had existed for a long time, destroyed the Russian monopoly over the Black Sea, which was opened to merchant ships of all nations, and closed the Bosphorus and Dardanelles to foreign ships of war, while the Porte should be at peace. The powers pledged themselves not to meddle in the internal affairs of Turkey, and the Sultan promised reforms in his administration and a better treatment of his Christian subjects. Russia had thus been the loser, but it was only for a time, for when in 1870, France had been crippled by her war with Germany, the vital part of the treaty concerning the neutrality of the Black Sea was repudiated by the Czar, and in 1871 Mr. Gladstone's government consented to this breach of good faith.

Shortly after the Crimean war, it may be said that the disintegration of the Turkish empire began, in spite of the Treaty of Paris, which had guaranteed its integrity. In 1858 Moldavia and Wallachia became practically independent. United as Roumania, they obtained a hereditary prince in 1866. In 1874 Herzegovina rose in revolt and Bulgaria attempted to shake off the yoke in 1876. The Bulgarian massacres were the result, and in 1877 Russia declared war against Turkey. England would not permit her to occupy Constantinople if, indeed, she had intended to do so, and the Treaty of San Stefano was signed.

In virtue of this treaty, the Christian provinces obtained almost complete independence of Turkey and a new Bulgarian State was to be created, with a seaport on the Ægean Sea. England refused to recognize the treaty, and the Congress of Berlin met. The two great English statesmen and rivals were at variance on the Eastern question. Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, was for supporting Turkey at all hazards as a bulwark against Russia. Mr. Gladstone maintained that it was the duty of England not to stand sponsor for the crimes of Turkey. The one occupied the selfish, utilitarian standpoint of political economy, the other stood on the broad platform of humanitarian principles. Such was the division of sentiments at

the Congress of Berlin. Jealousy of Russia prompted the one side, disgust with the atrocities of the Turks the other. Had the policy of Mr. Gladstone been adhered to, the Bulgarian atrocities would never have been followed by the Armenian and Constantinopolitan massacres.

When the dogs of Europe gathered around the Turkish bone at the Berlin Congress the pledges of 1856 were forgotten and the hollow name of "Integrity of the Turkish Empire" was thrown to the winds. There was a great scramble for the spoils, and England, as usually, did not come out last in the race. Servia, Montenegro and Roumania were declared independent. Bulgaria was divided into two portions, one autonomous, the other governed by Turkey. Thessaly was given to Greece, but that part of the treaty was not at once put into execution. Russia retained her recent conquests in Asia, and regained the strip of Bessarabia she had lost in 1856. England could not refuse the choice morsel which Turkey offered her in reward for her kindness in saving a life that had been on the point of being extinguished. Cyprus was the reward for her activity, which she was to hold in fee of the Sultan and for which she was to pay tribute. At the same time she was to assume a protectorate over the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan. This was the "peace with honor" of Lord Beaconsfield.

The Armenian massacres are not the first with which Turkey has stained its hands in this century. In 1821, in the reign of Mahmoud II., because a Greek captain had plotted to murder the Sultan and begin a revolt of the Greeks in Constantinople, thousands of Christian families were slain in that city. The Patriarch of Constantinople was barbarously put to death and massacres began throughout Turkey. The massacre of Chios or Scio alone should suffice to show what tigers the Turks are when aroused. Because two Greek captains chose to attack a Turkish garrison, dire vengeance was taken on the peaceful island that had not meddled at all with the war. The Turks killed the Greeks without mercy. Men, women and children were indiscriminately put to death. Forty thousand people were carried off into captivity, the rest being nearly all killed. Out of a population of 120,000 Christians the Turks left only 1,800 on the island.

Of what epoch is this event recorded? Does it belong to the conquests of Zingis or the inroads of the Huns? Alas, it is an occurrence of the century that gave us birth! But then it occurred in a period of war when passions were dreadfully inflamed; it belonged to the beginning of the century when the horrors of the French Revolution were still fresh in the minds of men. Such things can never occur again. Vain illusion! What did Bulgaria

witness in 1876, when the Kurds and bashi-bazouks were let loose upon the defenseless inhabitants? What has Armenia, what has Constantinople, still reeking with the blood of its most industrious inhabitants, witnessed in the old age of the preceding century?

The insurrection in Crete in 1896 was the ninth since 1669, when the island fell into the hands of the Turks. It is generally admitted, wrote Mr. Botassi in the *North American Review*, that Crete has been always one of the worst governed provinces of Turkey. The Turks at various times promised reforms, but the promises remained a dead letter, and in July, 1896, hostilities broke out between the Mussulmans and Christians. Had it not been for the intervention of the powers Crete would probably have been freed. The so-called European concert, which was really European jealousy, stood as a barrier to the liberty of the struggling island. Europe feared that if Crete became part of the Grecian monarchy other Turkish provinces might follow its example, and thus the Eastern question might be reopened.

There are those who behold another influence at work in the European concert to preserve the so-called integrity of the Turkish empire. I mean that of the moneyed powers of the world. We have seen how this force has gradually increased, especially in our times. There can be no doubt that to-day it is indeed a power behind the throne. It is well known that in the first half of the century Baron Anselm Mayer Rothschild in Frankfort controlled the money market, while the London firm of the same family wielded also an omnipotent influence. Anselm Mayer was truly king of finance, while the other banking houses were his vassals. Nathan Mayer Rothschild in England beheld the representatives of nearly all the States of Europe proud of his friendship, and the wealth of the whole Rothschild family was consolidated by intermarriage. To enter into the details of the Rothschild business would be to give the financial history of Europe during a great part of the century. Together with the Rothschilds numerous powerful banking houses have risen into power, and to-day a complicated net of finance encircles the earth. Governments that cannot carry on their operations without immense sums of money are to some extent at the mercy of these powers.

You may ask, what had this to do with the Turkish question? Well, Turkey was in debt. If the empire had fallen, who would have been responsible for this debt? This is something the creditors would like to know. The money power is a compact organization; it wields immense influence. May not this influence be wielded to uphold Turkey?

What was the secret of the Greek reverses in 1897? Was external

influence brought to bear on Greece? Was the war manipulated? Was some secret foreign influence active in Greece? Some seem to think so. I know not. For myself, I prefer to behold in the Greek disasters neither intrigue nor treachery, but the natural result of a lack of generalship and organization on the part of the Greeks. As for the integrity of the Turkish empire, it is merely a fiction, as Mr. Botassi pointed out some years ago in the *North American Review*—a fiction upheld by the mutual jealousy of the powers and by the moneyed interests of the world.

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Washington, D. C.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE X.

IN QUINQUAGESIMO NATALI SACERDOTII SUI EXHORTATIO AD CLERUM CATHOLICUM.

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecti filii salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

HAERENT animo penitus, suntque plena formidinis quae gentium Apostolus ad Hebraeos scribebat (xiii., 17), quum illos commonens de obedientia officio praepositis debitaе, gravissime affirmabat: *Ipsi enim pervigilant, quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri*. Haec nimirum sententia si ad omnes pertinent, quotquot in Ecclesia praesunt, at maxime in Nos cadit, qui, licet impares, supremam in ea auctoritatem, Deo dante, obtinemus. Quare noctu atque interdiu sollicitudine affecti, meditari atque eniti non intermittimus quaecumque ad incolumitatem faciant et incrementa dominici gregis. Inter haec unum praecipue Nos occupat: homines sacri ordinis eos omnino esse, qui pro muneris officio esse debent. Persuasum enim habemus, hac maxime via de religionis statu bene esse laetiusque sperandum. Idcirco, statim ut Pontificatum inivimus, quamquam, universitatem cleri contuentibus, multiplices eius laudes elucebant, tamen venerabiles fratres catholici orbis Episcopos impensissime hortandos censuimus, ut nihil constantius nihil efficacius agerent, quam ut Christum formarent in iis, qui formando in ceteris Christo rite destinantur. Sacrorum autem Antistitum quae fuerint in hac re voluntates probe novimus. Novimus qua providentia, qua navitate in excolendo ad virtutem clero assidue connituntur: de quo illis non tam laudem impertivisse, quam gratias palam habuisse libet.

At vero, quum exhuiusmodi Episcoporum curis iam plues e clero gratulamur caelestes concepisse ignes, unde gratiam Dei, ex impositione manuum presbyterii susceptam, vel resuscitarunt vel acuerunt; tum adhuc conquerendum superest, alios quosdam per diversas regiones non ita se probare, ut in ipso tamquam in speculum, prout dignum est, plebs christiana coniciens oculos, sumere possit quod imitetur. Ad hos porro cor Nostrum per hasce litteras patere volumus; videlicet ut cor patris, quod in conspectu aegrotantis filii anxia palpitat caritate. Hac igitur suadente, hortationibus Episcoporum hortationes addimus Nostras: quae, quamvis eo spectent potissimum ut devios torpentesve ad meliora revocent, tamen etiam

ceteris admoveant velimus incitamenta. Commonstramus iter quo quisque studiosius in dies contendat ut vere sit, qualem Apostolus nitide expressit, *homo Dei* (I. Tim. vi., 11), iustaeque expectationi Ecclesiae respondeat. Nihil plane inauditum vobis aut cuiquam novum dicemus, sed quae certe commeminisse omnes oportet: spem autem indit Deus, vocem Nostram fructum non exiguum esse habituram. Id equidem flagitamus: *Renovamini . . . spiritu mentis vestrae, et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in iustitia, et sanctitate veritatis* (Ephes. iv., 23, 24); eritque hoc a vobis in quinquagesimo sacerdotii Nostri natali pulcherrimum acceptissimumque munus. Quumque Nos, *in animo contrito et spiritu humilitatis* (Dan. iii., 39), exactos in sacerdotio annos recogitabimus Deo; quidquid humani dolendum sit, videbimur quodammodo expiare, admonendo vos et cohortando *ut ambuletis digne Deo per omnia placentes* (Coloss. i., 10). Qua tamen in hortatione, non vestras tantum utilitates tuebimur, sed communes etiam catholicarum gentium; quum aliae ab aliis dissociari nequaquam possint. Etenim non eiusmodi est sacerdos, qui bonus malusve uni sibi esse queat; sed eius ratio et habitus vitae sane quantum habet consequentis effectus in populum. Sacerdos reapse bonus ubi est, quale ibi donum et quantum est!

Hinc porro, dilecti filii, hortationis Nostrae exordium capimus, ut vos nimirum ad eam vitae sanctimoniam, quam dignitatis gradus postulat, excitemus. Quicumque enim sacerdotio potitur, eo non sibi tantum, sed aliis potitur: *Omnis namque Pontifex ex hominibus assumptus, pro hominibus constituitur in iis, quae sunt ad Deum* (Hebr. v., 1). Idipsum et Christus indicavit, qui ad significandum quo demum actio sacerdotum spectet, eos cum sale itemque cum luce comparatos voluit. Lux ergo mundi, sal terrae sacerdos est. Neminem sane fugit id praecipue fieri christiana veritate tradenda: at vero quem pariter fugiat, institutionem eiusmodi pro nihilo fere esse, si quae sacerdos verbo tradat, exemplo suo non comprobet? Qui audiunt, contumeliose ii quidem, sed non immerito obiiciunt: *Confitentur se nosse Deum, factis autem negant* (Tit. i., 16); doctrinamque respient, nec sacerdotis fruuntur luce. Quam ob rem ipse Christus, factus sacerdotum forma, re primum, mox verbis docuit: *Coepit Iesus facere, et docere* (Act. i., 1). Item, sanctimonia posthabita, nihil admodum sacerdos sal terrae esse poterit; corruptum enim et contaminatum integritati minime aptum est conferendae: unde autem sanctitas abest, ibi corruptionem inesse oportet. Quapropter Christus, eandem insistens similitudinem, saceradotes tales sal infatuatum dicit, quod *ad nihilum valet ultra, nisi ut mittatur foras, atque adeo conculcetur ab hominibus* (Matth. v., 13).

Quae quidem eo apertius patent, quod sacerdotali munere haud nostro nos fungimur nomine, sed Christi Iesu. *Sic nos*, inquit Apostolus, *existimet homo ut ministros Christi, et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei* (I. Cor. iv., 1): *pro Christo ergo legatione fungimur* (II. Cor. v., 20). Hac nempe de causa Christus ipse, non ad servorum, sed ad amicorum numerum nos adscripti: *Iam non dicam vos servos. . . . Vos autem dixi amicos: quia omnia quaecumque audivi a Patre meo, nota feci vobis. . . . Elegi vos, et posui vos ut eatis, et fructum afferatis* (Ioan. xv., 15, 16). Est igitur nobis persona Christi gerenda: legatio vero ab ipso data sic obeunda, ut quo ille intendit, eo nos pertingamus. Quoniam vero *idem velle idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est* tenemur, ut amici, hoc sentire in nobis, quod et in Christo Iesu, qui est *sanctus, innocens, impollutus* (Hebr. vii., 26): ut legati ab eo debemus doctrinis eius ac legi conciliare fidem hominum, easdem nimirum nos ipsi primum servantes: ut potestatis eius participes ad animos vinculis culparum levandos, conari nos omni studio oportet ne illis implicemur. At maxime ut ministri eius in praecellentissimo sacrificio, quod perenni virtute pro mundi vita innovatur, debemus ea animi conformatione uti, qua ille ad aram crucis seipsum obtulit hostiam immaculatam Deo. Nam si olim, in specie solummodo ac figura, tanta a sacerdotibus postulabatur sanctitas; ecquid a nobis, quum victima est Christus? *Quo non oportet igitur esse puriorem tali fruente sacrificio? quo solari radio non splendidiorem manum carnem hanc dividente? os quod igni spirituali repletur, linguam quae tremendo nimis sanguine rubescit?..* (S. Io. Chrysost. hom. lxxxii. in Matth., n. 5.) Perapte S. Carolus Borromaeus, in orationibus ad clerum, sic instabat: "Si meminissemus, dilectissimi fratres, quanta et quam digna in manibus nostris posuerit Dominus Deus, quantam istiusmodi consideratio vim haberet ad nos impellendum ut vitam ecclesiasticis hominibus dignam duceremus! Quid non posuit in manu mea Dominus, quando proprium Filium suum unigenitum, sibi coaeternum et coaequalem, posuit? In manu mea posuit thesauros suos omnes, sacramenta et gratias; posuit animas, quibus illi nihil est carius, quas sibi ipsi praetulit in amore, quas sanguine suo redemit: in manu mea posuit caelum, quod et aperire et claudere ceteris possim. . . . Quomodo ergo adeo ingratus esse potero tantae dignationi et dilectioni, ut peccem contra ipsum? ut illius honorem offendam? ut hoc corpus, quod suum est, inquinem? ut hanc dignitatem, hanc vitam, eius obsequio consecratam, maculem?"

Ad hanc ipsam vitae sanctimoniam, de qua iuvat paulo fusius dicere, magnis Ecclesia spectat perpetuisque curis. Sacra idcirco Seminaria instituta: ubi, si litteris ac doctrinis imbuendi sunt qui in spem cleri adolescunt, at simul tamen praecipue ad pietatem

omnem a teneris annis sunt conformandi. Subinde vero, dum ipsa candidatos diuturnis intervallis gradatim promovet, nusquam, ut mater sedula, hortationibus de sanctitate assequenda parcit. Iucunda quidem ea sunt ad recolendum. Quum enim primo in sacram militiam cooptavit, voluit nos ea rite profiteri: *Dominus pars haereditatis meae, et calicis mei: tu es, qui restitues haereditatem meam mihi* (Ps. xv., 5). Quibus, inquit Hieronymus, monetur clericus ut qui, *vel ipse pars Domini est, vel Dominum partem habet, talem se exhibeat, ut et ipse possideat Dominum, et possideatur a Domino*... (Eph. lii., ad Nepotianum, n. 5.) Subdiaconis accensendos ipsa quam graviter est allocuta! *Iterum atque iterum considerare debetis attente quod onus hodie ultro appetitis; . . . quod si hunc ordinem susceperitis, amplius non licebit a proposito resilire, sed Deo . . . perpetuo famulari, et castitatem, illo adiuvante, servare oportebit.* Tum denique: *Si usque nunc fuistis tardi ad ecclesiam, amodo debetis esse assidui: si usque nunc somnolenti, amodo vigiles: . . . si usque nunc inhonesti, amodo casti. . . . Videte cuius ministerium vobis traditur!* Diaconatu porro augendis sic per Antistitem a Deo precata est: *Abundet in eis totius forma virtutis, auctoritas modesta, pudor constans, innocentia, puritas et spiritualis observantia disciplinae. In moribus eorum praecepta tua fulgeant, ut suae castitatis exemplo imitationem sanctam plebs acquirat.* Sed eo acrius movet commonitio initiandis sacerdotio facta: *Cum magno timore ad tantum gradum ascendendum est, ac providendum ut caelestis sapientia, probi mores et diuturna iustitiae observatio ad id electos commendet. . . . Sit odor vitae vestrae delectamentum Ecclesiae Christi, ut praedicatione atque exemplo aedificetis domum, idest familiam Dei.* Maximeque omnium urget illud gravissime additum: *Imitamini quod tractatis: quod profecto cum Pauli praecepto congruit: ut exhibeamus omnem hominem perfectum in Christo Iesu.* (Coloss. i., 28.)

Talis igitur quum sit mens Ecclesiae de sacerdotum vita, mirum nemini esse possit, quod sancti Patres ac Doctores omnes ita de ea re consentiant, ut illos fere nimios quis arbitretur: quos tamen si prudenter aestimemus, nihil eos nisi apprime verum rectumque docuisse iudicabimus. Eorum porro sententia haec summatim est. Tantum scilicet inter sacerdotem et quemlibet probum virum intercedere debet discriminis, quantum inter caelum et terram: ob eamque causam, virtuti sacerdotali cavendum non solum ne gravioribus criminibus sit affinis, sed ne minimis quidem. In quo virorum tam venerabilium iudicio Tridentina Synodus stetit, quum monuit clericos ut fugerent *levia etiam delicta, quae in ipsis maxima essent* (Sess. XXII., *de reform.*, c. I.): maxima scilicet, non re ipsa, sed respectu peccantis, in quem, potiore iure quam in templorum aedi-

ficia, illud convenit: *Domum tuam decet sanctitudo.* (Ps. xcii., v.)

Iam sanctitas eiusmodi, qua sacerdotem carere sit nefas, videndum est in quo sit ponenda: id enim si quis ignoret vel praepostere accipiat, magno certe in discrimine versatur. Equidem sunt qui putent, quin etiam profiteantur, sacerdotis laudem in eo collocandam omnino esse ut sese aliorum utilitatibus totum impendat: quamobrem, dimissa fere illarum cura virtutum, quibus homo perficitur ipse (eas ideo vocitant *passivas*), aiunt vim omnem atque studium esse conferenda ut *activas* virtutes quis excolat exerceatque. Haec sane doctrina mirum quantum fallaciae habet atque exitii. De ea Decessor noster fel. rec. sic pro sua sapientia edixit (Ep. *Testem benevolentiae*, ad Archiep. Baltimor., 22 Ian. 1899): "*Christianas . . . virtutes, alias temporibus aliis accommodatas esse, is solum velit, qui Apostoli verba non meminerit: Quos praescivit, et praedestinavit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui.* (Rom. viii., 29.) Magister et exemplar sanctitatis omnis Christus est; ad cuius regulam aptari omnes necesse est, quotquot avent beatorum sedibus inseri. Iamvero haud mutatur Christus progredientibus saeculis, sed idem *heri et hodie: ipse et in saecula.* (Hebr. xiii., 8.) Ad omnium igitur aetatum homines pertinet illud: *Discite a me, quia mitis sum, et humilis corde* (Math. xi., 29); nulloque non tempore Christus se nobis exhibet *factum obedientem usque ad mortem* (Philipp. n. 8); valetque quavis aetate Apostoli sententia: *Qui . . . sunt Christi, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis.*" (Gal. v., 24.) Quae documenta si quidem spectant unumquemque fidelium proprius tamen ad sacerdotes attinent: ipsique prae ceteris dicta sibi habeant quae idem Decessor Noster apostolico ardore subiecit: "Quas utinam virtutes multo nunc plures sic colerent, ut homines sanctissimi praeteritorum temporum! qui demissione animi, obedientia, abstinentia, *potentes fuerunt opere et sermone*, emolumento maximo, nedum religiosae rei, sed publicae ac civilis." Ubi animadvertere non abs re fuerit, Pontificem prudentissimum iure optimo singularem abstinentiae mentionem intulisse, quam evangelico verbo dicimus, abnegationem sui. Quippe hoc praesertim capite, dilecti filii, robur et virtus et fructus omnis sacerdotalis muneris continetur: hoc neglecto, exoritur quidquid in moribus sacerdotis possit oculos animosque fidelium offendere. Nam si turpis lucri gratia quis agat, si negotiis saeculi se involvat, si primos appetat accubitus ceterosque despiciat, si carni et sanguini acquiescat, si quaerat hominibus placere, si fidat persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis; haec omnia inde fluunt, quod Christi mandatum negligit conditionemque respuat ab ipso latam: *Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum.* (Matth. xvi., 24.)

Ista Nos quum adeo inculcamus, illud nihilo minus sacerdotem admonemus, non sibi demum soli vivendum sancte: ipse enim vero est operarius, quem Christus *exiit . . . conducere in vineam suam.* (Matth. xx., 1.) Eius igitur est fallaces herbas evellere, serere utiles, irrigare, tueri ne inimicus homo superseminet zizania. Cavendum propterea sacerdoti ne, inconsulto quodam intimae perfectionis studio adductus, quidquam praetereat de muneris partibus quae in aliorum bonum conducant. Cuiusmodi sunt verbum Dei nuntiare, confessiones rite excipere, adesse infirmis praesertim morituris, ignaros fidei erudire, solari moerentes, reducere errantes, usquequaque imitari Christum: *Qui pertransiit benefaciendo et sanando omnes oppressor a diabolo.* (Act. x., 38.) Inter haec vero insigne Pauli monitum sit menti defixum: *Neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat: sed, qui incrementum dat, Deus.* (I. Cor. iii., 7.) Liceat quidem euntes et flentes mittere semina: liceat ea labore multo fovere: sed ut germinent edantque optatos fructus, id nempe unius Dei est eiusque praepotentis auxilii. Hoc accedit magnopere considerandum, nihil praeterea esse homines nisi instrumenta, quibus ad animorum salutem utitur Deus; ea oportere idcirco ut apta sint quae a Deo tractentur. Qua sane ratione? Num ulla putamus vel insita vel parta studio praestantia moveri Deum ut opem adhibeat nostram ad suae gloriae amplitudinem? Nequaquam: scriptum est enim: *Quae stulta sunt mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat sapientes: et infirma mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat fortia: et ignobilia mundi, et contemptibilia elegit Deus, et ea quae non sunt, ut ea quae sunt destrueret.* (I. Cor. i., 27, 28.) Unum nimirum est quod hominem cum Deo coniungat, unum quod gratum efficiat, atque non indignum eius misericordiae administrum: vitae morumque sanctimonia. Haec, quae demum est supereminens Iesu Christi scientia, sacerdoti si desit, desunt ei omnia. Nam, ab ea disiunctae, ipsa exquisitae doctrinae copia (quam Nosmetipsi nitimur in clero provehere), ipsaque agendi dexteritas et sollertia, etiamsi emolumentum aliquid vel Ecclesiae vel singulis afferre possint, non raro tamen detrimenti iisdem sunt flebilis causa. Sanctimonia vero qui ornetur et affluat, is quam multa possit, vel infimus, mirifice salutaria in populo Dei aggredi et perficere, complura ex omni aetate testimonia loquuntur: praeclare, non remota memoria, Ioannes Bapt. Vianney, animarum in exemplum curator, cui honores Caelitum Baetorum Nosmet decrevisse laetamur. Sanctitas una nos efficit, quales vocatio divina exposcit: homines videlicet mundo crucifixos, et quibus mundus ipse sit crucifixus; homines in novitate vitae ambulantes, qui, ut Paulus monet (II. Cor. vi., 5 et seq.), *in laboribus, in vigiliis, in ieiuniis, in castitate, in scientia, in longanimitate, in suavitate, in Spiritu Sancto, in charitate non ficta, in verbo veri-*

tatis seipsos exhibeant ut ministros Dei; qui unice in caelestia tendant, et alios eodem adducere omni ope contendant.

Quoniam vero, ut nemo unus ignorat, vitae sanctitas eatenus fructus est voluntatis nostrae, quoad haec gratiae subsidio roboretur a Deo, abunde nobis Deus ipse providit, ne gratiae munere, si velimus, ullo tempore careamus; idque in primis assequimur studio precandi. Sane precationem inter et sanctimoniam is necessario intercedit usus, ut altera esse sine altera nullo modo possit. Quocirca consentanea omnino veritati est ea sententia Chrysostomi: *Arbitror cunctis esse manifestum, quod simpliciter impossibile sit absque precationis praesidio cum virtute degere* (De precatione, orat. I): acuteque Augustinus conclusit: *Vere novit recte vivere, qui recte novit orare.* (Hom. IV. ex 50.) Quae nobis documenta Christus ipse et crebra hortatione et maxime exemplo suo firmiter persuasit. Nempe orandi causa vel in deserta secedebat, vel montes subibat solus: noctes solidas totus in eo exigebat; templum frequenter adibat; quin etiam, stipantibus turbis, ipse erectis in caelum oculis palam orabat; denique suffluxus cruci, medios inter mortis dolores, cum clamore valido et lacrimis supplicavit Patri. Hoc igitur certum ratumque habeamus, sacerdotem, ut gradum officiumque digne sustineat suum, precandi studio eximie deditum esse oportere. Saepius quidem dolendum quod ipse ex consuetudine potius id faciat quam ex animi ardore; qui statis horis oscitanter psallat vel pauculas interserat preces, nec deinde ullam de die partem memor tribuat alloquendo Deo, pie sursum adspirans. Sed enim sacerdos multo impensius ceteris paruisse debet Christi praecepto: *Oportet semper orare* (Luc. xviii., 1); cui inhaerens Paulus tantopere suadebat: *Orationi instate, vigilantes in ea in gratiarum actione* (Coloss. iv., 2); *Sine intermissione orate.* (I. Thess. v., 17.) Animo quippe sanctimoniae propriae aequae ac salutis alienae cupido quam multae per diem sese dant occasiones ut in Deum feratur! Angores intimi, tentationum vis ac pertinacia, virtutum inopia, remissio ac sterilitas operum, offensiones et negligentiae creberrimae, timor demum ad iudicia divina: haec omnia valde incitant ut ploremus coram Domino, ac, praeter impetratam operum, bonis ad ipsum meritis facile ditescamus. Neque nostra tantummodo ploremus causa oportet. In ea, quae latius ubique funditur, scelerum colluvione, nobis vel maxime imploranda exorandaque est divina clementia; nobis instandum apud Christum, sub mirabili Sacramento omnis gratiae benignissime prodigum: *Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo.*

Illud in hac parte caput est, ut aeternarum rerum meditationi certum aliquod spatium quotidie concedatur. Nemo est sacerdos qui possit hoc sine gravi incuriae nota et animae detrimento praetermittere. Ad Eugenium III., sibi quondam alumnum, tunc vero

romanum Pontificem, Bernardus Abbas sanctissimus scribens, eum libere obnixequē admonebat, ne unquam a quotidiana divinorum meditatione vacaret, nulla admissa excusatione curarum, quas multas et maximas supremus habet apostolatus. Id autem se iure exposcere contendebat, utilitates eiusdem exercitationis ita enumerans prudentissime: *Fontem suum, id est mentem de qua oritur, purificat consideratio. Deinde regit affectus, dirigit actus, corrigit excessus, componit mores, vitam honestat et ordinat; postremo divinarum pariter et humanarum rerum scientiam confert. Haec est quae confusa disternit, hiantia cogit, sparsa colligit, secreta rimatur, vera vestigat, verisimilia examinat, ficta et fucata explorat. Haec est quae agenda praeordinat, acta recogitat, ut nihil in mente resideat aut incorrectum aut correctione egens... Haec est quae in prosperis adversa praesentit, in adversis quasi non sentit; quorum alterum fortitudinis, alterum prudentiae est.* (De Consid. L. I., c. 7.) Quae quidem magnarum utilitatum summa, quas meditatio parere est nata, nos item docet atque admonet, quam sit illa, non modo in omnem partem salutaris, sed admodum necessaria.

Quamvis enim varia sacerdotii munia augusta sint et plena venerationis, usu tamen frequentiore fit ut ipsa tractantes non ea plane qua par est religione perpendant. Hinc, sensim defervescente animo, facilis gressus ad socordiam, atque adeo ad fastidium rerum sacerrimarum. Accedit, quod sacerdotem quotidiana consuetudine versari necesse sit quasi *in medio nationis pravae*; ut saepe, in pastoralis ipsa charitatis perfunctione, sit sibi pertimescendum ne lateant inferni anguis insidiae. Quid, quod tam est proclive, de mundano pulvere etiam religiosa corda sordescere? Apparet igitur quae et quanta urgeat necessitas ad aeternorum contemplationem quotidie redeundi, ut adversus illecebras mens et voluntas, renovato subinde robore, obfirmetur. Praeterea expedit sacerdoti quadam instrui facilitate assurgendi nitendique in caelestia; qui caelestia sapere, eloqui, suadere omnino debet; qui sic debet vitam suam omnem supra humana instituere, ut, quidquid pro sacro munere agit secundum Deum agat, instinctu ductuque fidei. Iamvero hunc animi habitum, hanc veluti nativam cum Deo coniunctionem efficit maxime ac tuetur quotidianae meditationis praesidium; id quod prudenti cuique tam perspicuum est, ut nihil opus sit longius persequi. Quarum rerum confirmationem petere licet, sane tristem, ex eorum vita sacerdotum, qui divinorum meditationem vel parvi pendunt vel plane fastidiunt. Videas enim homines, in quibus *sensus Christi*, illud tam praestabile bonum, oblanguit; totos ad terrena conversos, vana consecretantes, leviora effutientes; sacrosancta obeuntes remisse, gelide, fortasse indigne. Iam pridem ipsi, unctionis sacerdotalis recenti charismate perfusi, diligenter parabant ad psallendum

animam, ne perinde essent ac qui tentant Deum; opportuna quaerebant tempora locaque a strepitu remotiora; divina scrutari sensa studebant; laudabant, gemebant, exsultabant, spiritum effundebant cum Psalte. Nunc vero, quantum mutati ab illis sunt! . . . Itemque vix quidquam in ipsis residet de alacri ea pietate quam spirabant erga divina mysteria. Quam dilecta erant olim tabernacula illa! gestiebat animus adesse incircuitu mensae Domini, et alios ad eam atque alios advocare pios. Ante sacrum quae mundities, quae preces desiderantis animae! tum in ipso agendo quanta erat reverentia, augustis caeremoniis decore suo integris; quam effusae ex praecordiis gratiae: feliciterque manabat in populum bonus odor Christi! . . . *Rememoramini*, obsecramus, dilecti filii *rememoramini* . . . *pristinos dies* (Hebr. x., 32): tunc nempe calebat anima, sanctae meditationis studio enutrita.

In his autem ipsis, qui *recognitare corde* (Ierem. xii., 11) gravantur vel negligunt, non desunt sane qui consequentem animi sui egestatem non dissimulent, excusentque, id causae obtendentes, se totos agitationi ministerii dedidisse, in multiplicem aliorum utilitatem. Verum falluntur misere. Nec enim assueti cum Deo colloqui, quum de eo ad homines dicunt vel consilia christianae vitae impertiunt, prorsus carent divino afflatu; ut evangelicum verbum videatur in ipsis fere intermortuum. Vox eorum, quantavis prudentiae vel facundiae laude clarescat, vocem minime reddit Pastoris boni, quam oves salutariter audiant: strepit enim diffluitque inanis, atque interdum damnosi fecunda exempli, non sine religionis dedecore et offensione bonorum. Nec dissimiliter fit in caeteris partibus actuosae vitae: quippe vel nullus inde solidae utilitatis proventus, vel brevis horae, consequitur, imbre deficiente caelesti, quem sane devocat uberrimum *oratio humiliantis se* (Eccl. xxxv., 21). Quo loco facere quidem non possumus quin eos vehementer doleamus, qui pestiferis novitatibus abrepti, contra haec sentire non vereantur, impensamque meditando et precando operam quasi perditam arbitrentur. Proh funesta caecitas! Utinam, secum ipsi probe considerantes, aliquando cognoscerent quorsum evadat neglectus iste contemptusque orandi. Ex eo nimirum germinavit superbia et contumacia; unde nimis amari excrevere fructus, quos paternus animus et commemorare refugit et omnino resecare exoptat. Optatis annuat Deus; qui benigne devios respiciens, tanta in eos copia *spiritum gratiae et precum* effundat, ut errorem deflentes suum, male desertas vias communi cum gaudio volentes repetant, cautiores persequantur. Item ut olim Apostolo (Philipp. i., 8), ipse Deus sit Nobis testis, quo modo eos omnes cupiamus in visceribus Iesu Christi!

Illis igitur vobisque omnibus, dilecti filii, alte inseat hortatio Nostra, quae Christi Domini est: *Videte, vigilate, et orate.* (Marc.

xiii., 33). Praecipue in pie meditandi studio uniuscuiusque elaboret industria: elaboret simul animi fiducia, identidem rogantis: *Domine, doce nos orare.* (Luc. xi., 1.) Nec parvi quidem momenti esse nobis ad meditandum debet peculiaris quaedam causa; scilicet quam magna vis consilii virtutisque inde profluat, bene utilis ad rectam animarum curam, opus omnium perdifficile. Cum re cohaeret, et est memoratu dignum, Sancti Caroli pastorale alloquium: "Intelligite, fratres, nil aequae ecclesiasticis omnibus viris esse necessarium ac est oratio mentalis, actiones nostras omnes praecedens, concomitans et subsequens: *Psallam*, inquit propheta, *et intelligam.* (Ps. c., 2.) Si Sacramenta ministras, a frater, meditare quid facis; si Missam celebras, meditare quid offers; si psallis, meditare cui et quid loqueris; si animas regis, meditare quonam sanguine sint lavatae. (Ex orationib. ad clerum.) Quapropter recte ac iure Ecclesia nos ea davidica sensa iterare frequentes iubet: *Beatus vir, qui in lege Domini meditatur; voluntas eius permanet die ac nocte; omnia quaecumque faciet semper prosperabuntur.* Ad haec, unum denique instar omnium sit nobile incitamentum. Sacerdos enim, si *alter Christus* vocatur et est communicatione potestatis, nonne talis omnino et fieri et haberi debeat etiam imitatione factorum? . . . *Summum igitur studium nostrum sit in vita Iesu Christi meditari.* (De imit. Chr. i., 1.)

Cum divinarum rerum quotidiana consideratione magni refert ut sacerdos piorum librorum lectionem, eorum in primis qui divinitus inspirati sunt, coniungat assiduus. Sic Paulus mandabat Timotheo: *Attende lectioni.* (I. Tim. iv., 13.) Sic Hieronymus, Nepotianum de vita sacerdotali instituens, id inculcabat: *Nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur:* cuius rei hanc subtexebat causam: *Disce quod doceas: obtine eum, qui secundum doctrinam est, fidelem sermonem, ut possis exhortari in doctrina sana, et contradicentes revincere.* Quantum enimvero proficiunt sacerdotes qui constanti hoc praestant assuetudine; ut sapide praedicant Christum utque mentes animosque audientium, potius quam emolliant et mulceant, ad meliora impellunt, ad superna erigunt desideria! Sed alia quoque de causa, atque ea in rem vestram, dilecti filii, frugifera, praeceptio valet eiusdem Hieronymi: *Semper in manu tua sacra sit lectio.* (Ep. 58 ad Paulinum, n. 6.) Quis enim nesciat maximam esse in amici animum vim cuiuspiam amici qui candide moneat, consilio iuvet, carpat, excitet, ab errore avocet? *Beatus, qui invenit amicum verum* (Eccl. xxv., 12) . . . *qui autem invenit illum, invenit thesaurum.* (Ib., vi., 14.) Iamvero amicos vere fideles adscribere ipsis nobis pios libros debemus. De nostris quippe officiis ac de praescriptis legitimae disciplinae graviter commonefaciunt; repressas in animo caelestes voces suscitant; desidiam propositorum castigant;

dolosam obturbant tranquillitatem; minus probabiles affectiones, dissimulatas, coarguunt; pericula detegunt, saepenumero incautis patentia. Haec autem omnia sic illi tacita cum benevolentia praestant, ut se nobis non modo amicos praebeant, sed amicorum perquam optimos praebeant. Siquidem habemus, quum libeat, quasi lateri adhaerentes, intimis necessitatibus nulla non hora promptos; quorum vox nunquam est acerba, consilium nunquam cupidum, sermo nunquam timidus aut mendax. Librorum piorum saluberrimam efficacitatem multa quidem eaque insignia declarant exempla; at exemplum profecto eminet Augustini, cuius promerita in Ecclesiam amplissima inde auspicium duxerunt: *Tolle, lege; tolle, lege . . . Arripui* (epistolas Pauli apostoli), *aperui et legi in silentio. . . . Quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo, omnis dubitationis tenebrae diffugerunt.* (Conf. I, viii., c. 12.) Sed contra heu! saepius accidit nostra aetate, ut homines e clero tenebris dubitationis sensim offundantur et saeculi obliqua sectentur, eo praesertim quod piis divinisque libris longe alios omne genus atque ephemeridum turbam praeoptent, ea quidem scamentia errore blando ac lue. Vobis, dilecti filii, cavete: adultae provectaeque aetati ne fidite, neve sinite spe fraudulenta illudi, ita vos posse aptius communi bono prospicere. Certi custodiantur fines, tum quos Ecclesiae leges praestituant, tum quos prudentia cernat et charitas sui: nam venena istaec semel quis animo imbiberit, concepti exitii perraro quidem effugiet damna.

Porro emolumenta, tum a sacra lectione, tum ex ipsa meditatione caelestium quaesita, futura certe sunt sacerdoti uberiora, si argumenti quidpiam accesserit, unde ipsemet dignoscat an lecta et meditata religiose studeat in usu vitae perficere. Est apposite ad rem egregium quoddam documentum Chrysostomi, sacerdoti praesertim exhibitum. Quotidie sub noctem, antequam somnus obrepat, *excita iudicium conscientiae tuae, ab ipsa rationem exige, et quae interdum mala cepisti consilia . . . fodica et dilania, et de eis poenam sume.* (Exposit. in Ps. iv., n. 8.) Quam rectum id sit ac fructuosum christianae virtuti, prudentiores pietatis magistri luculenter evincunt, optimis quidem monitis et hortamentis. Praeclarum illud referre placet e disciplina Sancti Bernardi: *Integritatis tuae curiosus explorator, vitam tuam in quotidiana discussione examina. Attende diligenter quantum proficias, vel quantum deficias. . . . Stude cognoscere te. . . . Pone omnes transgressionem tuas ante oculos tuos. . . . Statue te ante te, tamquam ante alium; et sic te ipsum plange.* (Meditationes piissimae, c. v., de quotid. sui ipsius exam.)

Etiā in hac parte probrosum vere sit, si Christi dictum eveniat: *Filii huius saeculi prudentiores filiis lucis!* (Luc. xvi., 8.) Videre licet quanta illi sedulitate sua negotia procurent: quam saepe data

et accepta conferant; quam accurate restricteque rationes subducant; iacturas factas ut doleant, seque ipsi acrius excitent ad sarcindas. Nos vero, quibus fortasse ardet animus ad aucupandos honores, ad rem familiarem augendam, ad captandam praesidio scientiae praedicationem unice et gloriam; negotium maximum idemque perarduum, sanctimoniae videlicet adeptionem, languentes, fastidiosi tractamus. Nam vix interdum apud nos colligimus et exploramus animum; qui propterea paene silvescit, non secus ac vinea pigri, de qua scriptum: *Per agrum hominis pigri transivi, et per vineam viri stulti: et ecce totum repleverant urticae, et operuerunt superficiem eius spinae, et maceria lapidum destructa erat.* (Prov. xxiv., 30, 31.) Ingravescit res, crebrescentibus circum exemplis pravis, sacerdotali ipsi virtuti haud minime infestis; ut opus sit vigilantius quotidie incedere ac vehementius obniti. Iam experiendo cognitum est, qui frequentem in se censuram et severam de cogitatis, de dictis, de factis peragat, eum plus valere animo: simul ad odium et fugam mali, simul ad studium et ardorem boni. Neque minus experiendo compertum, quae incommoda et damna fere accidant declinanti tribunal illud, ubi sedeat iudicans iustitia, stet rea et ipsum accusans conscientia. In ipso frustra quidem desideres eam agendi circumspectionem, quae adeo in christiano homine probatur, de minoribus quoque noxis vitandis; eamque verecundiam animi, maxime sacerdotis propriam, ad omnem vel levissimam in Deum offensam expavescentis. Quin immo indiligentia atque neglectus sui nonnunquam eo deterius procedit, ut ipsum negligent poenitentiae sacramentum: quo nihil sane opportunius infirmitati humanae suppeditavit Christus insigni miseratione. Diffitendum certe non est, acerbeque est deplorandum, non ita raro contingere, ut qui alios a peccando fulminea sacri eloquii vi deterret, nihil tale metuat sibi culpisque obcalescat; qui alios hortatur et incitat ut labes animi ne morentur debita religione detergere, id ipse tam ignave faciat atque etiam diuturno mensium spatio cunctetur; qui aliorum vulneribus oleum et vinum salutare novit infundere, saucius ipse secus viam iaceat, nec medicam fratris manum, eamque fere proximam, providus sibi requirat. Heu quae passim consecuta sunt hodieque consequuntur, prorsus indigna coram Deo et Ecclesia, perniciose christianae multitudini, indecora sacerdotali ordini!

Haec Nos, dilecti filii, pro conscientiae officio quum reputamus, oppletur animus aegritudine, et vox cum gemitu erumpit; Vae sacerdoti, qui suum tenere locum nesciat, et nomen Dei sancti, cui esse sanctus debet, infideliter polluat! Optimorum corruptio, teterimum: *Grandis dignitas sacerdotum, sed grandis ruina eorum, si peccant; laetemur ad ascensum, sed timeamus ad lapsum: non est tanti gaudii excelsa tenuisse, quanti moeroris de sublimioribus cor-*

ruisse! (S. Hieron. in Ezech. i., 13, c. 44, v. 30.) Vae igitur sacerdoti, qui, immemor sui, precandi studium deserit; qui piarum lectionum pabulum respuat; qui ad se ipse nunquam regreditur ut accusantis conscientiae exaudiat voces! Neque crudescentia animi vulnera, neque Ecclesiae matris ploratus movebunt miserum, donec eae feriant terribiles minae: *Excaeca cor populi huius, et aures eius aggrava: et oculos eius claude: ne forte videat oculis suis, et auribus suis audiat, et corde suo intelligat, et convertatur, et sanem eum.* (Is. vi., 10.) Triste omen ab unoquoque vestrum, dilecti filii, avertat dives in misericordia Deus; ipse qui Nostrum intuetur cor, nulla prorsus in quemquam amaritudine affectum, sed omni pastoris et patris charitate in omnes permotum: *Quae est enim nostra spes, aut gaudium, aut corona gloriae? nonne vos ante Dominum Nostrum Iesum Christum?* (I. Thess. ii., 19.)

At videtis ipsi, quotquot ubique estis, quatenus in tempora, arcano Dei consilio, Ecclesia inciderit. Videte pariter et meditamini quam sanctum officium vos teneat, ut a qua tanto dignitatis honore donati estis, eidem contendatis adesse et succurrere laboranti. Itaque in clero, si unquam alias, nunc opus maxime est virtute non mediocri; in exemplum integra, experfecta, operosa, paratissima demum facere pro Christo et pati fortia. Neque aliud quidquam est quod cupidiores Nos animo precemur et optemus vobis, singulis et universis. In vobis igitur intemerato semper honore floreat castimonia, nostri ordinis lectissimum ornamentum; cuius nitore sacerdos, ut adsimilis efficitur angelis, sic in christiana plebe venerabilior praestat sanctisque fructibus fecundior. Vigeat perpetuis auctibus reverentia et obedientia, iis sollemni ritu promissa, quos divinus Spiritus rectores constituit Ecclesiae: praecipue in obsequio huic Sedi Apostolicae iustissime debito mentes animique arctioribus quotidie fidelitatis nexibus devinciantur. Excellatque in omnibus charitas, nullo modo quaerens quae sua sunt: ut, stimulis qui humanitus urgent invidiae contentionis cupidaeve ambitionis cohibitis, vestra omnium studia ad incrementa divinae gloriae fraterna aemulatione conspirent. Vestrae beneficia charitatis *multitudo magna languentium, caecorum, claudorum, aridorum*, quam miserrima, expectat; vel maxime expectant densi adolescentum greges, civitatis et religionis spes carissima, fallaciis undique cincti et corruptelis. Studete alacres, non modo sacra catechesi impertienda, quod rursus enixiusque commendamus, sed, omni quacumque liceat ope consilii et sollertiae, bene optimeque mereri de omnibus. Sublevando, tutando, medendo, pacificando, hoc demum velitis ac propemodum sitiatis, lucrari vel obstringere animas Christo. Ab inimicis eius heu quam impigre, quam laboriose, quam non trepide agitur, instatur, exitio animarum immenso! Ob hanc potissime charitatis laudem

Ecclesia catholica gaudet et gloriatur in clero suo, christianam pacem evangelizante, salutem atque humanitatem afferente, ad gentes usque barbaras: ubi ex magnis eius laboribus, profuso nonnunquam sanguine consecratis, Christi regnum latius in dies profertur, et fides sancta enitet novis palmis augustior. Quod si, dilecti filii, effusae charitatis vestrae officiis simulas, convicium, calumnia, ut persaepe fit, responderit, nolite ideo tristitiae succumbere, *nolite deficere bene facientes* (II. Thess. iii., 13). Ante oculos obversentur illorum agmina, numero meritisque insignia, qui per Apostolorum exempla, in contumeliis pro Christi nomine asperrimis, *ibant gaudentes, maledicti benedicebant*. Nempe filii sumus fratresque Sanctorum, quorum nomina splendent in libro vitae, quorum laudes nuntiat Ecclesia: *Non inferamus crimen gloriae nostrae!* (I. Mach. ix., 10.)

Instaurato et aucto in ordinibus cleri spiritu gratiae sacerdotalis, multo quidem efficacius valebunt Nostra, Deo adspirante, proposita ad caetera, quaecumque late sunt, instauranda. Quapropter ad ea quae supra exposuimus, certa quaedam adiicere visum est, tamquam subsidia eidem gratiae custodiendae et alendae opportuna. Est primum, quod nemini sane non cognitum et probatum, sed non item omnibus re ipsa exploratum est, pius animae recessus ad Exercitia, quae vocant, spiritualia; annuus, si fieri possit, vel apud se singulatim, vel potius una cum aliis, unde largior esse fructus consuevit; salvis Episcoporum praescriptis. Huius instituti utilitates iam Ipsi satis laudavimus, quum nonnulla in eodem genere ad cleri romani disciplinam pertinentia ediximus. (Ep. *Experiendo* ad Card. in Urbe Vicarium, 27 Decembris, 1904.) Nec minus deinde proficiet animis, si consimilis recessus, ad paucas horas, menstruus, vel privatim vel communiter habeatur: quem morem libentes videmus pluribus iam locis inductum, ipsis Episcopis faventibus, atque interdum praesidentibus coetui. Aliud praeterea cordi est commendare: adstrictiorem quamdam sacerdotum, ut fratres addecet, inter se coniunctionem, quam episcopalis auctoritas firmet ac moderetur. Id sane commendabile, quod in societatem coalescant ad mutuam opem in adversis parandam, ad nominis et munerum integritatem contra hostiles actus tuendam, ad alias istiusmodi causas. At pluris profecto interest, consociationem eos inire ad facultatem doctrinae sacrae excolendam, in primisque ad sanctum vocationis propositum impensiore cura retinendum, ad animarum provehendas rationes, consilii viribusque colatis. Testantur Ecclesiae annales, quibus temporibus sacerdotes passim in communem quamdam vitam conveniebant, quam bonis fructibus id genus societas abundavit. Tale aliquid quidni in hanc ipsam aetatem, congruenter quidem locis et muniis, revocari queat? Pristini etiam fructus, in gaudium Ec-

clesiae, nonne sint recte sperandi? Nec vero desunt instituti similis societates, sacrorum Antistitum comprobatione auctae; eo utiles, quo quis maturius, sub ipsa sacerdotii initia, amplectatur. Nosmetipsi unam quamdam, bene aptam experti, fovimus in episcopali munere, eandem etiamnum aliasque singulari benevolentia prosequimur. Ista sacerdotalis gratiae adiumenta, eaque item quae vigil Episcoporum prudentia pro rerum opportunitate suggerat, vos, dilecti filii, sic aestimate, sic adhibete, ut magis in dies magisque *digne ambuletis vocatione qua vocatis estis* (Ephes. iv., 1), ministerium vestrum honorificantes, et perficientes in vobis Dei voluntatem, quae nempe est *sanctificatio vestra*.

Huc enimvero feruntur praecipuae cogitationes curaeque Nostrae: propterea sublati in caelum oculis, supplices Christi Domini voces super universum clerum frequenter iteramus: *Pater sancte . . . , sanctifica eos.* (Ioan. xvii., 11, 17.) In qua pietate laetamur permultos ex omni fidelium ordine Nobiscum comprecantes habere, de communi vestro et Ecclesiae bono vehementer sollicitos: quin etiam iucundum accidit, haud paucas esse generosioris virtutis animas, non solum in sacratis septis, sed in media ipsa saeculi consuetudine, quae ob eandem causam sese victimas Deo votivas non intermissa contentione exhibeant. Puras eximiasque eorum preces in odorem suavitatis summus Deus accipiat, neque humillimas abnuat preces Nostras. Faveat, exoramus, clemens idem et providus: atque e sanctissimo dilecti Filii sui Corde divitias gratiae, caritatis, virtutis omnis universum in clerum largiatur. Postremo, libet gratam ex animo vicem referre vobis, dilecti filii, de votis faustitatis quae, appetente sacerdotii Nostri natali quinquagesimo, multiplici pietate obtulistis: vota pro vobis Nostra, quo cumulativius eveniant, magnae Virgini Matri concredita volumus, Apostolorum Reginae. Haec etenim illas sacri ordinis felices primitias exemplo suo edocuit quemadmodum perseverarent unanimes in oratione, donec induerentur superna virtute: eandemque ipsis virtutem multo sane ampliolem sua deprecatione impetravit, consilio auxit et communivit, ad fertilitatem laborum laetissimam. Optamus interea, dilecti filii, ut pax Christi exultet in cordibus vestris cum gaudio Spiritus Sancti; auspice Apostolica Benedictione, quam vobis omnibus peramanti voluntate impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, die 4 Augusti anno 1908, Pontificatus Nostri ineunte sexto.

PIUS PP. X.

Book Reviews

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA. An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., LL. D., Edward G. Pace, Ph. D., D. D., Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D., John J. Wynne, S. J., assisted by numerous collaborators. In fifteen royal 8vo. volumes. Vol. IV., 799 pages, with illustrations and maps. New York: Robert Appleton Company.

The Catholic Encyclopedia is fast becoming a reality. The fourth volume almost completes one-third of the work, and, indeed, if we take into consideration the condition of the fifth volume, practically ready for the press, and the great amount of advance editorial work already done on the succeeding volumes, we may truthfully say that the Encyclopedia is more than one-third finished.

The present volume begins with Clandestinity and ends with Diocesan. In the eight hundred royal octavo pages of the book, between these two subjects, we find as complete and comprehensive a collection of treatises on Catholic subjects as the very learned and experienced and indefatigable board of editors could gather together. We find them treated by writers best suited for the purpose, generally specialists, chosen from the best institutions of learning throughout the world and from the learned professions, each with a national reputation, and many with an international one. We find each subject allotted the amount of space due to it, considered in itself, and in relation to the other subjects, as far as good experienced judgment can make such allotment, and allowing for the difference of opinion which must always exist in such cases.

We notice that the illustrations are well chosen and beautifully executed. Indeed, in this respect we have never seen more even excellence. We are struck by the attention given to short articles, for instead of entrusting the writing of them to less competent and unknown writers, as is so often done in similar works, the editors have wisely given special attention to them and placed them in the hands of scholars always fully competent, and generally very well known and very learned. In this way the book as a whole is brought up to the highest standard. As illustrating this point, we may mention the biographical and historical contributions of Mgr. Loughlin and Dr. Shahan, the philosophical contributions of Dr. Pace and the excellent short articles on the ceremony and liturgy by Father Thurston, S. J.

Among the more important and lengthy articles in the present volume we notice the Cross occupying twenty pages and treated by several well-known writers. The illustrations of this subject are

unusually good, especially the page showing crosses of every form.

The Crusades, ever fruitful subject, takes up thirteen pages. Constantinople, city and councils, covers twenty pages, the second part of the subject being treated by Dr. Shahan in his best style. The Congo attracts unusual attention just now, because of the charges which have been brought against the Belgian Government in its management of affairs. The Concordat is equally interesting and timely. The paper on Communion has a special value because of the Holy Father's recent recommendation of a return to the ancient practice of frequent Communion. A more than usually striking article is the one on Columbus, occupying nine pages, fully illustrated with portraits and other pictures.

The mere mention of only a few of the striking features of this volume is sufficient to indicate the great importance of the work as a whole and to emphasize the truth that each volume has an individual value which cannot be exaggerated. Those who intend to subscribe for the book should do so at once and secure for themselves the pleasure and profit of each volume as it appears. We can think of only one good reason why any Catholic should fail to subscribe for the Encyclopedia, and that is lack of means.

HISTOIRE COMPAREE DES RELIGIONS PAIENNES ET DE LA RELIGION JUIVE
JUSQU'AU TEMPS D'ALEXANDRE LE GRAND. Par *Albert Dufourcq*. Paris:
Bloud et Cie. Pp. xxvi. + 350. Price, 3½ francs.

The book here introduced is the first volume of a series bearing the general title "l'Avenir du Christianisme," the author considering that the "present of Christianity" can be properly understood and its "future" predicted only by reverting to its "past"—even to the religious history of pre-Christian times, pagan and Jewish. He accordingly embodies in the book at hand the results of his investigation amongst the ancient religions. Beginning with the Egyptians, passing thence to the Semites (Babylon, Anam, Palestine), thence to the Aryans (Greece, Rome, Gaul), next to the Jews, first during patriarchal and Mosaic times, then under the Prophets, he concludes the volume by instituting a comparison between the pagan cults and the Jewish religion. The breadth of the foundation thus laid is obvious enough. For its depth and solidity the indications of laborious research, attested by the copious documentary references—together with the author's position as professor at the University of Bordeaux, to say nothing of his scholarship, confirmed by a number of preceding works on kindred lines of research—may be accepted as presumptive testimony. The spirit in which the work is wrought out is at least suggested by the dedication prefixed, "*In Honorem*

Leonis Papae XIII. Jesu Christi Vicarii Ecclesiarum Unitatis Propugnatoris Auctor Pietatis Causa," the unity thus idealized being further emphasized by the texts suggesting the thought embodied in the preface: "*Pater Noster qui es in coelis. Mandaum novum do vobis. Ut omnes unum sint. Deus homo factus est ut homo deus fieret.*" The reviewer mentions these signs of the author's reverential attitude because the reader should have them in mind when perusing the parallelisms of rite and belief which are traced in the work between the pre-Christian cults and the Christian religions in illustration of the thesis that the "end of history is the realization of a common consciousness and conscience in humanity, Christianity being the form of that universal conscience." In connection with this thesis the parallelisms brought forward may be justified and the reader's religious sensitiveness less rudely jarred. Of course, the author maintains the "transcendancy" of Christianity, as he also explicitly establishes that of Judaism over pagan worships. In respect, however, to the latter superiority it had been well to have developed the truth that Jahve, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the God to whom the Psalms and the pleadings found in the Sapiertial Books are addressed, was no less the God of the individual Jew than the protector of the collective people. The author seems to merge the former in the latter relationship. As was mentioned above, the present volume represents but one portion of the entire work, the Oriental epoch. The complete plan calls for three more volumes, which will contain the history of "the syncretist epoch," including "les origenes chrétiennes" (from Alexander to the third century, Vol. II.); the Mediterranean epoch (the history of the Church down to the eleventh century, Vol III.); the Occidental epoch (history of the Church down to the eighteenth century, Vol IV.). These three are in course of publication. A second part preparing is to embrace the nineteenth century (Christianity and democracy). A more adequate estimate of the work will be possible when these portions shall have appeared.

PRINCIPLES OF LOGIC. By *George Hayward Joyce, S. J., M. A.*, Oriel College, Oxford; Professor of Logic, St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst. 8vo., pp. xx.+431. Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York, 1908.

Even a casual glance at this book is sufficient to convince the reader that a master mind and a master hand have been brought to its making. It is complete, covering the whole subject, and it is done in such an attractive way as to make the subject very interesting. A quotation from the author's introduction will show this, and will be the best recommendation which we can give to the book:

"This work is an attempt at a presentment of what is frequently termed Traditional Logic, and is intended for those who are making acquaintance with philosophical questions for the first time. Yet it is impossible, even in a text-book such as this, to deal with logical questions save in connection with definite metaphysical and epistemological principles. Logic, as the theory of the mind's rational processes in regard of their validity, must necessarily be part of a larger philosophical system. Indeed, when this is not the case, it becomes a mere collection of technical rules, possessed of little importance and of less interest. The point of view adopted in this book is that of the scholastic philosophy; and as far as is compatible with the size and purpose of the work, some attempt has been made to vindicate the fundamental principles on which that philosophy is based. From one point of view, this position should prove a source of strength. The thinkers who elaborated our system of Logic were Scholastics. The principles of that philosophy, its doctrines and its rules, are in full accord. In the light of Scholasticism the system is a connected whole, and the subjects traditionally treated in it have each of them its legitimate place.

"From another point of view it might seem that Scholastic principles must be a source of weakness. Have not, it will be asked, the universities, one and all, long since discarded Scholasticism? That this is true of all those universities which have submitted to secular influences must be frankly admitted. At our ancient seats of learning there has been a complete neglect of the great mediæval philosophers, the representatives of that once famous school. The names of Albert the Great, of St. Thomas Aquinas, of Duns Scotus are never mentioned. It is not that they are weighed and found wanting. They are ignored. It is assumed that there is nothing in them worth knowing. The practice of what certain German writers have termed 'the leap over the Middle Ages' has been universal. From Plotinus to Bacon has been regarded as a blank in the history of philosophy. Yet by common consent the period thus ignored was one of intense philosophic activity. Metaphysical problems were discussed with an interest, a zeal, an acumen since unknown, and some of the greatest intellects the world has ever seen were nurtured in the schools of the day. When, therefore, the Neo-Scholastics of to-day avail themselves of the results attained in that epoch, no wise man will consider that this is likely to impair the value of their conclusions. They are but claiming their share in the great inheritance of the past.

"It is not, of course, to be supposed that the Neo-Scholasticism of to-day is in all points identical with the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages. The astronomical physics of the mediæval doctors were

theoretically erroneous. Moreover, new questions have arisen, new difficulties have been suggested, new discoveries have been made. The adversaries of to-day are not the adversaries against whom the mediæval doctors were called to contend. In adapting our methods to the needs of the day we do not discard the principles of the Scholastics. But Neo-Scholasticism belongs to the twentieth century, not to the thirteenth, and it employs the weapons of a new age."

LES ORIGINES DU SCHISME ANGLICANE (1509-1571). Par M. l'Abbé J. Trésal. Pp. xvii.+460. Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1908. Price, 3½ francs.

The present monograph on the rise and early development of the rupture of England with the Holy See and the consequent establishment of the distinctly schismatical English Church forms the latest addition to the "Library of Ecclesiastical History," several preceding volumes whereof have been previously reviewed in these pages. The period covered by the volume extends from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. (1509) to the thirteenth year of Elizabeth's reign, in 1571. The narrative is introduced by a summary account of the doctrines, events, political and social, that prepared the way for the schism, which took place in 1534. Henry was satisfied with substituting himself for the Pope in the headship of the Church in England. Up to his death, in 1547, he strove, despite some transient affection for the Lutherans, to pass for orthodox and to preserve intact the body of Catholic teaching, except that of the primacy of the Holy See. Under his son, Edward VI. (1547-1552), the English Church "went to school," as M. Trésal puts it, to the Lutherans, then to the Calvinists, accepting *dans une hâte un peu fébrile* their dogmatic formularies as well as their liturgical and disciplinary practices. The death of Edward at once interrupted this march of events. With Mary (1552-1558) the Catholic Church was for a time reinstated and reconciled to the Holy See, but the Queen died before the reestablishment could be solidified. Elizabeth, her sister, aided by adroit ministers and by Bishops hostile to Rome, revived the policy of Edward, and, undeterred by any moral or religious scruple, pushed her design so skillfully that even the Catholic rulers on the Continent did not break off relations with her. At length, however (in 1571), the Pope, undeceived by Elizabeth's duplicity, solemnly excommunicated the English Queen, who took her revenge by causing Parliament to pass laws of merciless persecution against the Catholics of her realm. At this time the "Book of Common Prayer" and "The Thirty-nine Articles" received the sanction of the clergy and of Parliament. The two documents gave to the new Church its constitutive organs,

a doctrinal formulary, a liturgical and disciplinary code and its supreme head in the person of the sovereign. It is this period as thus outlined that M. Trésal has undertaken to chronicle and portray. He has not assumed the rôle of an apologist for the Catholic Church nor of an historical theologian discussing the doctrinal issues of the schism. His purpose, as he himself describes it, has been to give an impartial account, based upon authentic sources, of the leading causes, events and immediate effects of the great religious revolution. An examination of the nine pages of general bibliography prefacing the main body of the work and the special lists of sources prefixed to each chapter reveals what an immense amount of research has been devoted to the undertaking, a revelation which is continuously confirmed as one follows the development of the narrative. But while evincing the patient labor of the scholar the work is no dry-as-dust chronicle. With characteristic French clarity and grace the story is told in a style that happily combines interest with instruction. The book is one that will satisfy the student and no less gratify the average educated reader.

PSYCHOLOGIE DE L'INCROYANT. Par *Xavier Moisant*. Paris: Beauschene et Cie, 1908, pp. 339.

The author of this book will be known to students of philosophy through his monograph, "Dieu l'Experience en Métaphysique," which has a place in the well-known "Bibliothèque de Philosophie Expérimentale," edited by M. Peillaube and published by M. Rivière, Paris. The present work will probably interest a wider circle of readers, though it will be best appreciated by those who have already made acquaintance with the author's mind and style through the work just mentioned. Like the latter, it is an experimental study, or rather a study that starts from experience and proceeds inductively to a general principle. Instead of taking up the abstract theme of unbelief, as it has come to be crystallized in the general consciousness, the author singles out three individuals in whom that mental condition is universally recognized as dominant, and subjects their thought and character to rigid psychological analysis. While the class of infidels, past and present, is numerous beyond count, M. Moisant thinks they may be reduced to three types, which though not "specifically" different, possess characteristics sufficiently distinctive to warrant their being regarded as typical forms. They are personified in Voltaire, August Comte and Renouvier. The first represents the scoffer, the second the positivist, the third the intellectualist. They all agree in the common attribute of unbelief, while each is markedly differentiated in his mental atti-

tude towards faith. M. Moisant studies each of these forms as they are reflected in the works of their representatives. The study is analytical, purely objective and based on the original sources, some of these being as yet unpublished. The conclusions reached will interest the student of psychology and of the history of philosophy as well as the apologist—the latter because of the efficacy lent to argument by the note of personality. If the very strongest attacks on revealed religion by the highest representatives of infidelity exhibit such inherent weaknesses as are brought out by an all around examination of the types here considered, the cause of faith has little to fear from less potent adversaries. While this may be taken to be the implicit conclusion of the book, the author abstains from its explicit statement lest probably it might be regarded as biasing the investigation. The studies in Comte and Renouvier are especially valuable. That in Voltaire had perhaps gained somewhat by being more curtailed. In conclusion it should be mentioned that the volume forms part of the highly useful series the "Bibliothèque Apologetique" now in course of publication by MM. Beauschene et Cie.

REGARDS EN ARRIERE. LES PREFACES DE LA "QUINZAINE." Par *George Fonsegrive*. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1908. Pp. ix.+345. Price, 3½ francs.

M. Fonsegrive needs no introduction amongst readers who are acquainted with the best Catholic French literature of the present day or have kept in touch with recent intellectual and political currents in France. Besides the "Lettres d'un Curé de Campagne" and several other kindred works which he wrote over the pen-name D'Yves le Querdec—books whose geniality and sympathy as well as their true religiousness have won for them a wide and a hearty welcome—his many works treating of the burning problems of the day in France—problems pertaining to the relations of Catholicism to the actual intellectual and social life in that country—to say nothing of his several technically philosophical productions, have given him a foremost place of honor and power amongst the most influential of modern Catholic Frenchmen. In the volume here presented he has gathered together "the prefaces" which he contributed annually to the *Quinzaine* during the years of his editorship from November, 1897, to the cessation of the review, March, 1907. The *Quinzaine*, it may be remembered, was noted for its strong advocacy of democratic ideals and of Catholics taking a more active part in the scientific life and socializing movements of their time and country. Its progressivism met with no slight opposition from those who held more conservative ideas. Whatever may be thought of the justice,

to say nothing of the prudence and charity of that opposition, the ideals and sentiments embodied in the articles collected in the present volume should at least on the whole win the admiration and enlist the active support of intelligent and zealous Catholics everywhere. The essays reflect a mind that reads accurately the signs of the time, a heart that would have Catholics progress in science and social beneficence and a soul that is loyal to the Church and therefore looks first to religion for the motives and aids to betterment, intellectual and civil. Here and there a critic might, it is true, tone down an idea or a sentiment, but something should be allowed for the *forme toute spontanée et toute vibrante encore des émotions journalières* which the papers have been permitted to retain. Aside from the stimulating influence of these essays they will have a value for the historian. He who at some future day will undertake to tell the story of the crisis through which France is now passing will find in these pages material for an account of a movement that is seeking to save what is best in that country by mediating between a belated conservatism and an insane modernism.

THE OLD ENGLISH BIBLE AND OTHER ESSAYS. By *Francis Aidan Gasquet, D. D.*, Abbot-President of the English Benedictines. New edition, 12mo., pp. x.+347. George Bell & Sons, London, 1908.

The ten essays that comprise this volume are delightful and instructive reading, and are well worthy of republication. They include: "Notes on Mediæval Monastic Libraries," "The Monastic Scriptorium," "A Forgotten English Preacher" (Bishop Brunton), "The Pre-Reformation English Bible" (two essays), "Religious Instruction in England During the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," "A Royal Christmas in the Fifteenth Century," "The Canterbury Claustal School in the Fifteenth Century," "The Notebook of William Worcester, a Fifteenth Century Antiquary," "Hampshire Recusants: A Story of Their Troubles in the Time of Queen Elizabeth." This is a collection of subjects to call forth Abbot Gasquet's best powers, and he answers the call. Faithful and exhaustive research, frequent, apt and correct quotation, fluent, clear and charming expression—all combine to make the essays models. The author's explanation of the new edition runs:

"This volume of collected papers was first published in 1897. It has been out of print now for some time, and even second-hand copies have been somewhat difficult to procure and have been more than once advertised for. Having been frequently asked to reprint these essays in some other form, I allowed myself to be advised to issue them as a companion volume to the second series of collected papers and addresses lately published.

"With regard to the papers themselves, they are here reprinted without appreciable alteration. At one time I had entertained the design of adding a third essay to the two on 'The Pre-Reformation English Bible,' which were much discussed at the time they first appeared, and the conclusions embodied in them were challenged in various quarters. Other occupations have prevented my carrying out this intention, and thus making use of material which, since the original papers were published, has been growing under my hand—material which, to me at least, seems to strengthen my contention as to the Catholic origin of the version which it has hitherto been the fashion without much justification to attribute to Wyclif himself."

CATHOLIC SOCIALISM. By *Francesco S. Nitti*, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Naples, author of "Population and the Social System," etc. Translated from the second Italian edition by *Mary Mackintosh*, with an Introduction by *David G. Ritchie, M. A.*, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of St. Andrew. 8vo., pp. 432. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., London; Macmillan & Co., New York, 1908.

Professor Nitti's "Catholic Socialism" has been before the public so long and is so well known that a review of it is not necessary. The new edition is timely, for the subject is growing in importance every day. We will add a word of explanation and a word of warning.

The author of this book, who is professor of political economy in the University of Naples, hardly needs to be introduced to English readers. He has contributed articles to the *Economic Review*, the organ of the Oxford branch of the Christian Social Union, and his work on "Population" has already been translated into English. The present volume, as he tells us in the preface, is intended to form part of a critical study of all the important types of modern socialism. It may be well to repeat the warning which the author has emphasized in the "advertisement" to the second edition that his method is "positive" and that his aim has been to make his treatment of the subject strictly objective. In other words, this book is not in intention, either socialistic or anti-socialistic, either Catholic or anti-Catholic, but an attempt to give an impartial statement of facts. The author has already shared the usual fortune of impartiality and has been attacked from both sides, being called an "ardent Socialist" by some and accused by others of 'anti-clerical' and bourgeois skepticism." The first edition, published in 1890, attracted much attention in Europe, and several Catholic papers even recognized that it did something to hasten the publication of the Pope's encyclical of May, 1891.

Here and there it will be observed that the translator has felt bound, as a devout Catholic, to dissent from the statements of the author. This has been done with knowledge and authorization. Professor Nitti has himself read through the proofs of the English translation.

DE GRATIA CHRISTI IN I.-II. PARTEM SUMMAE THEOLOGICAE S. THOMAE AQUINATIS AQ. CIX. AD CXIV. *Auctore Richardo Tabarili.* Romae: Bretschneider, editor, 1908. Pp. xii.+533.

The truths accumulated by St. Thomas in his "Summa Theologica" are inexhaustible, so that no single mind can expect or be expected to do more than draw forth proportionately to its capacity and preparedness some measure of their treasures. It is not to be wondered at, much less to be despised, that every professor whose duty calls upon him to teach the "Summa" should feel himself called upon also to add a new commentary to the already long list of such productions. The present work by the professor of theology in the Roman Pontifical Seminary must surely be of great service to his own pupils, and it will no less surely be found helpful to other students of St. Thomas. The author is not only thoroughly acquainted with the works of the Angelic Doctor; he is equally informed in the general field and literature of his subject matter. The six questions of the "Summa" indicated in the title are simply the raw material, which he molds and shapes and expands by large additions from very many sources, ancient and modern. He accommodates its matter to the needs and the academic methods of the present day, and he does it in a style which is so perfectly translucent that the deepest discussions are, without loss to their scientific character, placed easily within the comprehension of the average intelligent scholastic student. This is not the place for any animadversion on the author's opinions touching the various controversies with which his subject bristles. Suffice it to say that they commend themselves for their moderation and good temper, and it may safely be predicted that the work as a whole will no less commend itself both to professors and students in ecclesiastical seminaries.

INTRODUCTIO GENERALIS IN SCRIPTURAM SACRAM. *Auctore Carolo Teloh, I. Th. D.* Ratisbonae: Fr. Pustet (New York), 1908. Pp. xvi.+462.

Whether the study of "Introduction to the Bible" should be pursued in Latin or in the vernacular will probably for some time remain an open question, upon each side of which plausible arguments can and will be urged. Those seminaries, at any rate, in

which Latin is the elected vehicle for the study are given an available instrument in the present latest addition to text-books of the kind. If comprehensiveness of material, orderliness of method and clarity of statement are prime qualities of a class manual, the book at hand perfectly realizes such criteria. From the initial "conspectus dicendorum," where the eye takes in at a glance the synthesis of the matter, to the appendix, where with the aid of the "*medulla hujus libri*" it easily moves through the review of the complete analysis, the work reveals itself throughout as the model text-book—an adaptation which its material makeup further assures. Concerning the matter itself it need hardly be added that it comprises the usual topics of Biblical introduction—the history of the canon, original texts and versions, the subject of inspiration, hermeneutics and the human authority of Sacred Writ. These subjects are solidly treated and, proportionately to the scope, thoroughly. The author evidently, and rightly, deeming the purpose of an introduction to be the imparting of definite ascertained information and the engendering in the student's mind of a sane positive habit respecting the origin, nature and general meaning of the Bible, has wisely abstained from entering into the endless controversies and hypotheses of the higher critics. When a student has mastered a book of this kind he will be fairly prepared for such research on his own account. However, this does not mean that the author has left critical questions untouched. On the contrary, his chapters on rationalism and on modernism are witness to a just appreciation of this side of his work as a teacher. *Modus in rebus, respice finem*, sanity, justness—these apparently have determined him and their influence is stamped on his work.

SAINT AMBROISE. Par P. de Labriolle. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1908, pp. 328.

What might reverently be called the providential significance of the life of St. Ambrose was the influence he exercised upon the Roman Emperors Gratian, Valentinian II. and Theodosius during the time of the decisive struggle between the empire, recently converted to Christianity, and the lingering forces of paganism. For more than two decades he was the counsellor of the Emperors, and not unfrequently it was his farseeing wisdom and practical address that saved them from disaster. On the other hand, though not possessing the profundity of St. Augustine nor the forceful energy and the analytical acumen of St. Jerome, he was one of the most gifted spiritual commentators on Sacred Scripture in the early Church. Besides this, as a moral teacher he knew how to combine his extensive knowledge of the best ethical wisdom of the ancients

with the revealed teachings of Christianity, while his singular eloquence made him one of the most influential orators of all time, not the least indication of this influence being manifested by the part it played in the conversion of Augustine.

It is these lines of influence exerted by St. Ambrose that have suggested the groundplan of the present biography—his political activity, his work as an exegete, as a moralist and as a pulpit orator, under the latter heading being comprised the dogmatic writings of the great Doctor. The author, a professor of Latin literature in the Freiburg University (Switzerland), has enriched the biographical narrative with numerous extracts from St. Ambrose's rendered into smooth French, amongst the extracts being the treatise "De Mysteriis Ausperscle," which has special importance for the history of liturgy. Besides this, the author has added valuable notes, utilizing in this connection the most recent pertinent literature and at the same time adapting the work to the interest of the average intelligent reader, while the requirements of the student are answered by the several indexes placing the treasures of the work within easy access.

ENCHIRIDION SYMBOLORUM Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum auctore *Henrico Denzinger*. Editio Decima, Emendata et Aucta, Quam Paravit Clemens Bannwart, S. J. Freiburg and St. Louis: B. Herder, 1908. Price, \$1.75, net.

Denzinger's "Enchiridion" comes from the hands of its new editor and from the press of its new publisher thoroughly revised and remodeled and enlarged to above 600 pages. We can readily believe Father Bannwart when he says that the labor involved in bringing the precious book to its present state of perfection was "improbis et diuturnus." He has, at the expenditure of vast research, secured a more faithful text, a matter of the highest importance in dealing with doctrinal decisions, in which every comma and letter must be maturely weighed. Since not all the documents are, in the strict theological sense, "definitions," he judiciously added to the title the vaguer term "declarations." He has marshaled the documents in chronological order, giving, as far as possible, the data and pontificate of each. He carefully notes all variants, and gives sufficient condensed information to enable the reader to understand the meaning and bearing of the text. By adding the recent decisions of Pope Pius X. he has brought the book down to the present day. For the benefit of those who possess the former editions he places at the end a "Clavis Concordantiarum," in which the old and new numbering are put side by side. In addition to a thorough "Index Alphabeticus," he has given us an "Index Systematicus," by means of

which the reader will see at a glance, grouped together under separate headings, a reference to all the dogmatic decisions of the Church throughout the ages. The name of Father Bannwart will be joined to the already venerated name of Denzinger in the grateful remembrance of teachers and students of theology.

A STUDY IN AMERICAN FREEMASONRY. Based Upon Pike's "Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite," "Mackey's Masonic Ritualist," "The Encyclopedia of Freemasonry" and Other American Masonic Standard Works. Edited by Arthur Preuss, Editor of the "Catholic Fortnightly Review." 12mo., pp. 433. Published by B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1908.

Among the varied influences that are ceaselessly engaged in shaping American ideas and molding American life, Freemasonry must, in all fairness, be conceded a prominent place. Its principles are scattered broadcast by our daily press; its labors for humanity are the constant theme of tongue and pen; its members are in great part our lawgivers, our Judges, our rulers; even the Presidents of our Republic openly join its ranks; the educators of our youth in school and in university are often its adherents, and encourage among their pupils societies which ape its secrecy and methods and prepare the young to become its zealous partisans in after life. To crown all, Protestant ministers and Bishops are its initiates and advocates, so that often not only the corner-stones of our public buildings, but even those of Protestant churches, are laid by its officers and consecrated by its mystic rites. To deny its influence among us would be to deny a fact plainer than the light of day.

Probably the more pertinent question and the one more frequently asked and not easily answered is, why does the Church condemn American Freemasonry? We meet good men in every walk of life who assure us that there is nothing objectionable in it; that it has no connection with the Freemasonry of any other country or any other time, and that they would sever their connection with it at once if they were convinced that they are mistaken. The author of the present book takes up these questions and answers them, and this is the chief merit of the work.

CATHOLIC HOME ANNUAL FOR 1909.

In connection with the calendar for the year are given the monthly devotion, a sketch of one of the principal saints for each month, indulgences to be gained for each month, what and when to plant, books suitable for the month, "The Correct Thing for Cath-

olics," "The Sovereign Pontiff and the Catholic Hierarchy," "Lenten Dishes," "The Hierarchy in the United States," "Catholic Practice," "Events of Importance," "Religious Orders of Men in the United States," "Religious Orders of Women in the United States," "Catholic Charitable Societies in the United States," "Recent Scientific Progress," "Catholic Homes for the Aged and Orphan Asylums," "Pious Societies, Confraternities, etc., in the United States," "Catholic Fraternal and Insurance Societies in the United States," "Calendar of Feasts and Fasts."

Some of the stories and articles are: "A Century of Catholic Progress," by Thomas F. Meehan, M. A. Suggested by the centenaries of New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Louisville. Illustrated. "When the Tide Came In," a short story by Marion Ames Taggart. "General Philip H. Sheridan, Civil War Hero," by Hon. Maurice Francis Egan, LL. D. Illustrated. "A Tug of War," a short story by Mary T. Waggaman. "The Statue," a short story by Mary E. Mannix. "Mountain Monasteries," by Mary F. Nixon-Roulet. Illustrated. "Across the Years," a short story by Anna T. Sadlier. "The Romance of an Indian Maiden," being the beautiful story of Tegakwitha, the saintly Iroquois. By Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S. J. "An Easter Lily," a short story by Jerome Harte. "The Test," a short story by Grace Keon. "A Double Mistake," a short story by Magdalen Rock. Charming frontispiece and a profusion of other illustrations.

SERMONS. By *Rev. Reuben Parsons, D. D.* Edited by Rev. J. H. Cronenberger, C. S. Sp. 12mo., pp. 462. Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey, 1908.

On Good Friday, April 13, 1906, died in St. Joseph's Hospital, Yonkers, N. Y., Dr. Reuben Parsons. Although unusually gifted, his modest nature preferred to be unknown to lead a quiet life with Christ. Yet from his seclusion he sent forth such words of wisdom and strength into the world that fame found him and placed him among those whose lifework, blessed by God, has been a light to others on the dark cross-roads of life. His contributions to church history have made him famous. His "Lies and Errors of History," his "Studies in Church History" and his "General History" from the Catholic standpoint have no competitors.

The same clear, logical mind is found in his sermons which form the subject matter of this present volume. They were found among his manuscripts, and it is to be deeply regretted that a great number were lost. Dr. Parsons did not compose them for academic purposes, but for practical parish work. They are solid in doctrine,

substantial in thought, elegant in expression, eminently practical in aim. Theology, dogmatic and moral, Scripture and philosophy, one by one, supplied him with arguments to convince minds and move hearts.

The sermons are not fitted to the Sundays and feasts of the year, and they do not follow any consecutive. They are the more valuable for this reason, because they supply material for unusual occasions and on unusual subjects, when the preacher is generally harder pressed and more in need of help.

LIBRARY OF ST. FRANCIS DE SALES. I. *The Mystical Explanation of the Canticle of Canticles*: by St. Francis de Sales. II. *The Depositions of St. Jane Frances de Chantal in the Cause of the Canonization of St. Francis de Sales*. 12mo., pp. 254. Burns & Oates, London; Benziger Brothers, New York.

In a letter written some fifteen years after the death of St. Francis de Sales, St. Jane Frances de Chantal tells us how in looking over the long-forgotten contents of an old disused box many writings of the saint were found, and among them an explanation of the *Canticle of Canticles*, set out in the form of a meditation. She adds that she has never heard the Holy Founder speak of this treatise, but that the then superioress of the community declared that he had often preached on the subject to which it referred in the early days of the visitation.

We are thus led to see how at an early period the thoughts which ultimately found expression in the great treatise on the love of God were already taking shape in the saint's mind, and how, in the midst of many labors demanding the full exercise of that practical sense, which was so distinctive a quality of his character, he was living habitually in a higher region of very close union with God.

The second part of the volume gives us the detailed and finished portrait of the saint's life, told in her own simple and transparently truthful words, by her whom God had chosen to be the principal instrument in that which was probably the most enduring work entrusted to St. Francis de Sales—namely, the foundation of the Religious Institute of the Visitation.

STUDI E RICERCHE INTORNO A S. GIOVANNI CRISOSTOMO, a cura del Comitato per il XV^o. Centenario della sua Morte. Roma: Libreria Pustet, 1903. Pp. 242, 4t.

The fifteenth centenary of the death of St. John Chrysostom was celebrated with great pomp in Rome from the 8th to the 12th of February last. The event was regarded as having great signifi-

cance in the history of the Eastern Church, both for the personal interest which Pius X. took in the celebration by assisting at the services performed in the Byzantine rite and for the scholarly historical works which the occasion brought forth. The committee in charge of the celebration invited a number of scholars noted for historical and liturgical research to prepare essays treating of certain aspects of the life and works of St. Chrysostom, especially such aspects as are not widely and well known. The present beautifully made quarto brochure contains the first installment of the contributions answering to the committee's invitation. They treat of the moral and literary aspect of the saint's work and are given in the languages of their respective authors—Italian, German and English. Needless to say, they are scholarly productions and notable contributions to the pertinent fields of literary criticism. A second fasciculus will contain papers relating to the liturgy bearing the name of Chrysostom, while a third will comprise essays treating of the cult of the saint. The committee by arranging for the publication of these studies will have not only paid an enduring homage to the illustrious Doctor, but will have placed within easy access of scholars a rich repository of historical, liturgical and hagiographical knowledge which otherwise would have been *aurum abditum terris, cui nullus color*.

THE CATHOLIC WHO'S WHO AND YEAR BOOK, 1908. Edited by Sir F. C. Burnand. 12mo., pp. 444. London: Burns & Oates.

"Who's Who" is spreading rapidly into different countries and is being warmly received in each new field. We do not know who began it, but he deserves to be known and honored. Like so many other imitations or discoveries which come to us late in the world's course or late in our lives, we wonder how we got along without it so long and why someone did not think of it before. We are sure that we did not get along nearly so well because there was no one source from which we could draw the information which we find here in such complete, concise and systematic form.

The "Catholic Who's Who" is particularly acceptable because it is the only one of its kind as far as we know and because it contains information about persons of great interest to us and well worthy of note, and yet who would be passed over by a general secular publication of the same as not measuring up to its standard of notoriety.

The "Catholic Who's Who" in England is the result of painstaking effort extending over a period of eight years. It is particularly fortunate in having Sir F. C. Burnand for its editor. It is un-

usually valuable and charming because of the personal allusions which appear in connection with many of the subjects, which relieve the text of that monotonous dryness and sameness which generally characterizes publications of this kind and give it the value of real biography. It makes us hope for more of its kind.

A KEY TO MEDITATION, or, Simple Methods of Mental Prayer, etc. Based on the spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius. Followed by instructions designed to bring help and consolation to souls experiencing difficulties in their intercourse with God and distractions in prayer. Translated from the French of *Pere Crasset, S. J.* 12mo., pp. 162. R. & T. Washbourne, London. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

"Pious souls are often heard to lament their ignorance of the way to meditate, to pray, or to make an examination of conscience. They stand in need of instruction alike as to the means of lessening the difficulties presented by these exercises and of rendering them fruitful. To such souls the following methods are offered. Let them read and practice them assiduously, and those obstacles which daunt their hearts will soon be overcome.

"We append, in addition, a method for making one day's retreat in each month. Souls aspiring to perfection will cling to a pious practice vouched for by the example of the saints, the utility of which has been amply demonstrated by experience."

Father Crasset's excellent book of meditations for the year, which is so widely known and used and which has stood the test of time and competition, is the best guarantee of the excellence of the present treatise. It is small, but valuable.

A MANUAL OF MORAL THEOLOGY, for English-speaking Countries. By *Rev. Thomas Slater, S. J.*, St. Beuno's College, St. Asaph, with notes in the text on American legislation by *Rev. Michael Martin, S. J.*, Professor of Moral Theology, St. Louis University. Complete in two large, handsome volumes, each volume with complete alphabetical index. Vol. I., 8vo., cloth, net, \$2.75. Vol. II., 8vo., cloth, net, \$2.75. The two volumes, net, \$5.50. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The appearance of the second volume of Father Slater's "Moral Theology" completes the first work of the kind in the English language. We have had treatises on moral questions in various forms at different times, and we have had books more or less technical on certain tracts on more than one occasion, but never so far as we know a complete technical course in the vernacular. Strictly speaking, this course is not complete in that respect, because certain parts are printed in the dear old familiar Latin. Father Slater's book is excellent in every respect. It is clear, complete and compre-

hensive. It is original, not being a translation. It is timely, taking into consideration the latest legislation and giving special attention to American legislation. It will satisfy all who want a work on moral theology in English. We sincerely hope that it will do all the good which those who favor it hope for, and none of the evil, which those who oppose it fear.

GRADUALE SACROSANCTAE ROMANAE ECCLESIAE DE TEMPORE ET DE SANCTIS
SS. D. N. PII X. Pontificis Maximi Iussu Restitutum et Editum. Cui
addita sunt Festa Novissima. Editio Ratisbonensis iuxta Vaticanam,
8vo. Neo Eboraci: Sumptibus et Typis Frederici Pustet.

Every one who is interested in the Sacred Chant has been waiting patiently for the new Roman Gradual, which is to supersede all others and which is to be universally accepted and followed. After the Holy Father's important encyclical on church music the question of the correct notation arose at once, and the necessity for a revised and correct gradual became urgent. The Holy Father immediately met this need with an order for the revision by competent persons, and the book before us is the result. When the encyclical first appeared various questions arose as to differences which were found in various editions of the Gradual, and even those who were looked on as authorities could not agree. Under such circumstances rectors and choirmasters naturally hesitated before making any permanent change. Now the reason for such hesitation and doubt is removed, and certainty takes their place. The Pustet edition of the Gradual is unexcelled in workmanship and correctness, and it not only invites but commands the attention and patronage of all persons interested in the liturgical service.

VIE DE LA BIENHEUREUSE MARGUERITE-MARIE, d'Après les Manuscrits et les Documents originaux. Par *Auguste Hamon*. Paris: Beauschene et Cie, 1908. Pp. xii.+520.

Those who have an intellectual or a spiritual interest—and the latter will be best if joined with the former—in studying the origin and early development of the devotion which has so widely and deeply grown into the life of the Church in modern times—devotion to the Sacred Heart—will find in the work here presented a most efficient aid to research, an instrument for the mind's quest, indeed, as the title itself suggests, but also food for the soul to nourish it on the way. The history of Blessed Margaret Mary—the saintly, if not as yet canonically sainted, agency whom Providence employed in the spread of the devotion—is here drawn from the original

sources, and under the charm of M. Hamon's wonted literary power the history becomes a story—a story as attractive as it is instructive and edifying. The wide welcome which the book has received in France is a merited testimony to its value. The present volume is a reprint, with the omission of the purely bibliographical and critical apparatus of the larger and more expensive form in which the book first appeared in 1907. For devotional reading this popular edition is, of course, just as serviceable as the more erudite original.

GESCHICHTE DER CHRISTLICHEN KUNST. Von *Franz Xaver Kraus*. Zweiter Band, zweite Abteilung: Italienische Renaissance. Fortgesetzt und herausgegeben von *Joseph Sauer*. Mit Titelbild in Fardendruck, 320 Abbildungen im Text und einem Register zum ganzen Werke. Freiburg, 1908, Herder.

It was not given to Francis Xavier Kraus to finish the "History of Christian Art," which he had planned on a grandiose scale. He died in his sixty-second year, while dealing with "Michelangelo and the Sixtine Chapel," taking with him to the silent grave the immense wealth of erudition which he had accumulated during a life of incessant literary labor. The loss to Christian art was irreparable, for although the publisher was lucky in securing so able a continuator as the youthful editor of the "Literarische Rundschau," Professor Sauer, yet we cannot but deplore that the masterpiece did not come to us complete from the pen of the master. In saying this we by no means wish to depreciate the work of Professor Sauer. He has entered into the spirit of Kraus, and has given us an admirable description of Christian art during the height of the Renaissance. The story of the activity of Raphael, Bramanti, Michelangelo and other great artists is told with fascinating beauty and an enthusiasm that is contagious. Sauer also imitates his master in not studying art for its own sake, but for the purpose of illustrating the relation of Christian art to the Christian religion. We have plenty of works on art in the English language, but none that view it from the standpoint of Kraus. We therefore hope to see it before long translated.

ROUND THE WORLD. A Series of Interesting Articles on a Great Variety of Subjects of Much Educational Value. Five volumes, 12mo., cloth, 115 Pages each, \$1.00 per volume. Profusely illustrated. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is a very interesting series of books, which may be continued indefinitely. As the publishers do not announce any limitation, it may be presumed that the series will be carried on as long as kindred subjects remain to be treated or as long as public interest

and public patronage call for it. Each volume is made up of a collection of detached papers on a variety of subjects, all having excellent educational value. These include articles on travel, history, geography, natural history, mechanics, etc. For instance, in the first volume, which begins with "The Ostrich and Ostrich Hunting," we have papers on the "Great Wall of China," "Making of a Great Newspaper," "Nature Study and Photography," "Climbing the Alps," "The Ski and Ski Racing" and other subjects. The second volume takes us through the Catacombs, along the Castled Rhine, across the prairies, on a whaling trip and instructs us in subjects so far apart as the making of Japanese ware and the manufacture of guns for warships. Each of the other volumes is equally interesting and varied in its contents. The illustrations are profuse and excellent. The books ought to be especially useful for boys and girls who are attending school.

A MISSIONARY'S NOTEBOOK. By *Rev. Richard W. Alexander*. 12mo., pp. 187, illustrated. Philadelphia: Catholic Standard and Times Publishing Company. Price, \$1.00.

Twenty-seven stories of the action of God's grace in an extraordinary manner. It is understood that the writer is not a priest, and is not always relating personal experiences, but it is also understood that the stories are all true, at least in substance, and they are so well told that they seem to come directly from the principal agent in each case. They are not only interesting, but they are profitable. They teach us the wonderful lesson of charity, and especially kindness to sinners. They excite our sympathy for the distressed and suffering. They increase our confidence in God and strengthen our faith. As charity is universal, so the interest in these stories. They can be recommended to every one. As a gift it is sure to be appreciated by the recipient, juvenile or grown-up.

DIE GENESIS nach dem Literalsinn Erklärt von *Gottfried Hoberg*, Doktor der Philosophie und der Theologie, Ord. Professor der Universität Freiburg I. Br. Zweite, Vermehrte und Verbesserte Auflage. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1908. Price, \$3.25, net.

This volume is the first instalment of a commentary on the Pentateuch contemplated by Professor Hoberg, of Freiburg. It is based on thoroughly orthodox principles, without ignoring the certain results of modern research and criticism. Dr. Hoberg, following the decision of the Biblical Commission of 27 June, 1906, contends for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but he admits that cer-

tain additions are present made by later inspired persons. He explains his view by an apt illustration. The Missal and the Breviary, as we now possess them, are substantially the work of St. Pius V., although later Popes have added new offices, lessons, etc., and have changed, here and there, the original phraseology. In like manner the later authorities of the Jewish Church felt no scruple in accommodating the Pentateuch to the needs of their times by the incorporation, on Mosaic lines, of new legislation and by modernizing the text. He gives, in parallel columns, the Hebrew text and the Vulgate. His annotations are succinct, but extremely able and satisfactory. As a companion volume he has issued a vest pocket edition of the Hebrew and Latin texts, under the title "*Liber Geneseos*," which will be very acceptable to Biblical students.

A TEXTUAL CONCORDANCE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. Arranged Especially for Use in Preaching. By *Rev. Thomas David Williams*. 8vo., pp. 848. Benziger Brothers, New York.

A new concordance of the Holy Scriptures is a noteworthy undertaking, and it may be well for us to hear the author on the plan and scope of the book:

"This work is a textual concordance of Holy Scripture, arranged especially for use in preaching. It follows simply the alphabetical order of subjects, and is divided into two parts or books, moral and dogmatic, to which is added an appendix containing principally the miracles, prophecies and parables of Christ.

"In accordance with the purpose of this work, it has been the aim of the compiler to choose only such subjects or headings as would be of practical use in preaching, and under them to place only such texts as clearly and strongly bear upon the subjects to which they refer. This concordance necessarily is far from exhaustive; but it is hoped that each topic is sufficiently enriched with the Scripture texts pertaining to it to furnish meat and substance for many discourses.

"The work differs largely from that masterpiece of Scripture compilation, '*The Divine Armory*,' by Father Vaughan, both in arrangement and in choice of subjects or headings. A glance at the index of both books will show this sufficiently. It differs also from the '*Thesaurus Biblicus*' of Father Lambert, being more restricted in choice of subjects and of texts. The first part, which constitutes the bulk of the work, is simply the result of frequent perusals of the Sacred Text, and was compiled in the course of seven years, neither by reference to nor by the aid of any other work of this or a similar nature.

"In the second part, which contains the Scriptural proofs in the course of dogma, I have followed in a great measure that clear and excellent work, 'Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae,' by Father Tanquerey.

"In the appendix, on the miracles and prophecies of Christ, I have followed in part the 'Manual Biblique' of Bacuez and Vigouroux, and 'The Christ the Son of God,' by the Abbé Constant Fouard."

Some persons may think that there is no necessity for a work of this kind with the limitations mentioned by the author. Others may say that Vaughan's "Divine Armory" and Lambert's "Thesaurus" more than fill the bill. It might even be hinted that a full Catholic concordance, in the real sense of the word and in English, is a necessity and awaits an author. But perhaps it is fairer to take the book before us on its merits, and welcome it as a commendable effort to add to our small store of Biblical literature in English.

THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES: Its Principles, Origin and Establishment. By *Rev. J. A. Burns, C. S. C., Ph. D.*, President of Holy Cross College, Washington, D. C., Vice President of the Catholic Educational Association, etc. 12mo., pp. 415. Benziger Brothers, New York, 1908.

It has been the aim of the author in the present volume to exhibit a coherent view of the Catholic school movement in the United States, from the earliest times down to the great immigration period, which began about the year 1840. The characteristic feature of the movement during all this time was the steady effort to build and equip schools, provide teachers and overcome fundamental difficulties both from within and from without. It was the period of the establishment of the schools. There was comparatively little in the way of academic progress. This came later on when the influx of religious orders from Europe and their rapid growth provided a greater supply of teachers, and thus made it possible to give to the teacher a better training. It is the intention to present a study of this second period, that of the development of the schools, in another volume. The educational work of Bishop Hughes obviously belongs to the first of these two periods rather than the second, and for this reason, notwithstanding some disturbances of the chronological order, it is dealt with in the present volume.

The necessity for a work of this kind cannot be denied. It has been too long delayed. We have all felt the need of it on more than one occasion. We have heard the story of the public schools until it has become more than a twice told tale. We have heard their praises sung so persistently and so loudly as to deceive almost

the elect. We have read histories of education in this country, without a word about Catholic education, or, what was worse, with only a damning word, until we almost forgot our own glorious history and the noble sacrifices of our ancestors in this fruitful field.

Not a whit too soon does the history of the Catholic school system in the United States come forth. It is fortunate that a man so well fitted for the work as Father Burns should take it up. By education, by experience, by zeal he is admirably equipped for it, and the result is a book well worthy of the subject and one which may be supplemented, but will never be superseded.

PATROLOGY. The Lives and Works of the Fathers of the Church. By *Otto Bardenhewer, D. D., Ph.D.*, Professor of Theology in the University of Munich. Translated from the second edition by Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Professor of Church History in the Catholic University of America, with the approbation and recommendation of their Lordships the Archbishops and Bishops of Covington, Freiburg, Milwaukee, Ogdensburg, St. Louis, Sioux Falls and Springfield. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1908. Price, \$3.75, net.

The learned professor of history at the Catholic University of Washington has performed a signal service to our clergy and ecclesiastical students by rendering accessible to them the Manual of Patrology of Professor Bardenhewer, of Munich, which the Catholics of Germany deservedly hold in high esteem. Although in a very special sense "ours are the Fathers," yet, owing to the lack of a concise epitome of their lives and labors, such as we now possess, it is to be feared that to many the rich field of early Christian literature is almost a *terra incognita*, and the champions of Christian orthodoxy little more than shadowy names. We have no doubt that the appearance of the present work, which we hope to see in the hands of all our students of theology, will mark an era in the development of the curricula in our seminaries. As was to be expected, Dr. Shahan has done the work of translating in a masterful manner, and has added to the value of the book by bringing it up to the date of publication.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES, from the Close of the Middle Ages. Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources. From the German of *Dr. Ludwig Pastor*, Professor of History in the University of Innsbruck and Director of the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome. Edited by Ralph Francis Kerr, of the London Oratory. Vols. VII. and VIII. B. Herder, St. Louis, and Keegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, 1908. Price, \$3.00, net, per volume.

The present volumes represent Part I. of Volume IV. in the original German edition, and deals exclusively with the important Pontificate of Leo X. Since we lost no time in noticing the valuable publication when it first appeared, we need only say that the translation has been admirably done, so far as we have observed, faultless,

and we trust that a copy will be found in every public library and in the hands of every educated Catholic. Dr. Pastor is rather severe in his estimate of the good-natured Medicean Pontiff, but his statements are backed up by contemporary documents, many discovered by himself, and must be accepted as the last word of modern historical criticism on the subject.

DISCOURS DE MARIAGE. *Abbé Félix Klein.* Published by Librairie Bloud et Cie, Paris.

This new publication of the gifted Abbé Klein consists of a number of addresses to several young people on the occasion of their marriage. The style, thoughts and sentiments are in keeping with the dignity of the subject. In language, charmingly picturesque and copiously adorned with all those graces of diction for which his writings are noted, the eminent divine presents the high ideals of Christian marriage, its duties and responsibilities, as handed down in the theology and tradition of the Catholic Church.

In a supplement the writer devotes an article on ecclesiastical celibacy to the refutation of propositions found in Michelet's book, "le prêtre, la femme et la famille."

ORDO DIVINI OFFICII RECITANDI MISSAEQUE CELEBRANDAE PRO CLERO SAECULARI, 1909. New York: Pustet & Co.

Pustet's Ordo is one of the standards. It has proved its excellence by standing the test of use and time, and it has gained an ever increasing host of patrons by its clearness and correctness. Besides the present edition, which contains information for secular priests who follow the local order, there are also issues containing the Roman Ordo and alternate blank leaves.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SERMONS ON MODERN SPIRITUALISM. By *A. V. Miller*, *O. S. C.* Keegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, and B. Herder, St. Louis, 1908. Price, 75 cents, net.

THE WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE. By *R. J. Meyer, S. J.*, author of "First Lessons in the Science of the Saints." St. Louis, Mo., and Freiburg, B. Herder, 1908. Price, \$1.50, net.

THE LORD'S PRAYER AND THE HAIL MARY: Points for Meditation. By *Stephen Beissel, S. J.* B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1908. Price, 90 cents, net.

MESSIANIC PHILOSOPHY. An Historical and Critical Examination of the Evidence for the Existence, Death, Resurrection, Ascension and Divinity of Jesus Christ. By *Gideon W. B. Marsh.* London and Edinburgh, Sands & Co.; B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1908. Price, \$1.00, net.

WEGWEISER FÜR PRIESTER, besonders für jüngere Geistliche. Von *Ferdinand Rudolf.* Freiburg and St. Louis, B. Herder, 1908. Price, 50 cents, net.







